

ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

Edited by

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL

CONTENTS FOR JANUARY 1935 No. 1.

	PAGE
I. "THE DEVIL'S DELUSION" OF IBN AL-JAUZI. TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, (<i>Oxford University</i>) 7/86	1
II. NIZAMU'L-MULK ASAF JAH I—FOUNDER OF THE HYDERABAD STATE. BY DR. YUSUF HUSAIN, D.Litt. (<i>Paris</i>) 7/84	22
III. THE HIJRAH—A CHAPTER FROM IBN HISHAM. BY PROFESSOR SHARAFUDDIN, (<i>Chittagong College</i>) 7/86	39
IV. THE FOUNDER OF BANERA RAJ. BY PROFESSOR SRI RAM SHARMA, M.A., F.R.Hist. S. (<i>London</i>) 7/86	58
V. THE HOUSE OF ALTUNTASH KHWARAZM SHAH. BY DR. S. M. SIDDIQ, M.A., Ph.D. 7/86	68
VI. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MODERN PERSIAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY. BY DR. C. E. WILSON, B.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. 7/86	80
VII. ISMA'ILI LAW AND ITS FOUNDER. BY ASAF A. A. FYZEE, M.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW 7/86	107
VIII. MUGHAL RELATIONS WITH PERSIA. BY DR. ABDUR RAHIM, M.A., Ph.D. 7/86	113
IX. THE ART OF WARAQAT. BY KAZI AHMADMIAN AKHTAR 7/86	131
X. MUSLIM COLONIES IN INDIA BEFORE THE MUSLIM CONQUEST. BY SYED SULEYMAN NADVI 7/86	144
XI. SOME PROOFS OF PERSIAN INFLUENCE ON ANCIENT INDIA. BY P. P. BALSARA, M.A. 7/86	167
XII. BOOKS AND AUTHORS.	172
KITABU'L-AWRAQ.	
"THE PROPHET OF THE DESERT."	
LAW AND JUSTICE IN MUSLIM INDIA.	
THE PEDIGREE OF THE FATMIDS.	
THE ARAB QUESTION.	
"KABUL."	
MR. PROBSTHAIN'S ORIENTAL CATALOGUE.	
PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.	

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CONTENTS FOR APRIL 1935

	PAGE
I. "THE DEVIL'S DELUSION" OF IBN AL-JAUZI. TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR D. S. MARGOLIOUTH (<i>Oxford University</i>) 7/34	187
II. THE ARAB CHAUNT—A POEM. BY NAWAB SIR NIZAMAT JUNG, <i>Kt., C.I.E., O.B.E.</i> 1/25	209
III. TWO MINIATURES FROM BIJAPUR. BY GHULAM YAZDANI, <i>M.A.</i> 7/22	211
IV. A TRACT OF AVICENNA. (TRANSLATED BY UMAR KHAYYAM). BY KAZI AHMED MIAN AKHTAR 7/22	218
V. THE HOUSE OF ALTUNTASH KHWARAZM SHAH. BY DR. S. M. SIDDIQ, <i>M.A., PH.D.</i> 7/26	235
VI. NIZAMU'L-MULK ASAF JAH I. BY DR. YUSUF HUSAIN, <i>D.LITT. (Paris)</i> 7/28	244
VII. THE COINS OF THE BAHMANI KINGDOM OF THE DECCAN. BY PROF. E. E. SPEIGHT (<i>Osmania University</i>) 7/28	268
VIII. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MODERN PERSIAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY. BY DR. C. E. WILSON, <i>B.A., PH.D., D.LITT.</i> 7/26	308
IX. PSYCHOLOGY OF IBN-I-SINA. BY PROF. MUTAZID WALIUR RAHMAN, <i>M.A.</i> 7/26	335
X. AL-MANFALUTI—AN EGYPTIAN ESSAYIST. BY NEVILL BARBOUR 7/28	359
XI. BOOKS AND AUTHORS	368
THE EARLY YEARS OF ISLAM. ISLAM AND CIVILISATION. MUSTALA. A TURKISH WOMAN'S LOVE-STORY.	

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ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

Edited by
MARMADUKE PICKTHALL

CONTENTS FOR JULY 1935

No. 3.
PAGE

I. "THE DEVIL'S DELUSION" OF IBN AL-JAUZI TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, (Oxford University) 7/26	Control	377
II. 'THE KORAN AND THE SWORD' (A Lesson for Muslim Youth)—A POEM. BY NAWAB SIR NIZAMAT JUNG, Kt., C.L.E., O.B.E. 7/28		400
III. ZUFAR IN THE MIDDLE AGES. BY RHUVON GUEST 7/28		402
IV. A TREASURY OF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF GREAT MEN. BY M. ABDULLAH CHUGHTAI 7/28		411
V. MUSLIM COLONIES IN INDIA BEFORE THE MUSLIM CONQUEST. BY SYED SULEYMAN NADVI 7/28		423
VI. THE KITAB MA'ANI ASH-SHI'R OF IBN QUTEYBAH. BY DR. F. KREMKOW, D.PHIL. 7/28		443
VII. EL-GHAZZALI ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF POLITICS. BY PROFESSOR HAROON KHAN SHERWANI, (Osmania University) 7/28		450
VIII. PIRISM (Corrupted Sufism). BY PROFESSOR SYED MOZAFFAR-UD-DIN NADVI 7/28		475
IX. A CLASSICAL PRAYER FOR THE KING'S USE. BY PROFESSOR OTTO SPIES, (Muslim University, Aligarh) 7/28		485
X. 'AUDATU'R-RUH—AN EGYPTIAN NOVEL. BY NEVILL BARBOUR 7/28		487
XI. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MODERN PERSIAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY. BY DR. C. E. WILSON, B.A., PH.D., D.LITT. 7/28	Control	493
XII. BOOKS AND AUTHORS		519
MR. YUSUF ALI'S TRANSLATION OF THE QUR'AN		
POPULAR INDIAN ORNITHOLOGY		
TURKISTAN TODAY		
AN OLD TURK REFORMER		
ARABIC AND PERSIAN POETRY		

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ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE

HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

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CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER 1935

No 4.
PAGE

I. ✓	"THE DEVIL'S DELUSION" OF IBN AL-JAUZI. TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, (Oxford University) 7/86	533
✓	II. "A FORGOTTEN MORN"—A POEM. By MUHAMMAD AMEEN KHORASANEE 7/86	558
✓	III. CALIPHATE AND KINGSHIP IN MEDIEVAL PERSIA. By DR. A. H. SIDDIQI, B.A. (Hons.), PH.D. 7/86	560
✓	IV. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MODERN PERSIAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY. By DR. C. E. WILSON, B.A., PH.D., D.LITT. 7/86	580
✓	V. TRACES OF ISLAM. By BARON OMAR ROLF EHRENFELS 7/86	603
✓	VI. THE SO-CALLED GARDENS AND TOMBS OF ZEB-UN-NISA AT LAHORE. By M. ABDULLA CHUGHTAI 7/86	610
✓	VII. SOME INDIAN ASTROLABE-MAKERS. By SYED SULEYMAN NADVI 7/86	621
✓	VIII. THE MIFTAH AS-SA'ADAH OF TASH KOPRU ZADAH. By PROF. DR. F. KRENKOW, D.PHIL. 7/86	632
✓	IX. NOTE ON THE KORANIC WORD 'SUJL'. By JOHN WALKER (Of British Museum) 7/86	635
✓	X. THE ORIGIN OF THE BOHRAS. By SYED ABU ZAFAR NADVI 7/86	638
✓	XI. AL-MANFALUTI—AN EGYPTIAN ESSAYIST. By NEVILL BARBOUR 7/86	645
✓	XII. BOOKS AND AUTHORS	665
	THE END OF A LEGEND	
	ARTIFICIAL NATION-BUILDING	
	THE SUCCESSORS OF SHER SHAH	
	THE "ESOTERIC" DOCTRINE	
	A NOTABLE ARABIC PUBLICATION	
	A PAHLAVI-PERSIAN GRAMMAR	
	THE BEDOUIN SCENE	
	MR. HEYWORTH DUNNE'S LETTER	

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NIZAM'L-MULK ASAF JAH I.

"THE DEVIL'S DELUSION" BY IBN AL-JAUZI

PREFACE.

JAMAL AL-DIN Abu'l-Faraj 'Abd al-Rahmân b. 'Alî, known as *Ibn al-Jauzi*, 510-597 A.H. (1116-1200 A.D.), was the author of a vast number of works¹, theological, historical, biographical, medical, philological, and entertaining, of which several have been printed in recent times². He was famous as a preacher, and the traveller Ibn Jubair gives an enthusiastic account of two of his sermons heard in Baghdad³. From this notice we learn that he was court-preacher, and indeed devoted some of his eloquence to eulogy of the Caliph and the imperial household; which seems inconsistent with his repeated warnings to the learned against association with princes. His father, he tells us⁴, died when he was very young, and his mother paid him no attention. Nevertheless he was brought up in luxury, so that his first attempts at abstinence produced an illness⁵; as this interfered with his devotions, he returned to a less ascetic diet. From his earliest years he had a passion for the acquisition of knowledge, all departments of which he aspired to master⁶. He claims to have read more than 20,000 volumes.⁷ Ibn Khallikan calls him the most learned man of his time.⁸

Specimens of his homilies are to be found in his collection of Miscellanies, called *al-Mudhish*⁹. Ibn Jubair's account of their effectiveness bears out what the author

(1) Enumerated by Brockelmann, *Geschichte* i. 499-506.

(2) His *Kitab al-Adhkiya* (Book of the Shrewd) has been printed repeatedly. There is a German translation of it by Bescher, privately printed like the rest of this scholar's works.

(3) *Travels*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 220-224.

(4) *Said al-Khatir*, Cairo, 1845, p. 192.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 371.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 195.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 367.

(8) *Transl. de Slane* ii. 96.

(9) Printed Baghdad 1848. Some more in his *Sulhat al-Ahzan* (Bodleian MS.)

records on the subject. He was instrumental in bringing more than 200,000 Muslims to repentance and converting more than 200 members of other communities to Islam. On one occasion he found himself preaching to a congregation of more than 10,000 persons, all of whom had either softened hearts or weeping eyes.¹

The legal system followed by Ibn al-Jauzî was the Hanbalite, which about a century later produced an equally voluminous writer in Ibn Taimiyyah, and has owing to the rise of Wahhabism acquired fresh importance in our time. This school was vehemently opposed to the Shi'ah; early in the fourth century we read of their interfering with visitors to the tomb of Husain², and Miskawaihi preserves a letter of the Caliph Râdi in which they are rebuked for stirring up strife and threatened with punishment.³ One of the bulkiest of Ibn Taimiyyah's works is a refutation of the Imâmî sect of the Shi'ah.⁴ Since both Shi'ah and Sufis practised rites which could not easily be attested of the early Muslims, a follower of the Hanbalite system would naturally be out of sympathy with opinions and practices which he felt justified in branding as "innovations". Moreover, though clearly a man of conspicuous piety and learning, Ibn al-Jauzî was also a man of the world, convinced that wealth was a good thing, and that the needs of the body could no more be neglected than those of the soul. In his *Said al-Khatir* he repeatedly gives expression to these convictions.

The work of which a translation is here offered is directed against the sins of contemporary society, which it traces to "delusion by the Devil." Its title (*Talbis Iblis*), of which those words are a rendering, had been previously selected by Ghazâlî for a work of similar scope which he contemplated⁵. Ibn al-Jauzî, though he handles Ghazâlî severely, adopted it. By far the greater part of the book is criticism or censure of the Sufis, who, owing to the establishment of Orders by Ibn al-Rifa'i (ob. 578): and 'Abd al-Qadir al-Gilani (ob. 561) in the sixth century of Islam, were beginning to acquire that importance which was presently to render them, especially in North Africa, a political factor. Since the attitude of European writers on Sufism, such as Prof. Nicholson,

(1) *Said al-Khatir*, p. 192.

(2) *Table-talk of a Mesopotamian Judge* i. 229.

(3) *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate* iv. 364. A.H. 828.

(4) *Minhaj al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyyah*, Cairo, 1322. Four volumes fol.

(5) *Ihya' 'ulum al-din*, Cairo 1306, iii. 25.

Prof. Asin Palacios, and Miss Margaret Smith, is usually sympathetic and favourable, it seemed desirable for the study of Islamic Culture to render accessible the views of a hostile writer, whose eminence as an Islamic scholar and theologian is indisputable. He claims indeed that his hostility is confined to what he regards as the aberrations of "the moderns"; of the earliest ascetics and Sufis he speaks with respect and even admiration. Like Tanukhi, the author of the *Table-talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, he is a *laudator temporis acti*.

The work does not apparently contain any statement which would furnish an exact date for its composition. It is, however, mentioned several times in the author's *Said al-Khatir*¹, in which the latest date introduced is 575². Works of his own to which reference is made in the *Talbis* are *Minhaj al-wusul ila 'ilm al-usul*³ and *Dhamm al-Hawa*⁴.

The text translated is the printed edition of the year 1340, issued from the Sa'adah Press, Cairo by Muhammad Amin al-Khânjî and Muhammad Munîr al-Dimishqî. Personal and geographical names have been verified in such sources of information as are now accessible to students, and corrected accordingly; and the same has been done with passages cited by the author from accessible works. For his quotations from the lost work of al-Naubakhti help has been obtained from the reproduction of these from the *Talbis* in Dr. H. Ritter's edition of the same writer's work on the Sects of the Shî'ah.

Many lines of the text are occupied with *Isnads*, i.e. series of persons through whom traditions have ultimately reached the writer. Few of the readers of this translation would wish to have these reproduced. It has seemed sufficient to mention the first and the last link in each chain.

Further, owing to this work taking the shape of articles in a magazine, it seemed desirable to show some further consideration for the readers' patience. For this reason

(1) Pp. 95, 288, 339, 342.

(2) Pp. 200, 205.

(3) P. 92.

(4) Pp. 251, 296.

§§ 1, 2, and 3 which are theological and homiletic in character, have for the present been omitted, and the translation proceeds from the Author's Preface to §4. Should the translation ever appear in book form these omissions should be supplied.

THE DEVIL'S DELUSION.

Praise be to God, who has committed the balance of justice to the hands of the intelligent, and sent Apostles to promise reward and give warning of punishment : has revealed unto them the Books which explain wrong and right : has established Codes that are perfect without fault or flaw. I praise Him as one who knows that He is the Causer of causes, and I attest His Unity, as one who is sincere in his intent and undoubting ; and I testify that Muhammad is His Servant and His Envoy, sent at a time when infidelity had let down its veil over the face of faith, so that he cleared away darkness by the light of guidance, and removed the curtain : explaining to mankind what had been revealed to him, and elucidating the difficulties of the Book: "leaving them on the white highroad," wherein is no pitfall and no mirage. God be gracious unto him and all his household and Companions, and their successors, favouring them until the Day of Judgment and Reckoning : and may He give them perfect peace.

To proceed : assuredly the greatest benefit conferred on man is Reason, since that is the instrument whereby he acquires knowledge of God Almighty, and the clue whereby he arrives at belief in the Apostles. Only inasmuch as it is insufficient for all that is required of a man, Apostles were sent and Books revealed. So the Code is like the Sun, and the reason like the eye, which, if sound, when it is opened, sees the Sun ; so, when the veracious sayings of the Prophets are assured to the reason by the evidence of miracles, it surrenders to those prophets, and relies on them for what is hidden from itself.

When God bestowed reason on the human world, he commenced with the prophethood of Adam : he kept instructing them according to God's inspiration, and they went right till Cain followed his selfish passion and slew his brother. Thereupon different passions swayed mankind, which sent them astray in the wilds of error, so that they worshipped idols and adopted divers beliefs and

courses of action, disagreeing therein with the prophets and their own reasons, and following their lusts, inclining to their customs and imitating their magnates. The Devil was confirmed in his opinion of them¹, and they followed him, all but a party of Believers.

You are to know that the Prophets furnished adequate instruction, and met the ailments with certain remedies ; they agreed in pursuing an invariable course. Satan proceeded to mingle doubts with the instruction, and poison with the medicine : misleading tracks with the plain road. Nor did he cease playing with their intellects until he split up paganism into contemptible schools, so that they worshipped idols in the Sacred House, tabooed the *sa'ibah*, *bahirah*, *wasilah*, and *ham*² : approved of burying girls alive : deprived them of inheritance, with other forms of error suggested to them by the Devil. Then God Almighty sent Muhammad, who abolished the atrocities, and enjoined what was profitable. His Companions walked with him and after him in the illumination of his light, immune from transgression and its deceit. Only when the light of their existence was withdrawn the clouds of darkness came on. Passions once more generated innovations, narrowing a path which had always been wide ; most people became schismatic and sectarian. The Devil proceeded to delude and beguile, to separate and combine. He can only play the robber in the night of ignorance ; were the morn of knowledge to break on him, he would be discredited.

I thought it my duty to warn against his wiles, and point out his traps, since to indicate a danger involves warning against falling into it. Now the two *Sahih*³ contain the following Tradition recorded by Hudhaifah⁴ : People used to ask the Prophet about the good, whereas I would ask him about the bad, fearing lest it should overtake me. And indeed we have been informed by Abu'l-Barakat Sa'd Allah b. 'Alī al-Bazzaz by a chain of autho-

(1) See Surah xv. 39.

(2) See Surah v. 102 with commentaries.

(3) Collections by Bukhari and Muslim.

(4) Ibn al Yaman al-'Absi, ob. 36 A.H.

rities leading up to Ibn 'Abbâs¹ that the latter said : By Allah methinks there is no-one on the earth's surface whose death would give greater pleasure to Satan than mine.—He was asked, How so ?—He replied : He starts an innovation in East or West, and someone brings it to me. When it gets to me, I confute it with the Sunnah, and it is returned to him as he issued it.

Now I have composed this work by way of warning against his enticements, and instilling fear of his temptations : disclosing what he would hide and exposing his hidden guile. God in His bounty helps all honest endeavour.

I have divided it into thirteen sections, which in their entirety will dispel his delusions, and the understanding of which will make clear to the intelligent his falsification. If any man has the courage to act according to them, he will make his demon howl. God is my guide in my endeavour and shows me the right in that which I purpose.

Headings of Sections².

- §1 On the rule of following the Sunnah and the Consensus.
- §2 Censure of Innovations and Innovators.
- §3 Warning against the seductions and wiles of the Devil.
- §4 The meaning of Misrepresentation and Delusion.
- §5 How he deludes in Articles of Religion and matters of piety.

(1) The chain (in inverse order) is the following :

Ibn 'Abbâs
 'Ikrimah
 al-Hasan (or al-Husain) b. 'Abdallah
 Muhammad b. Ishâq
 Yunus b. Bukair
 'Ubaid b. Ya'ish
 Bishr b. Musa
 Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Sahl
 Hibat Allah b. Hasan al-Tabari
 Ahmad b. 'Ali al-Turaithithi
 Sa'd Allah b. 'Ali al-Bazzaz

Since these Isnads are only of interest to specialists, the translation will only reproduce the first and last links in the chains of authorities.

(2) Since the ostensible subject of this work commences with §4, § 1—3 have been omitted in the translation.

- §6 How he deludes the learned in different branches of learning.
- §7 How he deludes rulers and Sultans.
- §8 How he deludes the devout in their different forms of devoutness.
- §9 How he deludes ascetics.
- §10 How he deludes the Sufis.
- §11 How he deludes the pious in the semblance of miracles wrought in honour of saints.
- §12 How he deludes the populace.
- §13 How he deludes everyone by holding out hope.

CHAPTER 4.

On the meaning of Misrepresentation and Delusion

Misrepresentation is exhibiting what is false in the form of truth, and delusion is a form of ignorance which makes one believe the unsound to be sound, and the bad good; and the cause of it is the existence of a semblance which produces that effect. The Devil only enters into people to the extent of his ability, and his power over them increases or diminishes in proportion to their vigilance or negligence, their knowledge or ignorance. The heart is like a fortress surrounded with a wall, which has gates and breaches; its inmate is reason, and the angels pay recurrent visits to that fortress, beside which there is a suburb wherein is lust, and thither the demons pay calls unhindered. War is incessant between the people of the fortress and those of the suburbs. The demons ceaselessly go round and round the fortress, looking out for a time when the watcher is off guard and they can pass in by a breach. The watchman ought to know all the gates of the fortress of which he is in charge, and all the breaches, and ought not to slacken vigilance for a moment, for the enemy does not slacken. Some one said to al-Hasan al-Basri: Does the Devil ever sleep?—He said: Where he to sleep, we should have repose.

Now this fortress is illuminated by the Record, and sparkles with faith; therein is a polished mirror wherein appear the figures of whatever passes by. The first thing

which Satan does in the suburb is to produce great smoke, which darkens the walls of the fortress, and rusts the mirror. Perfect meditation removes the smoke, and the polishing of remembrance clears the mirror. The enemy makes divers assaults : at one time he attacks and enters the fortress but is charged by the watcher and driven out ; at others he enters and does mischief, and remains owing to the negligence of the watcher. At times too the wind which disperses the smoke is still, so that the walls are blackened and the mirror rusts. Satan unnoticed passes in, and sometimes the negligent watcher is wounded and captured, made to serve and set to devise schemes for aiding and abetting lust. At times he becomes a kind of expert in evil. One of the men of former time said : I saw Satan and he said to me : I used to meet people and instruct them; now I meet them and learn of them.—Often Satan assails the man of keen intellect, bringing with him lust as a bride whom he has unveiled, and the sight of whom diverts and captivates the sage ; the strongest fetter wherewith captives can be secured is ignorance ; intermediate in strength is lust ; the weakest negligence. So long as the cuirass of faith is on the Believer, the enemies' shafts will hit no vital place. Al-Hasan b. Sâlih¹ said : Satan opens to a man ninety-nine gates of good, meaning thereby one gate of evil. Al-A'mash² said : A certain man used to hold converse with the Jinn ; they said : No one is harder for us to deal with than the man who follows the Sunnah ; as for the lustful, we simply play with them.

CHAPTER 5.

HOW HE DELUDES IN ARTICLES OF RELIGION AND MATTERS OF PIETY.

Account of the way wherein he deludes the Sophists.

These are people called after a man named Sofista ; they hold that things have no reality, and that what we witness³ may be as we witness it or otherwise than as we witness it. Men of learning traversed this by saying to them : Has this assertion of yours reality, or not ? If you say it has no reality, and so allow that it may be false, how can you want people to accept that which has no reality ? You seem by this statement to confess that your statement

(1) 100—168 A.H. Zaidi jurist.

(2) 61—148 A.H. His name was Sulaiman b. Mihran al-Asadi Traditionalist.

(3) The text has *he regards as improbable*, but this appears to furnish no sense.

cannot be accepted. These people's doctrine is mentioned by Abu Muhammad al-Hasan b. Mûsâ al-Naukakhtî in *The Book of Opinions and Religions*¹.

He says : I have noticed that many metaphysicians have committed a serious mistake in the matter of these people. They argue and debate with them, and endeavour to refute them by pleading and discussion ; but, as they do not admit reality, or accept the evidence of the senses, how can you talk to one who says " I do not know whether you are talking to me or not ", and how can you argue with one who states that he does not know whether he exists or not, and how can you address one who professes that addressing is no more expressive than silence, and that the unsound is on a level with the sound ? Further, he says, discussion can only be conducted with one who admits necessity, or confesses to something, so that what he confesses may be made a reason for proving the truth of what he denies. If a man does not admit that, arguing with him is waste of time.

The author observes : This statement was traversed by Abu'l-Wafâ b. 'Aqil², who says : Certain persons say : How can we talk to these people, when the utmost which the debater can effect is to approximate the *noumenon* to that which is perceived by sensation ? He uses that which is present as evidence whereby he infers the absent.

But these people do not admit sensations, so how is it possible to talk to them ?—This, says Abu'l-Wafâ, is too narrow a view. One ought not to despair of treating these people, for what has befallen them is no more than a delusion, which we ought not to despair of treating, as they are the victims of some indisposition. The case of ourselves and them might be compared to that of a man to whom there is born a son with a squint, who always sees two moons in lieu of one, and so has no doubt that there are two moons in the sky. His father tells him that there is only one moon ; the mischief, he says, is in your eyes ; close your squinting eye and look. The lad does so, and then says : I see one moon because I have closed one of my eyes, so one of the moons is out of sight.—This

(1) Floruit about 800 A.H. His work on the Shī'ah sects has been edited by Ritter, Istanbul, 1931, who has also collected the fragments of the book quoted.

(2) Hanbalite doctor. ob. 513.

produces a second difficulty, so the father says to him : If it be as you say, then close the sound eye.—The lad does so and sees two moons, and knows the truth of what his father says.

The following was narrated by Muhammad b. 'Isa al-Nazzâm :¹ A son of Sâlih b. 'Abd al-Quddûs died, and there came to him Abu'l-Hudhail, accompanied by al-Nazzâm, who was a young lad, sympathizing. Finding Sâlih distressed Abu'l-Hudhail said to him : I know of no reason for your grief if men are in your opinion like plants.—I am grieving over him, replied Sâlih, because he never read *The Book of Doubts*. And what, asked Abu'l-Hudhail, is the Book of Doubts ?—A book, he replied, composed by me, whose reader will doubt whatever has been, so that he will even fancy that he has never existed, and what has not been, so that he will think it has been.—Then, said al-Nazzâm to him, doubt that your son has died and suppose him to be not dead ; and, if he is dead, doubt next that he may have read the book, even if he did not do so.

Abu'l-Qâsim al-Balkhi² relates how a certain sophist used to visit a certain metaphysician. One day he came to him and began to argue with him. The metaphysician ordered his slave to take the sophist's horse. When the latter was leaving he could not find the animal, so he came back to the metaphysician and said to him : You have stolen my horse.—The metaphysician replied : Nonsense perhaps you did not come riding.—The sophist said, No, I did.—The metaphysician said to him : Think.—He said : This is a matter of which I am certain.—The metaphysician began to say to him, Reflect.—He said : Nonsense this is no case for reflecting, I do not doubt that I came riding.—The metaphysician said : Then how do you profess that there is no reality in anything, and that the waking state is like the sleeping state ?—The sophist was nonplussed and abandoned his doctrine.

Naubakhtî says : One of the agnostic sects hold that things have no essential reality, but that their reality is relative to people's beliefs about them. For, they say,

(1) The name of the sectarian al-Nazzâm was Ibrahim. b. Sayyâr. Abu'l-Hudhail, also a sectarian, is known as al-'Allâf. Sâlih was notorious for heresy or atheism.

(2) 'Abdullah b. Ahmad usually known as al-Ka'bi, founder of a Mu'tazil sect called *Ka'biyyah*. ob. 317.

one with yellow bile finds honey bitter, whereas others find it sweet. So, likewise, they say, the world is eternal with those who believe in its eternity, freshly created with those who believe that it is so. Colour, too, is a body for those who believe it to be a body, an accident for those who believe it to be an accident. So, if we were to fancy that there were no believers, things would depend on the existence of some believer.

These are a kind of sophists, and we may say to them : Is your statement true ?—they will say : It is true for us, false for our opponent.—Then we say : Your claim that your statement is true is refuted, and your admission that your doctrine is false for your opponent testifies against you. Admitting that your doctrine is false from one point of view you save your opponent the trouble of demonstrating its falsity. Further, a question that may be put to them is this. Do you maintain that sensation is of reality ? If they say No, then they are in the case of the former set of sophists : if they say, Its reality is relative to the believer, then they deny its essential reality, and may be dealt with as the former.

Naubakhtî proceeds : To this group there belong those who assert that the world is in a state of flux, and that a man cannot ponder on one thing twice, owing to things constantly changing. You can ask them : How is this known, when you deny the persistence of what can produce knowledge ? Possibly the one who gives the reply may be different from the person questioned.

Account of the way wherein he deludes the Materialists.

The Devil has put it into the minds of many that there is no God and no Maker, that these things came into existence without a producer. Such persons, not having perceived the Maker by sensation, or employed reason to know Him, deny Him. Yet can any one possessed of reason doubt the existence of a Maker ? For if a man were to pass by a plot whereon was no building, and presently see a wall built there, he would know that there must certainly have been a builder to build it. So then this floor that is laid and this roof that is raised and these marvellous buildings, and the laws which are so wisely in force,—do not they point to a Maker ? It was a fine saying of an Arab : the dung indicates the camel. So a lofty structure that is so subtle, a deep foundation that

is so solid—do not they point to a subtle expert? If a man were to ponder on himself, that would be a sufficient guide, and satisfy all thirst for information. For this body of ours contains evidences of wisdom such as no book could contain, Let a man consider the teeth sharpened so as to cut, the molars rounded so as to grind, the tongues to turn over what is masticated, the liver controlling digestion, and sending to each member the necessary amount of nourishment, the fingers with their joints enabling them to close and open, and to work, not made hollow on account of the work which they have to do, since if they were hollow, any hard thing which attacked them would break them: of different lengths so that they close evenly: and how there is secreted in the body that whereon it depends, the soul with whose departure ruin overtakes the reason which guides to what is profitable. Each one of these things cries out: Is there any doubt about God?

The atheist flounders because he seeks Him by the avenue of sensation; some however deny Him because, though admitting His existence generally, they do not perceive Him particularly, and so come to deny it altogether. Had such a person exercised his thought, he would have known that we have things only generally perceived, such as the soul and the reason, yet no-one would decline to assert their existence. And is our purpose more than to assert creation generally? And how can one ask, How is He or What is He, seeing that He has neither mode nor quiddity?

A convincing proof of His existence is that the world is contingent, as is shown by its not being free from contingencies; and that which is not free from contingencies is contingent; whence the coming about of this contingent must have someone to cause it, and that is the Creator, praised be He! The heretics proudly object to our saying: The Artifice must have an Artificer; saying, In this you rely upon and appeal to what is actually seen. So we say: Just as the Artifice must have an Artificer, so the form which is impressed by the Artificer must have matter on which the form can be impressed, such as wood for the form of a door or iron for the form of an axe. So the argument whereby you establish the Maker involves the eternity of the world.—Our reply is that we do not require matter; on the contrary we assert that the Maker *created things*. For we know that the form and the figures

which confine themselves in bodies, e.g., that of horses, have no matter; God created them, and they must have a former. So we have shown you a form, which is a thing, that has come from nothing, whereas you cannot show us an Artifice which has come without an Artificer¹.

Account of the way wherein he deludes the Physicists.

When the Devil saw that there was little agreement with him in denying the Maker, because men's reason testifies that the made thing must necessarily have a Maker, he suggested to some people that these creations are the work of nature; saying that nothing is created except by the coming together of the four natures² therein, indicating that those are the doer. In reply to this we say: The coming together of the natures is proof of their existence, not of their action; further it is established that the natures only act by coming together and intermingling; this is contrary to their nature and indicates that they are coerced. Further they admit that the natures are not alive nor knowing nor powerful, and it is known that continuous and orderly action can only proceed from a being that is knowing and wise; how then can one that is neither knowing nor powerful act? If they say: Were the agent wise, there would occur no flaw in his building, neither would these mischievous animals exist, whence it is known that it must be by nature.—We reply: This is turned against you by the orderly and elaborate things which proceed thence, the like of which could not proceed from nature. As for the flaw to which you point, possibly it is for the sake of trial or repression or punishment; or there may be hidden therein certain advantages unknown to us.

Next, how does the work of nature stand in relation to a sun which rises in April over divers sorts of berries, moistening the grape and the date, but parching and drying the grain? If the sun acted by nature, it would either have dried them all or moistened them all; hence nothing is left but to admit that the selecting agent employed the sun by will to dry the one for storage, and

(1) The reasoning appears to be as follows. If facts assure us that every artifice implies an artificer, they also imply material on which the artificer works. God therefore must have worked on pre-existent matter. The reply is that the forms which matter takes are God's creation, apart from matter.

(2) With Aristotle, the hot, the cold, the dry and the moist.

ripen the other for plucking. And it is marvellous that what brings dryness does so through coverings without contact with the berry itself, whereas what moistens comes in contact with the berry.¹ Further the sun whitens the poppy-flower, and reddens the anemone, sours the pomegranate and sweetens the grape, the water being the same. The Lord alludes to this in the verse : *irrigated with the same water, yet We make some of them superior to others for food* (Surah xiii. 4).

Account of the way wherein he deludes the Dualists.

These are people who make of the Maker of the world two : the Doer of good (they say) is Light ; and the Doer of evil Darkness. Both are eternal, always have been and always shall be, mighty, sentient, hearing, seeing. These two differ in essence and form, and are contrary in action and administration. The substance of Light is excellent, beautiful, luminous, pure, clean, sweet-smelling, fair to look upon, and its soul is beneficent, generous, wise, profitable, the source of good, pleasure, joy, prosperity : in it there is nothing bad nor harmful. The substance of Darkness is contrariwise, foul, deficient, ill-smelling, ugly, and its soul is wicked, miserly, stupid, stinking, mischievous, the source of evil and corruption. This is what Naubakhtî records concerning them, adding : now some of them assert that Light has always been above Darkness, whereas others say that on the contrary they are collateral. Most of them hold that Light has always been aloft in the northern region and Darkness depressed in the southern, each of the two having always been separate from the other. Naubakhtî proceeds : they assert that each of the two is five sorts, four of them bodies and a fifth the spirit. The bodies of Light are four : Fire, Wind, Earth, Water ; and its spirit breeze² which has always been moving in these bodies. The bodies of Darkness are four : Burning, Darkness, Simoom, and Mist ; and its spirit Smoke. They call the bodies of Light Angels, and the bodies of Darkness demons and 'Ifrits. Some of them say Darkness multiplies in the form of demons, and Light in the form of angels. That Light has no power for evil, which is impossible for it : whereas Darkness is in the like case with good. Various doctrines are recorded as theirs in respect of Darkness, and foolish

(1) The sense of this passage is not quite clear.

(2) Ritter's emendation.

views, such as that it is their duty not to store more than one day's food ; some hold that a man should fast a seventh of his life, should eschew lying, greed, sorcery, idolatry, sexual sin and theft, and should not inflict pain on any thing possessed of spirit ; with certain curious doctrines which they invented in their insipid wickedness. Yahya b. Bishr al-Nihawandî* states that some of them called Daisaniyyah held that the nature of the world was a fair nature, copying the body of the Creator, who is Light, for a time ; that he was annoyed thereby, and when he grew weary thereof he decided to remove it from him, plunged into it and mingled therewith and thence there was composed this world of light and of darkness ; so that which is of the aspect of well-being is from the light, and that which is of the aspect of corruption is from the darkness. These persons waylay men and strangle them, asserting that thereby they are delivering the light from the darkness. Foolish doctrines ! What suggested this to them was that they found evil and discord in the world, and said that two discordant things could not spring from the same root, just as fire cannot produce both cold and heat. Learned men have refuted their assertion that the Creator is two beings : for, say they, if He were two, those two would either be both powerful or both weak, or one of them powerful and the other weak. Both could not be weak, since weakness would prevent the ascription of divinity, neither could one of the two be weak ; it remains that both must be supposed to be powerful, and we must imagine that one of the two may wish to move this body at a time when the other wishes to keep it still. The wishes of the two could not then possibly be fulfilled. If, however, the wish of one of the two be fulfilled, then the weakness of the other must be admitted. They also refuted the doctrine of this sect that Light does good, and Darkness evil. For if one who was wronged fled and hid in darkness, this would be a good springing from an evil. It is needless to waste breath in debating with these people, for their system is fabulous.

Account of the way wherein he deludes the Philosophers.

The Devil only succeeded in deluding the philosophers from their relying exclusively on their theories and their reason, and adopting the conclusions of their thoughts

* Not the famous heretic, whose name was Ahmad b. Yahya b. Ishaq. The Daisaniyyah were a Christian (gnostic) sect.

without paying attention to the Prophets. Some of them take the view of the Materialists that the world has no Maker—as is recorded of them by Naubakhti and others. Nihawandî states that Aristotle and his school assert that the earth is a star in the middle of this sphere, and that there are worlds in all the stars similar to what is on this earth, with rivers and trees. They deny the Creator, though most of them hold that the world has a primal cause. Further he asserted the eternity of the world, which had always existed with God, being indeed caused by Him, but consequent not later than He in time, just as the caused is consequent to the cause and the light to the sun in essence and order, not in time. It may be said to them : Why do you deny that the world may have come into existence by a pre-existent will which caused it to come into being at the time when it came ? If they say : This would involve a period of time between the existence of the Creator and the creatures, we reply : Time is a creature, and there was no time before time. Then there may be said to them : God Almighty could have made the altitude of the upper sphere a cubit more or a cubit less than it is. If they say He could not, that is declaring Him impotent, and if a thing cannot be greater, or smaller than it is, its being in its state is necessary not contingent, and the necessary is independent of a cause. They do indeed conceal their doctrine by the assertion that God is the creator of the world ; but this is with them a figurative expression, not a reality, for a doer wishes what he does, and according to them the world appeared of necessity, not because God made it. One of their doctrines is that the world is to last for ever, its existence having no end as it had no beginning, because, they say, it is caused by eternal causation, and the caused co-exists with the cause. But if the world be contingent, then it is neither from eternity nor caused.

Galen said : If the sun, for example, were capable of annihilation, some decay would have appeared therein in all this long period. It may be said to him that a thing may perish suddenly of itself, without decaying. And besides how do they know that it is not decaying, when according to them it is about a hundred and seventy times the size of the earth ? If it were to lose the amount of a mountain, this would not appear to the sense. Besides we know that gold and the ruby are liable to corruption though they endure for years, and no diminution is per-

ceptible. No, creation and annihilation are by the will of the Mighty One, and the Mighty One changes not in Himself, neither acquires any fresh attribute. Operation is not changed by a will which has existed from eternity.

Naubakhtî in his *Book of Opinions and Religions* relates that Socrates held that the origins of things are three : an active cause, the element, and the form. God Almighty, he said, is the Agent ; the element is the primal substratum of being and corruption ; and the form is substance for the body. Another of them said : God is the active cause ; the element is the passive : and another said : reason ordered things as they are arranged. Another said : Nature did it.

Yahya b. Bishr b. 'Umair al-Nihawandî relates that certain philosophers said : Since we witness the world combining and separating, moving and quiescent, we know that it has had a beginning, and must necessarily have had a starter. Then we see how a man falls into the water not knowing how to swim, or into the fire, and calls for help to that Creator and Director, but He does not help him ; whence we know that that Creator has no existence. These philosophers, he says, were divided into three sects on the question of the non-existence of the Creator-director. One asserted that having completed the world, he was satisfied with it and afraid lest he might add to it or take away from it, and destroyed himself so that the world is without him, and the rulings (of fate ?) go on between his creatures animate and inanimate anyhow. The second of these sects say : No, discord appeared in the substance of the Creator and kept on attracting his power and his light until the power and the light came into that discord, which constitutes the world ; the light of the Creator deteriorated, and all that remained of it was " a cat ".*.

They hold however that the light will be attracted from the world to Him, so as to be again as He was, and to weaken His creatures' portion. He has neglected them, and in consequence injustice is rife.

The third of these sects say : No, when the Creator had perfected the world, His parts were spread over it, so that all His power is in the world, that power being of the substance of divinity.

*Deriving *sinnaur* (cat) from *sa'a nur* (light deteriorated).

Observation of the author.

The statement of Nihawandî is in a copy in the Nizamîyyah written some two hundred years ago. Were it not that such things had been said and transmitted and that the mention of them shows what the Devil has done in the matter of deluding, it would have been better to avoid mention of them, out of reverence for God Almighty; we have however explained the advantage to be got from their being recorded.

Most of the philosophers take the view that God Almighty knows Himself, but nothing else; it is admitted that the creature knows both himself and his Creator; hence the rank of the creature must be superior to the Creator's.

This in my opinion is too clearly horrible to be worthy of discussion; only look at the traps set by the Devil for these fools for all their profession of consummate intelligence. Avicenna differs from them on this point, holding that God knows Himself, and knows Universals, but not particulars. This doctrine was learned from them by the Mu'tazils, who seem to have thought knowledge of both too much. Praise be to God who has made us of those who reject from Him ignorance and deficiency, and believe in His word *Knoweth He not whom He hath created* (lxvii. 14) and *He knoweth what is on land and sea, and there falleth not a leaf but He knoweth it* (vi. 59). And they took the view that God's knowledge and power are His substance, in order to avoid making two eternal. The reply to them is to say that He is one eternal possessing attributes.

Further the philosophers reject the resurrection of the bodies and the return of the spirits into the bodies, and the existence of material Heaven and Hell. They assert that these are figures used for the sake of the common people who reject spiritual reward and punishment. They hold that the soul endures after death eternally either in indescribable pleasure—such being perfect souls—or indescribable pain—such being polluted souls. The degrees of suffering vary with different people and the pain will be removed from some and cease. To them it may be said: We do not deny the existence of the soul after death, and its return is in consequence called restoration: nor that it is to have felicity or damnation; only what prevents the resurrection of the bodies? And why should we reject bodily pleasures and pains in Paradise

and Hell, when the Code affirms them? We believe in a combination of the two felicities and damnations, the spiritual and the bodily. Your treating realities as figures is arbitrary, having no evidence. If they say: Bodies are dissolved, devoured, and changed: we answer: Nothing can stand before Might. Further, man is man and, supposing a body were to be made for him from mould other than that whereof he was made, he would not cease to be himself, as indeed his parts change from youth to age and to emaciation and obesity. If they say: The body is not a body until it ascend from one state to another till it becomes flesh and veins: we reply that the might of God is not restricted to what we understand and witness. Further we have been told by our Prophet that the bodies will grow in the graves before resurrection. There is a tradition, traced to Abu Hurairah, that the Prophet said: Between the two blasts there are but forty. They said: O Abu Hurairah, forty days?—He said: I decline to answer.—Forty months?—He said; I decline.—Forty years?—He said: I decline. Then God will send down water from the heaven and they will grow like vegetables. He added: There is no part of a man but will decay except one bone, the *os sacrum*; from that he was created, and thence will mankind be recomposed on the Day of Resurrection.—The Tradition is to be found in the two *Sahih*.

Now the Devil has deluded some of our coreligionists and got at them through the door of their sagacity and intelligence, showing them that it is right to follow the philosophers, owing to their being sages, from whom there have proceeded deeds and words which indicate their extreme sagacity and perfection of intellect, as is recorded of the wisdom of Socrates, Hippocrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Galen. These persons certainly possessed attainments in mechanics, logic, and natural science, and by their sagacity they discovered hidden things. Only when they talked of theology they mixed things up, and so differed on this subject, whereas they did not differ about things of the senses and mechanics. We have recorded the confusion of their tenets, and the cause of this confusion is that human abilities do not apprehend the sciences save generally, and recourse must be had therein to the Codes.

Now these people of latter days in our community were told that those sages denied the Creator and rejected the codes, believing them to be cunningly devised expe-

dients; the former accepted what was told them of the latter, repudiated the badge of religion, neglected prayer, handled forbidden things, despised the precepts of the code, and threw off the bonds of Islam. The Jews and Christians are more excusable than they, because the former do hold to codes proved by miracles. The religious innovators are also more excusable, because they profess to study the evidences. Whereas these have no support for their unbelief except their knowledge that the philosophers were sages. Do you suppose they do not know that the Prophets were sages and something more ?

What has been told these philosophers about the denial of the Creator is absurd ; for most people affirm the existence of the Creator, and do not reject prophecies, only have neglected to study them ; a few of them are exceptional and follow the materialists, whose minds are simply corrupt. We have seen among the philosophers of our own community a number whose philosophizing has gained for them nothing but bewilderment. They act neither according to its precepts nor those of Islam. Nay, there are some of them who fast during Ramadân, and say their prayers, and then start objecting to the Creator and the prophecies, and in their talk reject the resurrection of the bodies. Scarcely any of them are to be seen who are not afflicted with poverty and injured thereby. Such a person spends most of his time in railing at fate and objecting to the Disposer ; indeed one of them said to me : I quarrel only with Him who is above the sphere. He composed many verses on this theme. One of them was about this world

Without a craftsman is it work of craft ?

Without an archer possibly a shaft ?

Others

Strange this existence, with no option brought
To us beforehand and no knowledge taught !
'Tis like some labyrinth from which no skill
Can rescue, no, nor wisdom nor strong will.
We grope in darkness which no sun makes bright,
Nor moon, nor firestick gives a ray of light.
Bewildered, dazed, held fast in her embrace
By Ignorance, with frown upon her face.
And what is wrought therein is doubtless work ;
But what is said thereon is idle talk.

Since both philosophy and monasticism were near in time to that of our law, some of our coreligionists stretched out their hands to take hold of the one and others to take hold of the other. So you will find many foolish people when they study doctrine philosophize, and when they study asceticism become eremites. We pray God to keep us steadfast in our religion and safe from our enemy. Truly He is one who answers.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(To be continued.)

NIZAMU'L-MULK ASAF JAH I*

FOUNDER OF THE HYDERABAD STATE

Ascendancy of the Sayyid brothers

ON his death-bed, Asad Khân, the veteran who had so long been Chief Minister of Aurangzib, was consulted by Farrukhsiyâr, through a man of distinction, as to how to get rid of the Sayyid brothers who had monopolised all power in the State. The dying man is reported to have given the following reply:—"You have committed a great error under the impulse of destiny in that you ruined my family. You will reap its consequences. I am afraid ruin and destruction have already crept under the pillars of the Timurid State. Now that the Sayyids have all authority and Empire in their hands, it is advisable to co-operate with them as far as possible, lest your dissensions should create discords and disaffection, compelling you to suffer the reins of authority to slip absolutely out of your hands" (*Siyar*, vol. 2, p. 406).

Asad Khan was right. He was conscious of the fact that internal dissensions between the Emperor and the Sayyid brothers would result in a violent crisis which would shake the very foundations of the Empire. He saw clearly the trend of the situation towards complete political disintegration. In view of these circumstances he advised the Emperor to avoid conflict with the Sayyid brothers at any cost. Doubtless the Sayyid brothers were not in any way worse than other nobles of the court, who were all unscrupulous enough to sacrifice the good of the country to their private interests. On the contrary, they were both men of considerable ability, superior in character and talents to most of their contemporaries. Qutbu'l-Mulk and Amîru'l-Umarâ knew perfectly well that the Emperor had no will or discretion of his own. Being immersed in pleasure, he wanted to leave the administration of the country in the hands of Mîr Jumla,

* The two previous instalments of this article appeared in our July and October numbers 1934 (*Islamic Culture*, vol. VIII No. 3 and 4).

that crafty, self-seeking villain. The Sayyid brothers held the highest civil and military posts and desired that no promotions or appointments should be made or ranks conferred without consulting them. They resented the interference of *Mîr Jumla* in matters that concerned their office. *Mîr Jumla*, being more wily and intriguing, succeeded in depreciating the two brothers in the eyes of the Emperor and in making him believe that they desired to usurp all authority for themselves and their relatives, leaving him a mere puppet.

To weaken the power of the Sayyid brothers, a scheme was contrived by *Mîr Jumla* to separate the two brothers. First it was proposed by the Emperor to send Huseyn 'Alî Khân against Râja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur, who, after the death of Aurangzib, had been guilty of many improper acts and encroachments. During the campaign in Râjputana, Huseyn 'Alî Khân received messages from his brother urging him to return to the capital without delay. Amîru'l-Umarâ (Huseyn 'Alî Khân) felt anxious for his brother and patched up a hurried peace with Râja Ajit Singh who, finding himself unable to resist, agreed to pay tribute and to give his daughter in marriage to Farrukhsiyâr in accordance with the mode called *Dola* during the earlier Mughal reigns. *Khafi Khan*, vol. 2, p. 737).

After settling the terms of peace, Amîru'l-Umarâ set out and reached the capital on 16 July, 1714. The Emperor, being a weak man, failed to achieve any of his schemes. Most of the nobility felt disheartened, not so much for sympathy with the Sayyid brothers as on account of the capriciousness of the Emperor, who had started favouring men of low origin like Muhammad Murâd, a wily Kashmirî and others of his ilk. They tacitly sided with the Sayyid brothers. The name of I'timâdu'd-Daulah (Muhammad Amîn Khân) may be cited as one of them. Now *Mîr Jumla* persuaded the Emperor to appoint Amîru'l-Umarâ as Viceroy of the Deccan, in place of Nizâmu'l-Mulk, in order to separate him from his brother, the Chief Minister. Amîru'l-Umarâ, knowing as he did the resources of the Deccan, welcomed this opportunity and hoped to use it for the consolidation of his own and his brother's position. He accepted the offer, but desired to exercise the duties of his office through a deputy appointed by himself, in accordance with the practice established by Zulfikâr Khân, when the latter enjoyed complete ascendancy in the affairs of the State.

He thought of appointing Daûd Khân as his deputy in the Deccan, and himself remaining in the Capital, and making an agreement with the latter for the annual payments as Zulfiqâr Khân had done before him. The Emperor, under the influence of his advisers, did not approve of this scheme. This difference of opinion caused a great deal of heart-burning, so much so that the Sayyid brothers refrained from attending the court and adopted an attitude of defiance towards the Imperial authority. The Empress-mother, well known for her prudence and foresight, came to know of the deadlock. She paid a visit to Qutbu'l-Mulk, the Chief Minister, and succeeded in making him promise to be reconciled with the Emperor. After long negotiations between the two parties it was finally decided to end the friction by sending Huseyn 'Alî Khân to the Deccan and Mîr Jumla to the Subedâri of Patna.

Under such circumstances, Huseyn 'Alî Khân set out for the Deccan on 4 April, 1715, by way of Ajmer. In his last audience, he is reported to have declared plainly to the Emperor that if anything untoward happened to his brother, or if the agreement was not properly observed, His Majesty might rest assured to find him in the capital, within twenty days. Before starting for the Deccan he also took the power to appoint or dismiss civil officials and to transfer Qiledârs at his discretion. No sooner did Huseyn 'Alî Khân leave the capital, than the Emperor and the court party started intriguing against him. A letter was despatched to Daûd Khân Pannî, in the name of the Emperor, directing him to assume charge of the Government of Khandesh and destroy Huseyn 'Alî Khân and his army. Hope was also held out to him that, if he succeeded in destroying the Amîru'l-Umarâ, he would be made Sûbedâr of the six provinces of the Deccan, a prize worth fighting for. Daûd Khân Pannî, being in no way less ambitious than his rival, reached Burhânpur by forced marches and assumed the function of viceroyalty.

When the Amîru'l-Umarâ reached Akbarpur, he received intelligence of the designs of Daûd Khân Pannî. He sent him a message saying that, as the whole Sûbedari of the Deccan had been conferred upon him, therefore it was his (Daûd Khân's) duty not to overstep the bounds of subordination, but to hasten to meet him; else he had better proceed to the Emperor to avoid disturbance and shedding of the blood of Muslims (*Khafi Khan*, vol.2, p. 751).

Daūd Khān, confident of his power and resources, could not yield so easily to the demands of his rival. He had already enlisted the support of Nemâjî Sindhiâ and several other Mahrâtta chiefs who had all encamped in the vicinity of Burhānpur; and, acting in accordance with the temporising rule, waited to see on whom the gods of chance would confer the prize of the Deccan. Daūd Khān Pannî was over credulous in believing in the sincerity of these Mahrâtta chiefs. A bloody fight was fought on the plain outside Burhānpur. Daūd Khān Pannî, famed for his bravery, had gone prepared for personal combat with the Amîru'l-Umarâ, but in the course of the battle he was struck by a musket ball which killed him. His followers, as usual in such cases, dispersed and fled in all directions. The perfidious policy of Nemâjî Sindhiâ was mainly responsible for demoralising the nearly victorious armies of Daūd Khān Pannî. He would have better consulted his interest by withdrawing in the height of the battle and taking to flight (*Ibid.* p. 754).

Nemâjî Sindhiâ and his followers were the first to come out to offer congratulations to the Amîru'l-Umarâ on his victory. They started plundering the baggage and other effects of Daūd Khān's army and contented themselves with collecting rich booty. This victory gave the Amîru'l-Umarâ undisputed authority over the six Subas of the Deccan.

When the news of the defeat and death of Daūd Khān Pannî was reported to the Emperor he felt much aggrieved and said to Qutbu'l Mulk in the course of conversation that it was a matter of regret that such a noble chief had been killed unjustly. Qutbu'l-Mulk replied, "If my brother had been slain by the hand of the Afghan, it would have been just and would have given your Majesty satisfaction." (*Ibid.* p. 755).

The Amîru'l-Umarâ settled down at Aurangâbâd and busied himself in attending to the administration and suppressing the spirit of insubordination and revolt shown by the Mahrâtta, who were instigated by the Emperor from Delhi to oppose him in all possible ways. This made the Amîru'l-Umarâ furious against the Emperor. He moreover, resented the interference of Farruksiyâr concerning the appointments in the Deccan, which he considered to be derogatory to his authority as well as in contravention of the terms settled between the Emperor

and the two brothers, through the intercession of the Empress-mother.

At first the Amîru'l-Umarâ, confident of his power, undertook to clear the country of the Mahrâtta Chiefs who, after the departure of Nizâmu'l-Mulk, had again started collecting blackmail in the Imperial provinces. He thought of following the vigorous policy of Nizamu'l-Mulk, which had greatly tended to subvert the Mahrâtta influence. The contest between the Mahrâtts and the Mughals was not quite decided but the balance was turning clearly to the side of the latter when Nizâmu'l-Mulk was recalled before he could complete his work. The Amîru'l-Umarâ directed an expedition against Khândêrâo Dâbhade who had held the province of Khandesh in his charge. The latter had constructed a number of mud forts and military posts along the Sûrat-Burhânpur road, and usually exacted one-fourth of the value of effects from merchants and travellers. If they paid the required sum, it was well; otherwise they were plundered, captured, held up to ransom and kept in durance for long periods. (*Ibid*, p. 778).

The Amîru'l-Umarâ despatched a force of four thousand horse and five or six thousand musketeers under Zulfiqâr Beg, his paymaster, in order to punish Khândêrâo Dâbhade, destroy his fortress and redress the most atrocious wrongs caused by his depredations. When Khândêrâo Dâbhade received intelligence of Zulfiqâr Beg's march, he pretended to retire to hilly fastnesses, suffering himself to be pursued by Zulfiqâr Beg, who, being inexperienced in the art of Deccan warfare, fell into the snare, and advanced to chase him. When the Mughals were divided in the defiles, the Mahrâtts fell upon them from their retreats and, closing all paths behind them, inflicted a severe defeat. Zulfiqâr Beg and many of his followers were killed in the battle, and their baggage and other effects were looted by the Mahrâtts. Those who laid down their arms to save their lives were made prisoners.

On the news of this disaster Huseyn 'Alî Khân despatched Râjâ Muhkam Singh, his Dîwân, with a suitable army, to avenge the honour of his arms; and also directed Seyfu'd-dîn 'Alî Khân, his younger brother, who was acting as the Sûbedâr of Burhânpur, to help the latter in this campaign. The two generals advanced against the Mahrâtts, but failed to achieve any substantial

results. Khândêrão Dâbhade molested their force by means of guerilla warfare. His men used to retire when the Mughal army approached and when they departed they used to reoccupy their former positions, thus rendering their operations futile. For his successful conduct of warfare against the Mughals, Khândêrão Dâbhade was raised to the rank of Senâpati, or commander-in-chief, when he presented himself at the court of Râja Sâhû.

The reverses of the Amîru'l-Umarâ's army in the Deccan gave satisfaction to the Emperor who, for his part, left no stone unturned to incite the Mahrâtta chiefs and urge the Imperial officers to defy his authority in any way they could. He also sent secret orders to the chief land-holders of the Deccan to withhold payment of revenue to his collectors. This encouraged the lawless population in the provinces of Bījâpur and the Carnatic to stir up disaffection against the régime of the Amîru'l-Umarâ. The Mahrâtts, pretending to be acting in the name of the Emperor, realised the revenue, and dismissed the collectors appointed by the Amîru'l-Umarâ. Especially in the Provinces of Bījâpur and the Carnatic, the latter's rule existed only in name.

Seeing his authority thus undermined the Amîru'l-Umarâ had no alternative but to have recourse to diplomacy. He started negotiating with Sâhû with a view to an agreement with him as regards the administration of the Deccan. Muhammed Anwar Khân, sûbedâr of Burhânpur, supported him in this resolve. He, therefore, sent his ambassador Shankrajî Malhar, originally a Brahmin clerk in the service of Sîvajî, who rose to eminence after the conquest of Jinjî by the Mughals and entered the Imperial service, to the court of Râja Sâhû. Bâlâjî Vishwanâth and Jamnâjî conducted the negotiations on behalf of the latter. They insisted on making the agreement entered into between Zulfiqâr Khân and Râja Sâhû, the basis of their discussions. This treaty expressly gave Râja Sâhû the right of collecting chauth and Sardeshmukhî in the Imperial provinces, subject to the condition that the money was directly to be realised by the officials of the Imperial Government and then paid out to the Mahrâtta agents. Later Râja Sâhû had agreed to forego the right of Sardeshmukhî, by means of a settlement to which he and Daûd Khân Pannî, the deputy of Zulfiqâr Khân, were the parties. Bâlâjî Vishwanâth proposed

that the right of levying Chauth and Sardeshmukhî in the six provinces of the Deccan should be duly recognised and confirmed by the Amîru'l-Umarâ.¹ These dues were to be levied directly by the Mahrâtta agents, and not paid out to the Mahrâtta court by the Imperial Government, as stipulated in the agreement arrived at between Râja Sâhû and Zulfiqâr Khân, six years earlier. Secondly, it was proposed that the Mahrâtta court should also be entitled to a share of 35 per cent. in the 'abvâbs' (illegal charges) and the 'râhdari' (road duties) realised from the ryots, merchants and travellers. Thus they were to be entitled to half the total revenue recorded in the Government rent-roll. (*Khafi Khan*, vol. 2, p. 784). Thirdly, two Mahrâtta generals were to reside at Aurangâbâd, with a body of troops, as deputies of Râja Sâhû, in order to safeguard the interests of the Mahrâtta court. Fourthly, Râja Sâhû would be allowed to possess sovereign power over the territory which formerly belonged to Sivajî, including the Carnatic districts, with the exception of Khandesh, in lieu of which he should get the adjoining districts of Pandhârpur and Trimbak².

If all the aforesaid conditons were accepted by the Amîru'l-Umarâ, then in that case Bâlâjî Vishwanâth agreed to recognise the sovereignty of the Emperor and to pay an annual tribute of ten lakhs of rupees, in return for the districts ceded back to Râja Sâhû. The latter also held himself responsible for the maintenance of peace and order in the territory where he levied chauth and Sardeshmukhî and promised to protect the life and property of the inhabitants against violence and plunder. Moreover he agreed to keep fifteen thousand horse at the disposal of the Viceroy of the Deccan.

(1) The Deed for the Chauth is dated 22nd Rabî'u'l Akhir, 1181 (A.H.), and grants to Râja Sâhû the fourth of the whole revenue of the six provinces of the Deccan. The Sardeshmukhî grant is dated 4th Jamâdiu'l-Awwal. It was initialled after twelve days haggling on the part of both parties (*Grant Duff*, vol., p. 372).

(2) The following is the list of the sixteen districts included in the grant of sovereignty. 1. Poona. 2. Supa including Baramatti 3. Indapur 4. Wai. 5. Mawul. 6. Satara. 7. Karar. 8. Kattaol. 9. Maun. 10. Phaltam. 11. Malkapur. 12. Tarla. 13. Panalla. 14. Azerah. 15. Junner. 16. Kolhâpur.

The Konkan territory handed over to the Mahrâtta consisted of the following sub-divisions :—

Gandavi, Jowur, Choule, Bimgarh, Binre, Kaliani, Rajpuri, Dabul, Jowli, Rajpur, Ponda, Akola and Kudal. (*Ibid*, p. 373).

The Amîru'l-Umarâ accepted these humiliating terms without demur and delivered a Sanad, under his seal, to the agents of Râja Sâhû. He also wrote to the Emperor for the confirmation of the treaty entered into between Râja Sâhû and himself. In accordance with the terms of the treaty, Bâlâjî appointed permanent Mahrâtâ officials (Ghumâshtedârs) in all the districts of the Mughal Deccan, to collect chauth and Sardeshmukhî. He himself and Jamnâjî took up their residence at Aurangâbad as Vakîls (*Khafi Khan* vol. 2, p. 786).

When Farrukhsiyâr was apprised of the terms of the treaty, he refused to ratify it on the ground that it was at once derogatory and dangerous. He could not possibly allow the new political combination between the Amîru'l-Umarâ and Râjâ Sâhû, to grow and receive official sanction. This attitude of the Emperor precipitated open rupture between him and the Sayyid brothers. Moreover, the Amîru'l-Umarâ had been for sometime past constantly receiving letters from his brother, urging him to come to Delhi as soon as possible. The court intriguers had started to conspire against his authority; and Mîr Jumla, in contravention of the compact that had ended the first rupture between the Emperor and the Sayyid brothers, had returned to the capital.

On receiving this news from his brother, the Amîru'l-Umarâ asked to be permitted to go to the capital in order to repair his health. He complained that the Deccan climate did not agree with him and that he was in need of a change. To this the Emperor replied: "You may proceed to Ahmedâbâd for a change. If your health does not recover there you may then come to the capital". (*Khafi Khan* vol. 2 p. 795).

The Emperor, fully realising that the Sayyid brothers were contemplating his downfall, attempted a new combination to strengthen his position. Sarbuland Khân, well-known for his valour and wisdom, and considered to be readily accessible to Imperial overtures, was summoned to court, where he arrived on 8 July, 1718 along with a large number of troops. He was promised the office of Chief Minister after the down fall of Qutbu'l-Mulk, and was raised to the rank of 7,000 personal 6,000 horse with the title of Mubârizu'l-Mulk Nâmwar Jung. He was prompted to undertake a contest with Qutbu'l-Mulk. But he soon found out that Muhammad Murâd, who had obtained complete ascendancy over his Imperial master,

to the chagrin of the entire nobility, was playing his own game through him. Therefore, he drew back from active participation in the intrigue against the Sayyid brothers. It did not take him long to realise that he was to be used merely as a tool for the aggrandisement of others.

Nizâmu'l-Mulk was another person who enjoyed the reputation of a stout fighter and whom the court party considered could overthrow the Sayyid brothers. He was summoned from Murâdâbâd, where he was acting as Faujdâr after his return from the Deccan and had been specially appointed to chastise the rebels of the Siwalik hills and to restore peace and security in that part of the country. He preferred to remain at Murâdâbâd, where he held a large fief, than to go to the court and share the insults offered to the nobility by upstarts of low birth and disreputable character. He too was sent for with a promise that after the fall of Qutbu'l-Mulk, he would be exalted to the Chief Ministership of the realm. He was received and escorted to the court by Nawâb Sa'âdat Khân.

Nizâmu'l-Mulk was a man of shrewd intelligence. It did not take him long to form his independent judgment upon the state of affairs in the capital. He wisely refrained from committing himself to any definite proposal or opinion. He felt extremely disgusted at the levity of the Emperor and his favourites. When Farrukhsiyâr failed to employ him for his designs, he estranged him still further by confiscating all his estates in the neighbourhood of Murâdâbâd and bestowing them upon Muhammad Murâd (I'tiqâd Khân). The obstinacy of the Emperor alienated Nizamu'l-Mulk who found himself absolutely unable to defer to men of the type of I'tiqâd Khân.

Now, having failed to gain the goodwill of Sarbuland Khân and Nizâmu'l-Mulk the Emperor sent a pressing invitation to Râja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur, his father-in-law, who was then acting as Sûbedâr of Ahmedâbâd, to come to the capital for urgent consultation. After his arrival at the court, he was raised to the hereditary title of Mahârâjâ. He was a close friend of Qutbu'l-Mulk. He knew the Emperor too well to rely upon his promises which were never meant to be kept. He, however, succeeded in effecting a temporary reconciliation between the Emperor and the Chief Minister.

Thus the Emperor was constantly disappointed in his designs to bring about the downfall of the Sayyid brothers. He offered Sarbuland Khân the Sûbedâri of Kabul which had fallen vacant at this time and thus bound him by the sense of obligation. (*Khafi Khan* vol. 2, p. 802).

Qutbu'l-Mulk tried to win over Nizâmu'l-Mulk by promising him the Government of Mâlwa, if he cared to remain neutral in the struggle which he knew full well would not be long in coming. Nizâmu'l-Mulk was extremely dissatisfied with the treatment meted out to him by the Emperor. His estates had been confiscated and conferred on I'tiqâd Khân, the favourite of the Emperor, whom Nizâmu'l-Mulk and other nobles detested. Qutbu'l-Mulk profited from the mistakes of the Emperor. He paid a visit to Nizâmu'l-Mulk, who felt seriously aggrieved against the Emperor, and by his tactful behaviour won him over to his side. Thus, he made peace with the three most influential nobles at the capital, and well prepared the ground for the future contest. Qutbu'l-Mulk also visited Khân-i-Daurân, superintendent of the audience-hall and paymaster of the Emperor's personal troops, who was also chafing at the increasing influence of I'tiqâd Khân, and succeeded in gaining his goodwill also. He thus smoothed away all opposition with tact and treasure.

Then Qutbu'l-Mulk started raising troops in the capital. The troops were generally discontented with the Emperor on account of lack of regular pay and subsistence in the Imperial service and the consequent hardship they had to bear. In fact, Qutbu'l-Mulk had contrived things in such a manner, by his wilful neglect, that nine months' pay of the soldiery was in arrears. This had caused widespread discontent. Qutbu'l-Mulk made the best use of this situation. He started advancing money lavishly out of his own treasury and raised an army of twenty thousand men ready for any emergency. He had, however, sent Muhammad Amîn Khân Chîn (I'timâdu'd-Daula) as Sûbedâr of Mâlwa in place of Râja Jai Singh Sawâi, in anticipation of his plans to stop the march of the Amîru'l-Umara, if the latter dared proceed to the capital without his permission. Muhammad Amîn Khân, for his part, knew that his force of six thousand horse was inadequate to offer a successful resistance to the Amîru'l-Umarâ. Moreover, his relations with I'tiqâd Khân were by no means cordial. He considered him to be responsible for his removal to Mâlwa to

bear the brunt of Huseyn 'Alî Khân's (Amîru'l-Umarâ's) attack.*

Muhammad Amîn Khân wanted to avoid putting himself in this position. He left Mâlhwâ and repaired to the capital without asking permission from the Emperor. On arrival he was deprived of his rank, and his estates were confiscated. Qutbu'l-Mulk, who waited eagerly for such opportunities, succeeded in winning him over to his side. It was mainly through the intercession of Qutbu'l-Mulk that Muhammad Amîn Khân was allowed to live in the capital.

Thus Qutbu'l-Mulk, by his tactful manipulation, succeeded in gaining the general sympathy of the nobility, while the policy and behaviour of the Emperor towards men like Nizâmu'l-Mulk and Sarbuland Khân alienated them and sharpened their antagonism. Sarbuland Khân was reduced to extreme poverty. All his estates were transferred to Mîr Jumla. His property, including elephants, horses and household effects, was pawned with his creditors. He had resolved to retire from the world altogether and to become a recluse. To please him, Qutbu'l-Mulk visited him at his place and sent for his creditors to pay them out of his private treasury. He also paid the arrears of his officers' pay and completely conciliated them as well as the soldiery. (*Ibid*, p. 795).

Having received many letters from his brother, warning him of the risks of delay in reaching the capital, the Amîru'l-Umarâ, after making necessary arrangements at Aurangâbâd, despatched Seyfu'd-dîn 'Alî Khân, his brother, to Burhânpur, at the head of a vanguard of 5,000 men. The latter was directed to prepare a camp-equipage and to collect materials of war. 'Alam 'Alî Khân, nephew of the Amîru'l-Umarâ, whom the latter had adopted as his son, was appointed as his deputy in charge of the administration of the six subas of the Deccan. The Amîru'l-Umarâ began his march about November, 1718, in the direction of Delhi. His army was about 8,000 strong. Besides, he was accompanied by sixteen thousand Mahrâtâs, under the command of Bâlâjî Vishwanâth, the Peshwa, and Khânderâo Dâbhande Santâjî Bhosle, son of Pârsojî Bhosle, the Mahrâtâ governor of Berâr. The

*Muhammed Amîn Khân was superseded in the post of Bakhshî by Islâm Khân.

Amîru'l-Umarâ promised Bâlâjî Vishwanâth to pay eight annas daily each to his soldiers from the date of their starting on the march until their return home. Some big landholders of the Deccan also joined him. (*Ibid* p. 799).

On his way he made several new appointments, placing men whom he trusted in charge of the forts of Malhir and Salhir. After crossing the Nerbada at Akbarpur, the Amîru'l-Umarâ arrived at Mandû, where he met Ikhîlâs Khân who had been sent by the Emperor, on receiving intelligence of his march, to persuade him to go back to the Deccan. Ikhîlâs Khân was known to be a very tactful and persuasive man who had great influence upon the Sayyid brothers, and chiefly upon the Amîru'l-Umarâ.* Instead of preventing the latter from pursuing his march he did just the contrary. He warned him that the Emperor was doing his utmost to bring about the downfall of Qutbu'l-Mulk and that his presence was urgently required. This made him all the more anxious to get to Delhi. When the Amîru'l-Umarâ reached Ujjeyn, it was brought to his notice by Barqandâz Khân, faujdâr of Gwalior, that a reconciliation had been brought about between the Emperor and his brother, the Chief Minister. He also received letters from his agents at the court to this effect. On this the Amîru'l-Umarâ is reported to have observed, "If the Emperor no longer retains any animosity or rancour against us and will deal with us kindly and without malice, we have no other desire or intention but to behave as dutiful subjects. My object is only to pay homage to the Emperor, and also to reassure myself about certain matters, after which I shall soon return to the Deccan." But after two or three days he is reported to have said to some of his confidants that the Emperor's proceedings

* He was originally a khatri by caste and his name was Debidâs. Under the spiritual influence of Mullâ 'Abdullah Sialkoti, he embraced Islam and entered the service of the Emperor Aurangzîb. In the 29th year of Aurangzîb he was appointed Mushrif of Araiz, and in the 30th year he was made secretary of Rûhu'llah Khân. In the 39th year of Aurangzîb's reign he was raised to the rank of 400,300 horse, and appointed faujdâr of Indûr. In the 50th year he was promoted to be the Vakîl of the prince Shâh 'Alam (Bahâdur Shâh). The latter, after his accession, raised him to the rank of 2500, 1000 horse and bestowed upon him the title of Ikhîlâs Khân. He was a learned man and the Emperor was fond of his company. In the beginning of Farrukhsiyâr's reign he retired from service but was re-engaged by the Sayyid brothers as Mir Munshî. Later, he was raised to the rank of 7,000. He compiled a history of Farrukhsiyâr's reign, called *Padshahnama*. (*Ma'athiru'l-Umara*, vol. 1, pp. 351-52).

were mere snares which he was weaving to catch simpletons. Perhaps the Emperor was not aware of the saying "Where was a secret kept if it was mentioned in an assembly of people. By this the Amîru'l-Umarâ meant to show that he was fully aware of the secret designs and intentions of the Emperor, concerning his brother and himself. He was determined to put an end to this game of hide-and-seek and to cut short the long drawn-out struggle between his brother and the Emperor, which had been waxing and waning spasmodically for so a long a time. Numerous attempts at reconciliation had served as merely temporary devices, allowing breathing-time to both the parties concerned (*Ibid* p. 801).

From Ujjeyn, the Amîru'l-Umarâ made forced marches towards Delhi through the territory of Râja Jai Singh Sawâî, who was considered to be one of the principal agents of the Emperor. By the Amîru'l-Umarâ's instigation the villages were plundered. One of the high officials of the Râja brought some offerings which were not accepted. On reaching the neighbourhood of Delhi, the Amîru'l-Umarâ encamped near the pillar of Fîrûz Shâh. Men of distinction came to pay their respects to him from the capital. Against the established practice of the time, he ordered his drums to be beaten loudly in order that everybody in the capital might know his rebellious designs. He is reported to have said openly that he did not regard himself as any longer a subject of the Emperor; this is the reason why he ordered his drums to be beaten within earshot of the Emperor's residence, to declare his independence; loss of rank or Imperial displeasure being immaterial to him.

Râja Jai Singh Sawâî advised the Emperor to take strong measures to crush the rebellion of the Sayyids. But he was dispirited by the sense of uncertainty prevailing at the court. The Emperor was just as incapable of reconciliation with the Sayyid brothers as he was undecided as to any definite plan of action to consolidate his authority. Khâfî Khân well observes: "Now raging with anger he rolled up his sleeves; beginning with threatening vengeance against the two brothers, he ended by taking a conciliatory turn. He concealed himself behind the curtain of dissimulation and opened the door of amity upon the face of enmity." (*Ibid* p. 805).

Now, Qutbu'l-Mulk sent a message to the Emperor, stating his brother's grievances against him and proposing

terms of peace, if the Emperor desired it. He demanded that Râja Jai Singh Sawâi should forthwith be dismissed from service and ordered to go to his country. He further asked that the Emperor should have no initiative in so far as the nomination of the officers of the artillery and the Dîwân-i-Khâs was concerned and the appointment of the Emperor's personal attendants should be made in favour of Amîru'l-Umarâ's men. "If these conditions are accepted then the Amîru'l-Umarâ will have no objection to come down to pay homage to the Emperor as usual." "These demands were acceded to without any demur. Râja Jai Singh was ordered to leave the capital immediately for Amber. Qutbu'l-Mulk dismissed I'tiqâd Khân and other personal attendants of the Emperor who had intrigued against him, and placed those in their place whom he trusted as his creatures. Two days later further measures were taken to secure the fort by giving the keys of the gates of the palace, privy audience and the dormitory to his own men. After making these arrangements the Amîru'l-Umarâ set out to pay a visit to the Emperor. His army and that of the Mahrâtts had surrounded the fort. He presented himself in the Imperial presence with scant ceremony and then returned to his own palace after receiving the customary robes of honour and presents.

Next morning Qutbu'l-Mulk, accompanied by Râja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur and a selected escort, went to the Emperor and frankly opened his whole catalogue of grievances against him in the following words: "In return for exertions and services to you and to your ancestors and for risking our own lives for your sake, we have, ungrateful king, received only evil thoughts, suspicions and treacherous designs. We have, as proof of our words, the orders that you sent to Daûd Khân Afghan and other rebels in the Deccan. You have always contrived to act against your promises and agreements. At last your actions have reached a height of perfidy which is unheard of and unseen in this epoch. Our fears and suspicions will not be allayed until we acquire absolute control over all the great officers of the State without any conditions whatever." (*Khafi Khan*, vol. 2, p. 808).

The Emperor, on hearing the speech of Qutbu'l-Mulk could not restrain his temper and abused him for his infidelity. During the night the whole city was seething with commotion. At daybreak certain nobles, including Sa'âdat Khân, father-in-law of the Emperor, Ghâziu'd-dîn

Khân and A'izz Khân, the Turk, advanced towards the castle with their troops for a trial of strength with the Amîru'l-Umarâ. Meanwhile the followers of Khân-i-Daurân shot a few arrows in the direction where the Mahrâtta contingents were encamped. An exchange of shots followed. Some disbanded Mughal soldiers also joined the followers of Khân-i-Daurân. A regular engagement took place and the Mahrâtta, seized with panic, began to flee in various directions to seek safety. They were so much frightened that the 'butchers, washermen, and sweepers of the city by using their swords and sticks and sometimes even by their threats plundered whatever effects they could lay their hands on.' This gives a poor opinion of the pick of the Mahrâtta soldiery which, in fact, was hardly any better than a band of freebooters, fit only for the purposes of guerilla warfare, and scarcely capable of resistance in a pitched battle.

The disorderly flight of the Mahrâtta troops, on whom the Amîru'l-Umarâ was relying so much, created a panic in his army. The Mahrâtta generals were also dispirited because nearly fifteen hundred of their followers were slain, including Santâjî Bhosle. If the Emperor had previously designed a concerted action this was the time for him to strike. But he had already alienated the sympathies of the nobles by his foolish and capricious actions. None came out to espouse his cause. The general public disliked the idea of the Mahrâtta encamping within the limits of the Imperial city. But, as they had no especial cause to fight or die for, they kept silent and sullen.

The tables were turned in favour of the Sayyid brothers when the Tûrânî soldiery were seen carrying the banners of Nizâmu'l-Mulk and I'timâdu'd-Daulah (Muhammed Amîn Khân) in the direction of Amîru'l-Umarâ's camp. The presence of these two veterans revived the spirits of the latter's troops. The disbanded Mughal troops retired, seeing that Nizâmu'l-Mulk had joined Amîru'l-Umarâ's side. Meantime, drums loudly proclaimed the accession of Abul Barakât Rafî'u'd-Darajât, youngest son of Rafî'u'sh-Shân, to the throne and the imprisonment of Farrukhsiyâr. Najmu'd-dîn 'Alî Khân, younger brother of the Chief Minister, and Ratan Chand entered the palace with an escort of troops and dragged Farukhsiyâr out of his private apartments, where he had concealed himself. They blinded him in a most cruel manner and imprisoned him in a small, narrow room in the fort in which only

those prisoners were kept who were destined to be tortured for their heinous offences. He remained in captivity for two months when he was ordered to be killed in the most brutal manner.

By setting Rafi'ud-Darajât, a youth but twenty years of age, on the Imperial throne the Sayyid brothers reached the climax of their power. The young Emperor was suffering from consumption and was incapable physically as well as mentally of taking any initiative. The Sayyid brothers assumed control of all departments of the Government. They took possession of all the Imperial treasures and other valuable effects in the palace. Qutbu'l-Mulk, being of an amorous turn of mind, took several beauties of Farrukhsiyâr's zenana to himself. During the four months of Rafi'ud-Darajât's reign, the two brothers in spite of mutual jealousy exercised all sovereign powers in the State. They retained complete control over the person of the Emperor so long as he lived.

Rafi'ud-Darajât died on 11 June, 1719. His elder brother Rafi'ud-Daulah was then proclaimed Emperor, under the title of Shâhjahân II. He too was kept in strict control by Qutbu'l-Mulk and the Amîru'l-Umarâ. He was not even allowed to attend public prayer on Friday, so that he might not get any opportunity of coming into contact with the nobility and the people.

During the reign of Rafi'ud-Daulah, certain nobles planned the overthrow of the Sayyid brothers. Shâista Khân, maternal uncle of Farrukhsiyâr joined Râja Jai Singh in his designs and raised a considerable body of troops in the capital to help Nekûsiyâr, alleged to be a son of prince Muhammad Akbar (the fourth son of Aurangzîb) whom the Amîru'l-Umarâ had brought from the Deccan to play the rôle of royal pretender if occasion arose.* This prince had declared himself Emperor at Agra at the instigation of Râja Jai Singh, who wanted to use him for the purpose of overthrowing the Sayyid brothers. When Amîru'l-Umarâ was apprised of this, he attacked at once, succeeded in defeating the pretender's troops, seized all his property and effects and took him prisoner.

* The youth was the son of a Qâzi in one of the towns of the the Deccan. He was talented and good-looking and could very well be taken for a prince of the royal house. The fiction of having found, the son of Prince Akbar at Satâra, whose name was Mu'inuddîn Huseyn was intended to strengthen the position of the Amîru'l-Umarâ, *vis-a-vis* the Emperor Farrukhsiyâr. The Amîru'l-Umarâ gave out that this boy was the rightful heir to the throne, as he was the grandson of the Emperor Aurangzîb. (*The Later-Mughals*, vol. 1. p. 357).

Among others who openly declared themselves against the Sayyid brothers, Rûhullah Khân (grandson of Rûhullah Khân, Aurangzîb's Bakhshi) and Tahawwur Khân may be mentioned. Both of them joined Râja Jai Singh in his march on Agra to instal Nekûsiyâr on the throne. (*Ibid* p. 832).

The Amîru'l-Umarâ resolved to march in person to Agra in order to quell the rising there, which threatened to become dangerous. He marched at the head of thirty thousand horse and laid siege to the fort, on 23 June, 1719. The fort was taken after a struggle of three months. Nekûsiyâr and his adherents were captured. All the treasures accumulated there were appropriated by the Amîru'l-Umarâ himself, which aroused the jealousy of Qutbu'l-Mulk.

When Qutbu'l-Mulk was informed by his agents that treasures amounting to two or three crores of rupees had been appropriated by his brother, he felt much concerned and resolved to advance with the Emperor in the direction of Agra. The Emperor, who had been ailing for some time from dysentery, died at Bidyapur, in the vicinity of Fatehpur Sîkrî, on 18 September, 1719. Qutbu'l-Mulk did not allow this news to leak out until someone else had been chosen as his successor. He sent for the prince Rôshan Akhtar, son of the late Jehân Shâh, who had long been living a retired life. He was immediately proclaimed Emperor under the title of Abu'l-Muzaffar Nâsiru'd-dîn Muhammad Shâh Bâdshâh Ghâzî.

The new Emperor was fortunate in having a mother who was well acquainted with State affairs and was 'a woman of much intelligence and tact.' At first she exercised the greatest prudence in her dealing with the Sayyids. But she secretly endeavoured to free her son from the tutelage of Qutbu'l-Mulk and Amîru'l-Umarâ, who had over-reached themselves in their lust of power. The next scene in the drama of Muslim Indian history shows the downfall of the Sayyid brothers and the rise of Nizâmu'l-Mulk, who plays a conspicuous and decisive part therein. In fact the hand of Nizâmu'l-Mulk is clearly discernible in all the successive political events which took place during the reign of Muhammad Shâh; and, unlike other nobles, his motives of action invariably remained loyal and honourable, and his personal conduct beyond reproach.

YUSUF HUSAIN.

(To be continued.)

THE HIJRAH

A CHAPTER FROM IBN HISHAM

Of all the biographies of Muhammad "The Wars and Life of Muhammad" by Ibn Ishâq who died at Baghdâd in 150 A.H. (767 A.D.) or 151 A.H. is the earliest. He lived in Al-Madînah and devoted himself to the collection of the traditions and history of the life of the Prophet. On account of a conflict with other traditionists of the locality he left the city and went first to Egypt and then to the 'Irâq. He was induced to come to Baghdâd by the Caliph Al-Mansûr under whose auspices the work was published. Muhammad Ibn Ishâq is accepted as a sure and trustworthy authority in Traditions by the majority of the learned and a high character is ascribed to his work. This book, however, does not exist in its original shape but only in the recension of Ibn Hishâm, who was born in Basrah but grew up in Fustât where he died in 213 A.H. (828 A.D.) or according to others in 218 A.H. (833 A.D.) He has adopted the materials of Ibn Ishâq extensively in a complete and unaltered form in his work known as *Sîrat Ibn Hishâm*. In view of the fact that on comparison his extracts are found to tally almost word for word with the quotations by Al-Tabarî from the same passages of Ibn Ishâq, we may reasonably conclude that they are faithfully and accurately quoted.

The wonderful career of the Prophet is a subject worthy of the closest attention and study of mankind and, considering the great importance of Ibn Hishâm's as his oldest extant biography of sure and trustworthy authority it is highly desirable that it should be presented to the English-reading public in a faithful but readable translation without the sacrifice of accuracy or fact. In order to increase the usefulness of the book it will be my honest endeavour to add critical notes after a careful examination of the other early sources of the biography

of the Prophet. An extract from my translation is published here.

Translation.

THE COUNCIL OF QURAYSH.*

[Ibn Ishâq] When Quraysh found that the Messenger of Allâh had now a party and companions among other people outside their city and that his Meccan companions had emigrated to them, they realised that they (the Refugees) had found a home and obtained protection. So they were on their guard against the emigration of the Messenger of Allâh to them (the Helpers). They also realised that he had resolved to fight against them. So they assembled in the Council-house at the house of Qusay b. Kilâb in which Quraysh used to meet for deliberations as to what to do in every affair with regard to the Messenger of Allâh whenever they apprehended anything from him.

[Ibn Ishâq from a reliable friend from 'Abdu'llâh b. Abû Najîh from Mujâhid b. Jabr Abû'l Hajjâj and others through a reliable authority from 'Abdu'llâh b. 'Abbâs]. When they resolved upon this and decided to enter the Council-house for deliberation in the affair regarding the Messenger of Allâh, they rose up early on the appointed day which was called the Day of the Crowd. There appeared Iblîs in the shape of a respectable old man shrouded in a cloak, who stood at the door of the Council-house. When they saw him standing at the door they said, " Who is this old man ? " He replied that he was a Shaykh from Najd who had heard of their appointment and had come to them to hear what they would decide and haply he might not lack in helping them with judgment and advice. They said, " Yes, go in ". So he entered with them. There assembled the Quraysh chiefs: (of Banû 'Abd Shams) 'Utbah b. Rabî'ah, Shaybah b. Rabî'ah and Abû Sufyân b. Harb; (of Banû Nawfal b. 'Abd Manâf) Tu'aymah b. 'Adî, Jubayr b. Mut'am and Al-Hârith b. 'Amir b. Nawfal; (of Banû 'Abdu'd-Dâr b. Qusay) An-Nadr b. Al-Hârith b. Kaladah; (of Banû Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzâ) Abû'l-Bukhtarî b. Hishâm, Zam'ah b. Al-Aswad b. Al-Muttalib and Hakîm b. Hizâm; (of Banû Makhzûm) Abû Jahl b. Hishâm; (of Banû Sahm)

* Tabarî, vol. II, pp. 242-246, Egypt. ed. Ibn Sa'd, p. 158.

Nubayh and Munabbih—two sons of Al-Hajjâj ; and (of Banû Jumah) Umayyah b. Khalaf ; and there were many others of Quraysh. They said to one another, “ You have seen the affair of this man. By Allâh we are not safe from him. He may fall upon us with other people who have become his followers. Therefore, arrive at a decision with regard to him.” Then they deliberated. One said, “ Put him in chains and keep him confined in a closed house and wait till he meets with the same fate as befell men like the poets, Zuhayr and An-Nâbighah before, and those who met with such a death. The Shaykh from Najd said : “ No, by Allâh, this is no decision for you. By Allâh, if you imprison him, as you say, surely the news will pass out of the door of the prison-house to his followers who will fall upon you and snatch him away from your hands. Then they will outnumber you so as to prevail against you in your affairs. This is no decision at all to your advantage. Look out for another.” Again they deliberated upon it and another* said, “ We will expel him from among us and banish him from our city. When once he is driven away from us, by Allâh, we do not care whither he goes or what happens to him. When he will be away from us and we shall be free from him we will set aright our affair and friendship as before.” The Shaykh from Najd said, “ No, by Allâh, this is no decision for you. Have you not seen the beauty of his argument, the sweetness of his speech and the winning power that he exercises over the hearts of men ? By Allah, if you do that you will not be safe. He will go to some Arab tribe and win them over to his side by that speech and argument of his till they follow his opinion. Then he will lead them against you to trample you under foot in your town. He will capture your government and then treat you as he pleases. Devise some other decision ”. Then Abû Jahl b. Hishâm said, “ By Allâh, surely I have an opinion in this matter which I do not find you to have hit upon as yet.” They said, “ What is that, O Abû'l-Hikam (Father of wisdom)?” “ My opinion is,” said he “ that from every tribe we shall take a brave, steadfast and conspicuous young man of distinguished pedigree amongst us. Then we shall give every one of these brave youths a sharp sword. They will aim at him and strike him with these with the stroke

* According to Ibn Salâm, the men who suggested imprisonment and banishment were Abû'l Bukhtarî b. Hishâm and Abû'l Aswad Rabî'ah b. 'Amr respectively (*Ar-Rawdu'l Unuf*, vol. I, p. 291).

of one man and kill him. Thus we shall be rid of him. Surely when they will have done so his blood will be divided amongst all the tribes and the Banû 'Abd Manâf will not be able to wage war against all the tribes. So they will agree to accept the blood-price and we shall pay it to them." The old man of Najd said "This man's is a weighty saying. It is the right decision and none other." So having agreed upon this they dispersed. Then Gabriel came to the Messenger of Allâh and said, "Do not sleep this night on the bed you used to sleep on."

When one-third of the night had passed away they assembled at his gate and lay in wait for him, so that, when he would sleep they might rush upon him; but when the Messenger of Allâh found where they were, he said to 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib, "Lie on my bed and wrap yourself in this green ¹ Hadramawt mantle of mine and sleep in it; nothing unpleasant will reach you from them," and the Messenger of Allâh used to sleep in that mantle of his whenever he slept.²

[Ibn Ishâq from Yazîd b. Ziyâd from Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurzî]. When they assembled at the gate Abû Jahl b. Hishâm who was among them said to them, "Muhammad thinks that if you follow his command you will be the kings of the Arabs and the non-Arabs; then you will be raised after your death and there will be made for you gardens like the gardens of the Jordan. And if you do not do so, there will be slaughter amongst you; then you will be raised after your death, and there will be made for you a fire in which you will be burnt." At this time

(1) According to Ibn Sa'd, the mantle was red.

(2) Some narrators have added: The Prophet also said to 'Alî "If the son of Abû Quhâfah (Abû Bakr) comes to you, tell him to join me at Thawr where I am going. Send me food, hire for me a guide to lead me to Al-Madinah and buy a beast of conveyance for me." So saying the Messenger of Allâh came forth but Allâh blinded the eyes of those lying in ambush so that he passed beside them unnoticed.

When Abû Bakr came to 'Alî and enquired of the Prophet he said that the Prophet had gone to the cave of Mount Thawr and that he should see him there if necessary. Thereupon Abû Bakr proceeded in haste. Hearing the sound of Abû Bakr's feet the Prophet mistook him for a polytheist and walked in haste. The thong of his sandal was torn and his great toe was cut by a stone and bled and yet he ran faster. Abû Bakr, apprehending his hardship, spoke aloud. The Prophet then recognised him and stopped. Then they walked together and reached the cave in the morning and his toe was still bleeding. (Tabarî, vol. II, p. 244-45).

the Messenger of Allâh came forth to them and took a handful of dust in his hand. Then he said, "Yes, I say that, you are one of them." But Allâh had taken off their sight from him and so they did not see him. Then he began to scatter that dust upon their heads while reciting the verses beginning with

"Yâ-Sîn. By the Qur'ân, full of wisdom; most surely you are one of those sent, on a right way. A revelation of the Mighty, the Merciful."
and ending with the words,

"then we have covered them over so that they do not see." (Qur'ân, chapter XXXVI. 1-9).

By the time the Messenger of Allâh had finished these verses there was not a single man left among them but dust had been cast on his head. Then he went away where he intended to go. Then there came to them a person who was not among them and said, "What are you waiting here for?" "For Muhammad," they replied. "Allâh has disappointed you," he said again, "By Allâh, Muhammad has passed by you and he has not left amongst you any person but he has cast dust upon his head and gone away to his business. Do you not see what is on you?" Then every one of them put his hand on his head and lo, there was dust on it. So they began to peep¹ and see 'Alî on the bed wrapped in the mantle of the Messenger of Allâh. They said, "By Allâh, surely this is Muhammad sleeping with his mantle on." Thus they continued till it was morning² when 'Alî got up from the bed and they

(1) Quraysh were directing their looks to his clothes through the crevice of the door and deliberating as to which of them should attack him on the bed. The party lying in ambush at the gate of the Prophet consisted of (1) Abû Jahl (2) Al-Hakam b. Abî'l-'As (8) Uqbah b. Abî Mu'ayt (4) An-Nadr b. Al-Hârith (5) Umayyah b. Khalaf (6) Ibnu'l Ghaytalah (7) Zam'ah b. Al-Aswad (8) Tu'aymah b. 'Adî (9) Abû Lahab (10) Ubayy b. Khalaf and (11) Nubayh and (12) Munabbih—two sons of Al-Hajjâj. (Ibn Sa'd, p. 154).

(2) The house of the Prophet was surrounded by a low wall. It is said that the party made an attempt to force their way into the house by scaling the wall when a lady raised an alarm. Then they said to one another, "It will be a disgrace to us when the Arabs will say that we have violated the honour of our uncle's daughter". So they had to desist and wait for the Prophet's coming out of the house in the morning. (*Ar-Rawdu'l-Unuf*, vol. I, p. 292).

said, "By Allâh, surely the person who gave us the information spoke the truth¹".

[Ibn Ishâq] Among the verses of the Qur'ân that Allâh revealed regarding that day and the object for which they assembled is this—" And call to mind when those who disbelieved devised plans against you that they might confine you or slay you or drive you away ; and they devised plans and Allâh too had arranged a plan ; and Allâh is the best of planners." (ch. VIII : 30) and also the saying of Allâh—" Or do they say : A poet, we await for him the vicissitude of death. Say: Wait, for surely I too with you am of those who wait." (Ch. LII : 30-31).

[Ibn Ishâq] At this time Allâh granted permission to His Prophet to emigrate.

EMIGRATION OF THE PROPHET TO AL-MADINAH² AND THE COMPANIONSHIP OF ABU BAKR.³

In the cave of Thawr.

[Ibn Ishâq] Abû Bakr was a wealthy man ; whenever he asked permission from the Messenger of Allâh to emigrate he said, " Do not make a hurry. Perchance Allâh may give you a companion ". He became ambitious that the Messenger of Allâh meant none but himself when he told him so. So he purchased two camels⁴, tied them up in his house and fed them well by way of preparation for the journey.

(1) The party entered the house of the Prophet in the morning and were disappointed to see 'Alî rising up from the bed. They asked, " Where is your master ? " 'Alî replied " I don't know. Am I his keeper ? You ordered him to go away and he has gone away." Then they beat 'Alî, dragged him roughly to the mosque, kept him in detention for an hour, and then let him go. (Tabarî, vol. II, pp. 244-45). In the absence of such a tradition in the earlier sources we should accept it with caution in view of the fact that in later times it was natural for the partisans of 'Alî to magnify his services and sufferings in the cause of Islâm.

(2) The Editor of " Islamic Culture " suggested Yathrib for Al Madînah throughout, for excellent reasons. But Al Madînah is used because the writer has found it occurring in all the three editions of the *Sîrah* which he has been able to consult.

(3) Tabarî, vol. II, pp. 245-49 ; Ibn Sa'd, p. 153.

(4) The camels were bought at eight hundred dirhams from Banû Qushayr. The Prophet took one of them called Al-Qaswâ' (Ibn Sa'd, p. 153).

[Ibn Ishâq from a reliable person from 'Urwah b. Az-Zubayr from 'A'ishah, the Mother of the Believers]. The Messenger of Allâh never failed to pay a daily visit to the house of Abû Bakr either in the morning or in the evening. At last when the day came on which the Messenger of Allâh was granted permission to go forth from his own people at Makkah and emigrate to Al-Madînah, he came to us at mid-day—an hour in which he had never come before. As soon as Abû Bakr saw him, he said, "There must be some news that has brought the Messenger of Allâh at this hour." When the Prophet came in Abû Bakr came down from his seat, and the Messenger of Allâh took his seat thereon. At this time there was none with Abû Bakr other than myself and my sister Asmâ'. The Messenger of Allâh said, "Let them go away from here." "O Messenger of Allâh", said Abû Bakr, "these are my daughters; their presence is of no harm, may my parents be a ransom for you". The Prophet said, "Surely Allâh has granted me permission to go forth and emigrate". Abû Bakr said, "Should I go too, O Messenger of Allâh?" "Yes, accompany me," replied the Prophet. By Allâh, I had never known before that day anybody weeping in delight till I saw Abû Bakr weeping on that day. Then he said, "O Messenger of Allâh, I have got these two camels ready for the purpose." Then they hired 'Abdu'llâh b. Arqat*, a man of Banû Dayl b. Bakr, to guide them on their way. His mother belonged to Banû Sahm b. 'Amr and he was a polytheist. They committed the camels to his custody, and he kept them and grazed them for the appointed time.

[Ibn Ishâq] According to the reports that have reached me, nobody had any knowledge of the departure of the Messenger of Allâh except 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib, Abû Bakr as-Siddîq (the Truthful) and his family. In fact the Messenger of Allâh informed 'Alî of his departure and ordered him to remain behind at Makkah to pay on his

* 'Abdu'llâh b. Arqat (or Arqad or Urayqit) was a skilful guide accustomed to the devious tracks of the Yathrib route. His mother was a Qurayshite of Banû Sahm and his father belonged to Banû Dayl or Banû 'Abd b. 'Adî, a tribe affiliated to Quraysh. He was a polytheist, but they trusted him. (Ibn Sa'd, p. 155).

Muir wrongly translates as "Muhammad and Abû Bakr had given him quarter or pledge of protection" and gloats over the alleged "prophetic way in which subsequent principles and events were anticipated" by Al-Wâqidî.

behalf the trust property which other people had deposited with him. They knew of his truthfulness and trustworthiness and so, whenever anybody felt anxious about the safety of any article, he deposited it with the Prophet.

[Ibn Ishâq] When the Messenger of Allâh resolved to go forth, he came to Abû Bakr b. Abû Quhâfah. They went forth by a back window of the house of Abû Bakr, proceeded to a cave of mount Thawr outside Makkah and entered it.* Abû Bakr had instructed his son 'Abdu'llâh to listen to what people might say about them during the day and report the news of the day to them in the evening. He had also instructed his freedman 'Amir b. Fuhayrah to graze his goats during the day and bring them to the cave in the evening to provide them with milk. Asmâ' bt. Abû Bakr used to bring them proper food in the evening.

[Ibn Hishâm from a certain learned man from Al-Hasan b. Abû'l Hasan of Basrah] The Messenger of

* The lofty peak of Jabal Thawr lies to the south of Makkah at a distance of about an hour and a half. The pathway from the city is "excessively rugged and difficult." Near the summit of this mount is a cavern in which the Prophet and Abû Bakr took refuge. Its entrance which is "not more than a span and a half in breadth" is believed to be preserved in its original state.

Miracles have clustered around this cave as early as the second century of the Hijrah. Thus Al-Wâqidî says: After they entered a spider came and wove its webs over the mouth of the cave. Quraysh hotly searched after the Prophet till they reached the entrance of the cave. Some of them said, "Spiders are over it from before the birth of Muhammad," and so they turned back. Again: At the command of God, a tree grew at the entrance, a spider wove its web across it and thus the Prophet was covered and two wild pigeons settled on it. The youths of Quraysh, one from each clan, armed with sword, rods and sticks, came as close to the Prophet as within forty cubits; the foremost of them saw the pigeons and went back. When asked by his companions why he did not look into the cave he said that, he was sure from this that there was no-one in the cave. Hearing this the Prophet understood that God had diverted them by means of the pigeons. So he blessed them and made them sacred within the holy territory. (Ibn Sa'd, p. 154).

It appears that they entered the cave in the latter part of the night. It is quite probable that in the small hours of the morning a spider wove its web across the entrance. Most probably there was a bushy plant on the edge of the entrance with a pigeon's nest in it. The Quraysh youths who, after a long search, were feeling no hope of success at a place so close to Makkah, were easily diverted by the sight of a bushy plant with a pigeon's nest in it which seemed from a distance to have covered the small entrance. Subsequent embellishments have given all this the shape of a miracle. On the other hand it was natural for the refugees to regard them at that critical moment as heaven-sent.

Allâh and Abû Bakr reached the cave at night-time. Abû Bakr entered first and felt the interior with his hand in order to ascertain if there were any ferocious animals or serpents and thus to save the Messenger of Allâh at the risk of his own life.

[Ibn Ishâq] The Messenger of Allâh stayed in the cave for three nights with Abû Bakr. When Quraysh found him missing they proclaimed a prize of a hundred camels for him who should bring him back to them. 'Abdu'llâh b. Abû Bakr would remain with the Quraysh during the day-time and listen to their deliberations and statements with regard to the Messenger of Allâh and Abû Bakr. Then he would come to them in the evening and report the news to them. 'Amir b. Fuhayrah the freed-man of Abû Bakr would tend his flocks with the shepherds of Makkah and bring them to them in the evening. They would milk them and slaughter them for meat. When 'Abdu'llâh b. Abû Bakr proceeded from them towards Makkah at dawn, 'Amir b. Fuhayrah followed him with the flocks to avoid publicity. When three nights passed and the excitement of the people ceased, their guide whom they had hired brought the two camels for them and one for himself. Asmâ' brought food for the journey, but she had forgotten the strap for fastening it. When they were about to start, she went to fasten it but there was no strap. So she untied her girdle*, made it into a strap and fastened the bundle of travelling provision with it. So Asmâ' bt. Abû Bakr is known as the Owner of the Girdle.

[Ibn Hishâm] I heard a certain learned man say, "Owner of two girdles" meaning that when she intended to fasten the travelling provision she tore her girdle into two—with one strip she fastened the provision and the other she wore as a girdle.

[Ibn Ishâq] When Abû Bakr brought the two camels before the Prophet he offered him the swifter one and said, "Get on, may my parents be thy ransom". The Messenger of Allâh said, "Surely I do not ride on a camel which is not mine". "It is yours, O Messenger of Allâh," replied Abû Bakr, "may my parents be your ransom". "No" said the Prophet, "What is the price thou hast bought it for?" "For so much" replied Abû Bakr.

* It is a piece of cloth used by women as a belt by tying round the waist and letting down one end of it in front to the feet.
(*Muntaha'l-'Arab*).

"I take it for that much" said the Prophet. "Let it be so, O Messenger of Allâh" said Abû Bakr. So they rode and proceeded. Abû Bakr, the Truthful, took his freedman 'Amir b. Fuhayrah on his camel behind him for their service on the way.

[Ibn Ishâq from Asmâ' bt. Abî Bakr]. When the Messenger of Allâh and Abû Bakr had departed, a company of Quraysh with Abû Jahl b. Hishâm came to our house. As they stood at the gate, I came out to them. "Where is thy father?" said they. "By Allâh, I know not where he is", I replied. Upon this Abû Jahl who was a bad and impudent man slapped me on the face with such force that one of my earrings dropped. Then they went away. We passed three nights and yet we did not know whither the Messenger of Allâh had proceeded till one of the Jinn of Lower Makkah came by, singing a few couplets from the songs of Arab poets. People followed his voice, but could not see him. He was singing:

"May Allâh, the Lord of mankind, give the best reward to the two friends who alighted at the camp of Umm Ma'bad.¹

"They were entertained well and departed in the evening; lucky is the person who became the friend of Muhammad.

"Let Banû Ka'b congratulate their Lady (Umm Ma'bad). Her house is a place of resort for the Believers."

When we heard the statement of the Jinnî² we understood that the Messenger of Allâh had proceeded towards Al-Madînah.

(1) Her name was 'Atikah bt. Khuld (*Ar-Rawdu'l Unuf*, vol. II, p. 8) [Ibn Hishâm] Umm Ma'bad bt. Ka'b was a woman belonging to Banû Ka'b of the Khuzâ'ah tribe. She was a generous Bedawi woman of Qudayd. She used to sit at her tent-door with food and drink ready for any traveller who might pass that way. Thirsty and exhausted by the hurried march and scorched by the sun of June, the party of the Prophet refreshed themselves with goat's milk offered by the lady. Ibn Sa'd narrates this incident as a miracle of the Prophet as the she-goat which he milked was a dry one but her udder suddenly became full of milk at his prayer (Ibn Sa'd, p. 155). The lady later on accepted Islâm and migrated to Al-Madînah.

(*Ar-Rawdu'l Unuf*, vol. II, p. 8).

(2) The first tidings of the course taken by the Prophet was most probably brought to Makkah three days after the flight by an unknown traveller from the camp of Umm Ma'bad at Qudayd.

The party consisted of four persons :—

1. The Messenger of Allâh.
2. Abû Bakr as-Siddîq (the Truthful).
3. 'Amir b. Fuhayrah, the freedman of Abû Bakr and
4. 'Abdu'llâh b. Arqat¹ their guide.

[Ibn Ishâq from Yahya b. 'Abbâd b. 'Abdu'llâh b. Az-Zubayr from his father 'Abbâd from his grandmother Asmâ bt. Abî Bakr]. When Abû Bakr departed with the Messenger of Allâh he took away with him all his property amounting to five to six thousand dirhams. Then my grandfather Abû Quhâfah, who had lost his sight, visited us and said, "By Allâh, I think Abû Bakr has taken away all his property with him and left you in distress." I said, "No, Grandfather, he has left sufficient money for us." Then I placed some pebbles in the recess of a room where my father used to keep his money and covered them with a cloth. I led him thither by the hand and said, "Grandfather, put your hand on this money". So he put his hand on it and said, "There is no anxiety. He has done well in leaving you so much money. This will suffice for you." But in fact he had left us nothing. By doing so I only wished to comfort the old man.

SURAQAH, THE PURSUER OF THE PROPHET.

[Ibn Ishâq from Az-Zuhrî from 'Abdu'r Rahmân² b. Mâlik b. Ju'shum from his father from his uncle Surâqah b. Mâlik b. Ju'shum]. When the Messenger of Allâh went forth from Makkah as an emigrant to Al-Madînah, Quraysh announced a prize of one hundred camels for the person who would be able to bring him back before them. In the meanwhile I was sitting in an assembly of our tribe when one of us approached and, standing near, said : "By Allâh, surely I have seen three riders passing before me ; I think they are Muhammad and his companions." I hinted to him with my eyes to keep silent and said, "They may belong to such and such a tribe and were searching for their straying camel". Probably he then kept silent. After staying there for a little while I got

(1) [Ibn Hishâm] According to another version, 'Abdu'llâh b. Urayqit.

(2) [Ibn Hishâm] 'Abdu'r Rahmân was the son of Al-Hârith b. Mâlik b. Ju'shum.

up and went home. My horse was made ready and taken down the valley and my arms were taken out through a back-door of my house, according to my order. I took my divining arrows and put on my breast-plate. Then I took omen by drawing the arrows but to my dislike the arrow of "No harm to him" came out. I expected to bring him back to Quraysh and secure the prize of a hundred camels. So I rode on my horse and pursued him. My horse took a false step and I fell down from its back. I thought, "What is this?" Again I drew omen by taking the divining arrows and again the same arrow came out. But I was bent upon pursuing him, so I rode and followed his footsteps when my horse again stumbled and I fell down on the ground. I thought, "What is this?" I drew omen for the third time by taking the divining arrows, with the same result. Yet I persisted in pursuing him; so I rode and followed his footsteps. When the party was in sight my horse stumbled again and its fore-legs went down on to the ground and I fell down from its back. Then it drew out its fore-legs, and a smoke like a whirlwind followed them. When I saw this I understood that he was protected against me and this was evident. Then I called out to them, saying, "I am Surâqah b. Ju'shum, wait for me so that I may speak to you. By Allâh, nothing unpleasant will reach you from me." The Messenger of Allâh said to Abû Bakr—"Ask him what he wants from us." Abû Bakr asked me accordingly and I said, "Give me some writing which may serve as a mark between myself and yourself". "Write for him, O Abû Bakr," said the Prophet. So Abû Bakr wrote for me on a piece of bone or paper or rag and threw it towards me. I took it and put it into my quiver. Then I went back but spoke to none of what had happened. At last when the Messenger of Allâh conquered Makkah and became supreme after the battles of Hunayn and At-Tâ'if, I proceeded with that writing and met him at Al-Ji'rânah. I ran into a detachment of cavalry of the Ansâr who began to strike at me with their spears and said, "Go away, what do you want?" But I approached the Messenger of Allâh who was on his camel. I was looking at his shank in the leathern stirrup, which looked like the pith of a palm-tree. I raised my hand with that writing and said, "O Messenger of Allâh, this is thy writing to me. I am Surâqah b. Ju'shum". The Messenger of Allâh said, "It is the day of fulfilment and benevolence; let him come near me." Then I approached near him and accepted

Islâm¹. I tried to call to my mind something for which I should ask him, but I could not remember anything except this. I said, "O Messenger of Allâh, I fill my cistern with water for my camel but straying camels drink out of it; shall I have any reward for supplying water to them in this way?" "Yes" replied the Prophet, "there is reward for (supplying water to) every living thirsty liver." Then I returned to my people and sent him the amount of my poor-rate.

THE ROUTE.

[Ibn Ishâq] When 'Abdu'llâh b. Arqat, the guide, departed with them he led them down the lower quarter of Makkah. He proceeded with them towards the sea-shore till he changed the route below 'Ufan. He led them by Lower Amaj and went on till he struck off by a route after going beyond Qudayd. They proceeded further and reached Kharrâr. Then they travelled by Thaniyatu'l-Marâh and then by Laqfâ².

[Ibn Ishâq] Then they crossed Madlajah Laqf and passed through Madlajah Mijâj³. They travelled by Marjah in Dhû'l-'Udwayn⁴; then they passed through Dhû-Kashd, Al-Jadâjîd and Al-Ajrad. Then they travelled by Dhû-Salam in A'dâ Madlajah Ta'han and then by Al-'Âbâbid⁵. Then they crossed Al-Fâjah⁶.

[Ibn Hishâm] Then they went to Al-'Araj. One of the camels had become worn out. So a man of this place named Aws b. Hajar, who had accepted Islâm, supplied the Prophet with a fresh camel of his, named Ibnu'r-Radâ, to carry him to Al-Madînah, and also with a slave of his named Mas'ûd b. Hunaydah. Then they left Al-'Araj and struck off to the right and travelled by Thaniyatu'l-'A'ir⁷ till they came down to Batn Rîm. Then they arrived at the quarter of Banû 'Amr b. 'Awf in Qubâ'

(1) It is said that during the caliphate of 'Umar, Surâqah was presented by the Caliph with some jewels of the Persian Emperor received among the spoils of Persian conquest, in fulfilment of the Prophet's promise to him when he accepted Islâm (*Ar-Rawdu'l-Unuf*, part II, p. 6).

(2) [Ibn Hishâm] According to another version it is called 'Laftâ' as in a verse of Ma'qal b. Khuwaylid âl-Hudhali.

(3) [Ibn Hishâm], also called Mihâj.

(4) [Ibn Hishâm], also called Al-'Uswayn.

(5) [Ibn Hishâm], also called 'Abâbib or Al-Ghaythânah.

(6) [Ibn Hishâm], also called Al-Qâhah.

(7) [Ibn Hishâm], also called Thaniyyatu'l-Ghâ'ir.

on Monday, the 12th Rabi' I, at about midday when the sun was extremely hot.¹

THE ARRIVAL AT AL-MADINAH.

[Ibn Ishâq from Muhammad b. Ja'far b. Az-Zubayr from 'Urwah b. Az-Zubayr from 'Abdu'r Rahmân b. 'Uwaymir b. Sâ'idah from certain persons of his tribe from among the companions of the Messenger of Allâh]. When we heard that the Messenger of Allâh had started from Makkah and we were expecting his arrival, every morning after performing prayers we used to go outside the stony tract and wait for his arrival. We continued to stay there till the sun became hot. When we could not find any shade we came back to our houses, and it was the hot season. We went on in this way till the day of his arrival—we sat as usual till there was no shade left. When we had entered our houses he arrived, and the first who saw him was a Jew who had seen us waiting for the arrival of the Messenger of Allâh. He shouted at the top of his voice—"O Banû Qaulah², your sire has come". Then we went out and saw him under the shade of a date-palm with Abû Bakr of the same age. Most of us had not seen the Messenger of Allâh before. We were standing around him but could not distinguish him from Abû Bakr till the shade shifted from the Messenger of Allâh, and Abû Bakr stood up and provided shade for him with his wrapper. Then we knew him.

[Ibn Ishâq] The Messenger of Allâh alighted at the house of Kulthûm b. Hidm, the kinsman of Banû 'Amr b. 'Awf and belonging to the sub-tribe Banû 'Ubayd. According to another version, he alighted at the house of Sa'd b. Khaythamah. The narrator who says that the Prophet alighted at the house of Kulthûm b. Hidm adds that the Messenger of Allâh used to go out of the house of Kulthûm b. Hidm and receive people in audience at the house of Sa'd b. Khaythamah because he was a bachelor without family, and it was the alighting-place of the bachelor emigrants among the companions of the Messenger

(1) Ibn Sa'd gives the date of arrival as Monday, the 2nd or 12th Rabi' I. Taking the latter to be more authentic, it was June 28 A.D. 622, according to the calculation of M. Caussin de Perceval, and the 53rd year of the Prophet's life. Qubâ' is a suburb of Al-Madinah.

(2) Qaylah was the mother of the two patriarchs of the Banû Aws and the Banû Khazraj (Ibn Hishâm).

of Allâh ; so it is said that he had alighted at his house which is called the bachelors' quarters. Allâh knows best which of the two reports is correct. We have heard both. Abû Bakr as-Siddîq, put up with Khabîb b. Asâf of Banû'l Hârith b. Al-Khazraj at Sunh. According to another report he put up with Khârijah b. Zayd b. Abû Zuhayr of Banû'l Hârith b. Al-Khazraj. 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib remained at Makkah for three days and three nights till he had paid off all the deposits of the people on behalf of the Messenger of Allâh which he had received from them.

When 'Alî was free from this business he joined the Messenger of Allâh and put up with him in the house of Kulthûm b. Hidm. He stayed at Qubâ' only for a night or two. He says : At Qubâ' there was a Muslim widow. I saw, a man came to her house at midnight and knocked at her door. When she came out to him, he gave her something which he had brought and she received it. I was suspicious of her and said to her, " O maid-servant of Allâh, who is the man that knocks at your door every night and you come out to him and he gives you something. I do not know what it is. But you are a Muslim lady without a husband." " It is Sahl b. Hanîf b. Wâhib," replied she, " He knows that I have none to support me. At night he broke down the wooden idols of his tribe, brought them to me and said, ' Make fuel of it '." Sahl was so much loved by 'Alî on account of this act that he died by 'Alî's side in the 'Irâq.

[Ibn Ishâq] This anecdote of 'Alî was reported to me by Hind b. Sa'd b. Sahl b. Hanîf.

[Ibn Ishâq] The Messenger of Allâh stayed at Qubâ' among the Banû 'Amr b. 'Awf during Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday and laid the foundation of his mosque there. Then Allâh brought him out from them on Friday. But Banû 'Amr b. 'Awf think that he stayed among them for a longer period. Allâh knows best which of the two is the correct version. It was the time of Jum'ah (congregation) prayer when he reached Banû Sâlim b. 'Awf. So he performed the congregation prayer in the mosque at the bottom of the valley Rânûnâ'. This is the first congregation prayer he performed at Al-Madînah. Atbân b. Mâlik and 'Abbâs b. 'Abâdah b. Fadlah came to him with a party of Banû Sâlim b. 'Awf and said " O Messenger of Allâh, stay with us, we are all prepared to protect you " " Let my she-camel go whither she pleases " replied the Prophet, " She will stop where

she is commissioned to do so." So she proceeded and reached the quarter of Banû Bayâdah when Ziyâd b. Labîd and Farwah b. 'Amr with a party of Banû Bayâdah met him and said, "O Messenger of Allâh, come to us, we are all prepared to protect you." "Let her (the she-camel) alone", he replied, "She is commissioned". So they let her go. She proceeded till she passed by the quarter of Banû Sâ'idah when Sa'd b. 'Ubâdah and Al-Mundhir b. 'Amr with a party of Banu Sâ'idah met him and said, "O Messenger of Allâh, come to us, we are all prepared to protect you." "Let her alone" replied the Prophet, "She is commissioned". So they let her go. She proceeded and reached the quarter of Banû 'l Hârith b. Al-Khazraj when Sa'd b. ar-Rabî', Khârijah b. Zayd and 'Abdu'llâh b. Rawâhah with a party of Banû 'l Hârith b. Al-Khazraj met him and said "O Messenger of Allâh, come to us, we are all prepared to protect you". "Let her alone" said he, "She is commissioned". So they let her go. She proceeded till she passed by the quarter of Banû 'Adî b. An-Najjâr, his near relatives through Salmâ bt. 'Amr, the mother of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, belonging to this tribe. So Sulayt b. Qays and Abû Sulayt Usayrah b. Abû Kharajah with a party of Banû 'Adî b. An-Najjâr met him and said, "O Messenger of Allâh, come to your uncles, we are all prepared to protect you." "Let her alone" replied he, "She is commissioned". So they let her go. She proceeded till she came to the quarter of Banû Mâlik b. An-Najjâr and knelt at a place which is at present the door of his mosque—an enclosure belonging at that time to two orphan boys of Banû Mâlik b. An-Najjâr, a sub-tribe of Banû'n-Najjâr. These were Sahl and Suhayl two sons of 'Amr, under the guardianship of Mu'âdh b. 'Afrâ'. When she knelt down and yet the Messenger of Allâh did not alight, she sprang up and walked a little farther. The Messenger of Allâh had slackened the reins. Then she looked back and returned to the spot where she had knelt down at first and knelt there again. Then she shook herself, clove to the ground and placed her neck on the ground. So the Messenger of Allâh got down from her back and Abû Ayyûb Khâlîd b. Zayd carried the saddle into his house. The Messenger of Allâh alighted at his house and asked of the enclosure as to whose property it was. Mu'âdh b. 'Afrâ' said, "O Messenger of Allâh, it belongs to Sahl and Suhayl, the two orphan boys of Amr under my guardianship. I shall soon make them agree to sell it, you build the mosque there." Then he ordered

the mosque to be built there and stayed at the house of Abû Ayyûb till his mosque and house were constructed. The Messenger of Allâh himself worked during the construction to encourage the Muslims in their work. The Emigrants and Helpers worked at it steadily. One of the Muslims recited this verse,—

“If we sit down while the Prophet works, that will surely be a misguided proceeding of ours.”

The Muslims were reciting the following verse while at work.

“There is no felicity but the felicity of the Akhirah (next world). “O Lord, be merciful to the Helpers and the Muhâjirah (Emigrants).”

[Ibn Hishâm] It is only a sentence and not metrical verse.

[Ibn Ishâq] The Messenger of Allâh was saying “There is no felicity but the felicity of the next world; O Lord, be merciful to the Emigrants and the Helpers.” “‘Ammâr b. Yasâr, who had been heavily burdened with bricks, came in and said, “O Messenger of Allâh, they have killed me by putting on me such a burden as they do not carry themselves.” Umm Salmâ, the wife of the Prophet, says: I saw the Messenger of Allâh shaking off the excess with his own hand. The man was stout and strong. The Prophet said to him, “Alas, O Ibn Sumayyah, these are not the men to kill you but you will be killed by a rebellious party.” ‘Alî b. Abû Tâlib recited this verse on that day—“The man who is found turning away from dust and the man who builds the mosque and strives steadily in it, standing and sitting, are not equal.”

[Ibn Ishâq] Then ‘Ammâr b. Yasâr took this verse and began to recite.

[Ibn Hishâm] According to a report received from Ziyâd b. ‘Abdu’llâh al-Bakkâ’î through Ibn Ishâq who had named the person² alluded to, a companion of the Messenger of Allâh thought that he himself had been alluded to and said, “I have heard what you said to-day, O Ibn Sumayyah. By Allâh, surely I see, I shall soon strike your nose with this stick,” and the man had a stick in his hand. The Messenger of Allâh became displeased at this and said, “What is this? ‘Ammâr invites them to the

(1) [Ibn Hishâm] About this *rajaz* (metrical verse) I asked more than one learned man who said “We have received report that ‘Alî b. Abî Tâlib recited this verse;” but they do not know if it was composed by himself or someone else.

(2) The man was ‘Uthmân b. ‘Affân (Bronnle—Dr. Paul—*Monuments of Arabic Philology*, vol. I, p. 135).

garden of paradise but they invite him to the fire of hell ? Surely 'Ammâr is (as dear to me as) the piece of skin between my eyes and nose." When this speech moved the man he did not contend any further. But they shunned him.

[Ibn Hishâm from Sufyân b. Ubaynah from Zakariyyâ from Ash-Sha'bî] The first person who built a mosque was 'Ammâr b. Yasar.

[Ibn Ishâq] The Messenger of Allâh stayed at the house of Abû Ayyûb till his mosque and houses were constructed. Then he removed to his own house from the house of Abû Ayyûb.

[Ibn Ishâq from Yazîd b. Abî Habîb from Marthad b. 'Abdu'llâh al-Yaznî from Abû Rahm as-Samâ'î from Abû Ayyûb] When the Messenger of Allâh took up his residence at my house, he occupied the lower room while my wife and I lived in the upper storey. I said to him, " O Prophet of Allâh, let my parents be thy ransom, surely I dislike it and feel it as grievous that I should stay over you and you should stay below me. So come up and stay in the upper storey and we shall come down to live in the lower room ". Then he said, " O Abû Ayyûb, it is more convenient to live in the lower room for us as well as for those who come to see us ". So the Messenger of Allâh lived in the lower room and we lived in the upper chamber. One day a pot of water was accidentally broken. Alarmed at the idea that the water might drop on the Messenger of Allâh and annoy him, my wife Umm Ayyûb and myself got up and wiped the water with a velvet piece, as we had no other sheet. We used to prepare his evening meal and send it to him. When the remainder would return to us we would make out the mark of his fingers in the food and eat of it expecting benediction, till one night we sent him his evening meal in which we had put onion or garlic. He returned the food, and I found no mark of his fingers. I came down to him in a fright and said, " O Messenger of Allâh, may my parents be your ransom, you have returned your evening meal but I did not find any marks of your fingers in it. When you return it to us we find out the marks of your fingers in the food and, expecting benediction, we eat of it." He said, " I found the smell of this plant in it. I am a man holding communion with Allâh. But as for yourselves, you take it." We ate it and thereafter never put that plant into his meal.

[Ibn Ishâq] The Emigrants joined the Messenger of Allâh and none of them remained at Makkah except those who were seduced or detained in prison. Among the Emigrants from Makkah, only the people of the quarter of Masmûn, Banû Maz'un a sub-tribe of Banû Jamah, Banu Jahsh b. Riâb, the allies of Banû Umayyah, and Banû-'l-Bukayr, a sub-tribe of Banû Sa'd b. Layth, the allies of Banû 'Adî b. Ka'b, migrated with their families and property to Allâh and His Messenger. Their houses at Makkah were closed and deserted without any inhabitant left therein. When Banû Jahsh b. Ri'âs left their houses, Abû Sufyân b. Harb wrongfully sold them to 'Amr b. 'Alqamah, the kinsman of Banû 'Amir b. Luwa'i. When this news reached Banû Jahsh, 'Abdu'llâh b. Jahsh reported the matter to the Messenger of Allâh who said, "Do you not agree to this that in lieu of this house Allâh will give you a house better than this in the garden of Paradise?" "Yes" replied he. The Prophet said, "That you will have."

When the Messenger of Allâh conquered Makkah, Abû Ahmad made his submission to him with regard to their house that Abû Sufyân had sold, but he gave no reply. The people said, "O Abû Ahmad, the Messenger of Allâh does not like that you should be given back any property that you have lost in the way of Allâh." So he desisted from making any further submission to the Messenger of Allâh and he addressed Abû Sufyân, saying.

"O Abû Sufyân, desist from an affair of which the consequence is repentance.

"You have sold the house of your cousin to pay up your debts while, by Allâh, the Lord of men, your ally (the poet) is always trying for peace.

"Take it, Take it, the ring (of punishment, for it is as abiding) as the ring of the pigeon."

[Ibn Ishâq] The Messenger of Allâh stayed at Al-Madînah from his arrival there in the month of Rabî' I, till the month of Safar of the next year when his mosque and house were completed. And the conversion of the Madînite tribes went on well. There was no house left at Al-Madînah but its members had accepted Islâm except the Khatmah, the Wâqif, the Wâ'il and the Umayyah (i.e. Awsu'llâh), and these were a sub-tribe of the Aws. They still clung to polytheism.

THE FOUNDER OF BANERA RAJ

MAHARANA Raj Singh of Mewar (1652 to 1680 A.D.) had eight sons. The first two Sultan Singh and Sardar Singh predeceased their father.¹ Jai Singh, the third son, succeeded Rana Raj Singh at his death in 1680. The fourth son, the subject of this note, was Bhim Singh who first gained fame in the Rajput struggle against Aurangzeb and, after the conclusion of the peace, rose to eminence under Aurangzeb in the Deccan.

It is claimed by his descendents of the Banera Raj (in Mewar) that Bhim Singh and Jai Singh were born on the same day of different mothers and that Bhim Singh was born earlier. This was accepted by Todd² and later on by Kaviraj Shyamal Dass in his *Vir Vinod*.³ A chronicle of Mewar written probably in the first half of the eighteenth century supports this tradition.⁴ But the evidence on the other side is overwhelming. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* calls him a younger son when speaking of his expedition to Gujarat in 1680.⁵ Earlier we find from the *Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri*, that in March 1679, the Maharana sent his son Jai Singh as his representative to pay his respects to the emperor who had moved on to Ajmer immediately after hearing of Jaswant Singh's death.⁶ It was customary to send the eldest son as the representative of the Maharana to the court now and then, and this deputation of Jai Singh to the imperial court meant that he was at that time the heir-apparent. Further, the different collections of horoscopes as pointed out by M. M. Pt. Gori Shankar Ojha all indicate the same conclusion⁷ and there does not seem to be any reason to disbelieve the combined authority of all these facts.

(1) *Vir Vinod*. D.A.V. College transcript, 487, 484.

(2) Todd, I, 316.

(3) *Vir Vinod*, 597.

(4) *Udaipur Ki Kheyat* (MS), D.A.V. College transcript, p. 12.

(5) *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I 204.

(6) *Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 178.

(7) *History of Mewar* (Hindi), vol. II, p. 888.

Soon after Bhim Singh's birth Shah Jahan's armies invaded Mewar. On September 24, 1654, Shah Jahan ordered Sa'd Allah Khan to invade Mewar at the head of an army 30,000 strong¹ and containing many Mughal veterans. He discovered when he reached Pur on the outskirts of Rana Raj Singh's territories on October 23 that the countryside was being vacated and the Rajputs were running for refuge to their mountains. It seems that the Rana with his court remained at Udaipur to conduct the negotiations that followed; though it is probably that the danger of the Mughal depredations might have made the Rana send his Ranis and young princes to some place of greater safety. An attack on Mewar so soon after Bhim's birth might have made the superstitious Rajput view his coming into the world with disfavour but we hear nothing about it, especially as peace was soon concluded, through the prince Dara, between the Maharana and the emperor.²

Bhim Singh received the usual type of military training that befits a Rajput prince. The death of Sultan Singh and Sardar Singh made him the second living son of the Maharana and as such increased his status at the court. The Rajput annalists and Muslim chroniclers, as well as the original papers of the period, are silent about the early career of Bhim Singh. The first we hear about him is in connection with the Rajput War of Aurangzeb's reign.

It is neither the time nor the place to examine the origins of this Rajput-Mughal struggle. It is sufficient for our purpose here to remember that Aurangzeb's attitude towards Jodhpur united against him the Sisodias and Rathors in 1679. It is interesting to record, however, that when, after Maharaja Jaswant Singh's death in 1678, Aurangzeb visited Ajmer for the first time in February 1679, Maharana Raj Singh sent his eldest son Jai Singh to the Emperor's court.³ He was presented at the court on March 10, 1679 when Aurangzeb was about to leave Ajmer for Delhi. On April 19, Jai Singh was given leave to depart to Mewar. This visit of Jai Singh to the imperial

(1) Warris, *Padshahnama* (MS), f. 92a.

(2) Chandar Bhan, *Chahar Chaman*, pp. 39, 98 to 100; *Jaipur Records* vol. I, p. 90, 91; Warris, ff. 90 to 98a.

(3) *Ma'athar-i-Alamgiri*, 172. *Fatukhat-i-Alamgiri*, f. 73b. *Raja Prashasti*; Canto 22, verses 1 and 2. *Tarikra-ul-Salatin-i-Chughta* by Muhammad Hadi (MS) p. 180 asserts, however that Jai Singh was given leave to return to Mewar, only when the Rana had promised help in carrying on the Mughal design on Marwar.

court must have been the result of Aurangzeb's attempt at isolating the Rathors. If so he did not succeed very much therein as the war with Sisodias and Rathors combined in a united front followed soon after, on Raj Singh's refusal to hand over Jaswant Singh's successor Ajit Singh to the Emperor.¹

When the war began Bhim took a leading part in it. The Maharana retired to his mountains and let the Mughal emperor occupy Udaipur and Chitor.² But the Maharana did not sit idle. He sent his sons in command of raiding expeditions on all sides. Bhim was sent to Nadol, where he created a stir by his surprise attacks on the Mughal outposts.³ Ten thousand bullocks were being brought from Malwa with other supplies when Bhim's flying columns fell upon them, scattered the Mughal convoys, took possession of the supplies and drove away the bullocks.⁴

These successes emboldened Bhim Singh, who now invaded the Mughal province of Gujarat.⁵ He penetrated as far as Bar Nagar, Bes Nagar and Sidh Pur⁶ and carried away a large amount of booty. He was able to persuade the Raja of Idar to strike at the imperialists in conjunction with his own Rajputs and make himself master. Idar was thus lost to the Empire, through Bhim Singh's exertions, though only temporarily. Its Mughal commander could not withstand the sudden rush of Bhim Singh's forces; the fort was occupied by the Rajputs and a good deal of booty fell into the hands of Bhim Singh.⁷ Raj Prashasti⁸ relates that he advanced as far as Ahmed Nagar where also he was able to seize and carry away property worth two lakhs of rupees. This is borne out by the account of Bhim's depredations in *Fatuh-at-i-Alamgiri*,⁹ which places these raids after the imperial

(1) *Raj Vilas*, 189.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, letters 740 686, 667.

(4) *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, letters 666, 667.

(5) *Raj Vilas* p. 226 to 231. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 294. *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 22, *Fatuh-at-i-Alamgiri* (f. 79 b.) *Jaipur Records*, XIII, 72 to 74.

(6) *Raj Vilas*, 230.

(7) *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 294. *Raj Vilas*, 227 to 229. *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 22, verse 26.

(8) Canto 22, verses 28 and 29.

(9) *Fatuh-at-i-Alamgiri* MS. f. 79b.

occupation of Udaipur and the demolition of temples in Udaipur and Chitor in February—March 1680. He is alleged by the same authority to have demolished one great mosque at Ahmad Nagar besides 300 small ones in revenge for the demolition of Hindu temples in Mewar.¹ So hard pressed were the Mughals on all sides that as Isher Dass relates their communications were entirely cut off and 'a live bird dared not flutter his wing.'² This compelled Aurangzeb to instruct his son Mohammad A'zam, who had been appointed commander of the expedition in place of Akbar, to conclude peace with the Rana at any cost.³

Again Bhim Singh was in command of the Rajput defences at Deosuri⁴ when Akbar tried to penetrate from Nadol-wards into Mewar.⁵ A junction of the Rathor and Sassodia forces was feared and to prevent that contingency Akbar was sent from Sojhat to occupy Nadol, advance to the pass at Deosuri and occupy it. But Rajput tactics had completely demoralised the Mughal armies. The Mughal commanders, despite repeated orders, were not prepared to enter a narrow pass where the Rajputs swarming from all sides could make short work of their forces.⁶ Prince Akbar, a young man of 23, repeatedly complained of the fact that the Mughal commanders 'look as if they have lost all power of movement.'⁷ Almost all of them refused to obey Prince Akbar's com-

(1) *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 22 verse 29, *Jaipur Records*, XIII, 72 to 74.

(2) *Fatuh-at-i-Alamgiri*, p. 79b.

(3) *Jaipur Records*, vol. III, p. 109, 110. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has placed Bhim Singh's expeditions to Gujarat in the reign of Maharana Jai Singh. This is obviously wrong. *Raj Vilas*, a contemporary account of Raj Singh's reign can be expected to be right at least as to the reign in which this event took place. *Raj Prashti* a contemporary inscription on the columns of the Raj Samud lake as quoted above, bears it out. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (1,294) also places Bhim's incursion into Gujarat in March-April, 1680. Isher Dass as well, on whom Sir Jadu Nath has relied, gives the same date, though he says that these incursions took place after Raj Singh's death. It is much more likely that Isher Dass should be mistaken about the time of Raj Singh's death than about the relation of these incursions of Bhim Singh to the emperor's movements. It is impossible to reject the authority of four independent accounts simply because one account happens to assign two contradictory dates to the same event.

(4) *Adab-i-Alamgiri* MS. Letter No. 675.

(5) *Ibid*, Letter No. 666.

(6) *Ibid*, Letters No. 667, 733.

(7) *Ibid*, Letter No. 734.

mands whenever he asked them to occupy a post in the interior, patrol a difficult road, or post a garrison at some strategic point.¹ The difficulties of the Mughals were increased because of the fact that Aurangzeb was directing all operations from Ajmer, and it was always possible to trump up excuses for not being able to carry out his orders. He distrusted his officers, none of whom was entrusted with the supreme command. At last Akbar was able to persuade the Mughal commanders to agree to an attack on the Deosuri pass.

Akbar, Badshah Quli Khan, Shuja'at Khan, Mohtishan Khan, Mohammad Na'im Khan, Mohammad Khan Bakhshi were appointed to co-operate in carrying out the warlike operations in the neighbourhood of Deosuri. Badshah Quli Khan had been asked to cross the pass near the village of Dolai and occupy the village which he succeeded in doing without opposition early next morning. He was told here that the Rathors and the Sassodias lay further on in the pass of Deosuri. Afraid of a surprise attack, he sent an advance guard under Qaraval Khan to reconnoitre the position. He found the Rajputs in battle order some four miles from the village with the mountains as their protection in the rear. He failed to find out the strength of the Rajput army but passed on the information he had gathered to Tahavar Khan. Afraid of the Rajputs, he followed close upon the heels of his own messenger and joined Badshah Quli Khan, who, however, persuaded him to go back, following himself soon after. An engagement followed on September 26 1680, in which the Rajputs were worsted, not without heavy Mughal losses.²

But this forcing the pass of Deosuri proved of no avail to the Mughals. Even its occupation did not enable the Mughals to take the offensive against the Maharana, who soon retaliated by expelling the Mughals from the pass. Akbar fell back upon Nadol.³ Aurangzeb sent repeated orders to Badshah Quli Khan and Akbar to advance to Jhilwara through the Deosuri pass and occupy Kumbhalmer. When he pleaded want of money, the emperor sent him a lakh of rupees. At last Akbar left Nadol for

(1) *Ibid.* letter No. 784

(2) *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, Letter No. 670, *Fatuh-i-Alamgiri* MS. f. 77a, 77 b, 78a and b, 79a.

(3) *Adab*, No. 662.

Deosuri on the 18 November and encamped at Ladlai. Aurangzeb now sent Bakhshi Ruh Allah Khan to Akbar in order to compel Badshah Quli Khan to advance through the pass of Deosuri to Jhilwara and therefrom to Kumbhalmer.

On 22 November Akbar at last sent Badshah Quli Khan and Ruh Allah Khan into the pass where a battle was fought on the 24. The Mughal army consisted of 6,000 horsemen and 3,000 musketeers. The matchlockmen ascended the surrounding hills in order to assail the Rajput position more effectively. The Rajput army under Bhim was defeated and the Mughals too sustained some losses. Shujâ't Khan brought back the Mughal dead the same day to the Mughal base, while Badshah Quli Khan advanced further and occupied Jhilwara.¹

This Mughal success proved the beginning of the end. Badshah Quli Khan and Akbar now opened negotiations with the Maharana which ultimately resulted in the rebellion of prince Akbar. Here as well, Bhim Singh played his part. On the 31 December, 1680, two days before Akbar proclaimed himself emperor, Bhim Singh was in Akbar's camp² with a son of Jai Singh, the new Maharana, who had succeeded his father Raj Singh on October 22, 1680. This visit of Bhim Singh put the finishing touches to the Rajput pact with Akbar, who proclaimed himself emperor on January 1, 1681. But this was probably the shortest princely rebellion of the Mughal period. Within a fortnight Aurangzeb succeeded in worsting him, though Akbar had so many advantages to begin with. We do not know what part Bhim Singh played during this short-lived struggle. When Akbar fled he sought refuge at Maharana Jai Singh's court where he lived for some time.³ The Mughals however were too near the Rana's territory to render Akbar's position here safe; he at last sought safety in flight to the Deccan towards the end of April 1681.

But this episode awakened Aurangzeb to his danger. He could not afford a war with the Maharana if he was to deal successfully with the danger presented by Akbar's rebellion. Negotiations were now opened between the Maharana and Aurangzeb, and by a royal Farman dated

(1) *Adab*; Nos. 675, 700, 657, 660, of. Also the *Tarik-h-ul-Salatin-i-Chughia* by Muhammad Hadi, pp. 271 to 278.

(2) *Adab*; 676.

(3) *Khatut-i-Shivaji*, Letter from Akbar to Sambhaji.

the 23 February 1681, Aurangzeb promised peace if the Maharana would see prince A'zam.¹ Hostilities between the two parties seem to have ceased after that. In a letter dated March 24, 1681, we find A'zam asking the Rana not to give refuge to Akbar who was coming towards Deosuri.² On June 14, 1681, the Maharana saw A'zam, when peace was concluded. Aurangzeb's officers were very anxious about Bhim Singh's submission. But he was not to be found in Jai Singh's retinue, and A'zam had to be content with Jai Singh's assurance that he knew nothing about him as he had quarrelled with him³.

But Aurangzeb was not prepared to let slip his opportunity. This quarrel between Bhim Singh and Jai Singh enabled him to lure Bhim Singh to his own service.

On 24 July, 1681 Bhim saw Daler Khan, the Mughal commander, who received him graciously and recommended to the emperor that he should be granted a jagir. On 29 July, 1681, Aurangzeb accepted this recommendation and conferred the jagir of Bahera on Bhim Singh. On August 2, it was decided to call Bhim to court and Daler Khan was ordered to bring him to court himself. Daler Khan, however, excused himself, and Bhim was sent to Ajmer with Muzaffar. On 11 August Bhim was admitted to the imperial presence at Ajmer, the signal honour of sending the Bakhshi and other high Mansabdars to meet him at the gates of the court being accorded to him. He was created a commander of 4,000 horse and 3,000 Zat and created a Raja. Of course presents were also showered on him. Further, he was asked to report himself daily in the private audience-chamber of the Emperor, the Ghusal-Khana. However, on Friday no audiences were usually held and we find Raja Bhim's vakil asking for instructions on August 19, as to where his master should report himself on Friday. The Emperor was therefore pleased to order that Bhim should have audience on Fridays when the Emperor was riding out. On August 16 Raja Bhim requested the Emperor to confer the Parganah of Mangrot as a Watan Jagir. He was asked to submit his application through the usual official channels. On the 17 Bhim's son Ajab Singh and his cousin Fatah Singh had audience and Ajab Singh was

(1) *Vir Vinod* ; 587, 588, 592.

(2) *Vir Vinod*, 589.

(3) *Juipur Records*, vol. III, 87, *Vir Vinod* 591.

awarded suitable gifts on the 21. Early on August 23, Raja Bhim's mother died and the Emperor ordered an officer of rank to go to his house and get the mourning terminated. This was done and on the 25 August Raja Bhim paid his respects to the Emperor. On the 27 he accompanied the Emperor to Pushkar and presented Rs. 2,000 as a Nazar probably on account of his having received the patent for his Mansab. His earlier application for Mangrot having been rejected, he now requested for the grant of Mui Maidana. This again was refused as it was Jagat Singh's Jagir. Though a high Mansab was conferred on Raja Bhim, he was still impoverished. On Daler Khan's recommendations 20,000 rupees were granted to him on September 15 in order to enable him to tide over his difficulties. Meanwhile he had been left behind at Ajmer to help its viceroy, prince A'zam. Bhim however was not very happy in his new command. He seems to have been kept at Ajmer merely as a watcher and, though the Rathors were still in the field, he was not yet trusted enough to be sent against his whilom allies. While Aurangzeb was proceeding to the Deccan, he received a letter from Bhim which was discussed on October 13 in the court. He wanted to take an active part in the warfare of the times and had requested that he might be allowed to join the Emperor in the Deccan and given some active command there. Orders were issued, therefore, to a mace-bearer to bring Bhim to court after allowing him to spend a fortnight in his jagir. Bhim's efforts to get a suitable jagir for his maintenance bore fruit and his vakil attached to the imperial court succeeded at last in getting Khairabad and Mui Maidana in jagir in exchange for Baran. It took, however, more than two months to get the regular Farman, which is dated December 24, 1681. Of course all this took time and we find Bhim still in Rajputana in November. On the 13 November, 1,000 Rupees were granted to him as his travelling allowance to the Deccan. His efforts to get some land as a Watan Jagir (irrevocable grant), meanwhile, bore fruit and on the same day Lolai was given him in Watan Jagir. He was now allowed three months' respite in his jagir after which he was to leave for the Deccan. An imperial messenger was again told off to see to the execution of the imperial command. But Bhim Singh was not destined to reach the Deccan till 11 August, 1686. Whether Bhim did not like to leave Rajputana or Aurangzeb thought his presence necessary there and cancelled his earlier instructions, it is

difficult to decide. Bhim had audience on August 21 1686 and was appointed to a suitable post in the army.¹ But he soon incurred the imperial displeasure and his rank was reduced by 500. At the siege of Hyderabad, however, he displayed conspicuous valour, which resulted in an increment and he again became a commander of 4,000 horse.²

He rendered very useful services against the Marathas and the Shī'a states of the Deccan. In 1691, probably, his services were rewarded by an increment in his Mansab and the grant of a jagir in Malpura in Jaipur. This opened up a very difficult chapter in the relations between the Rajas of Jaipur and Bhim Singh. The Kachwahas did not like the Sasodias butting in on what they had regarded as their own preserve. Bhim kept his brother Dal Singh there, and the revenue and civil administration was entrusted to one Dil Ram Brahman.³ The Kachwahas complained that neither Bhim nor his brother was keeping the requisite number of soldiers in the jagir. This led to a reduction in Bhim's jagir though not probably in his Mansab. Towards the end of the year 1692 the contested territory was divided between Bhim and Raja Bishan Singh; but this did not ease the situation.⁴ Both sides went on making claims and counter-claims and heavily bribed the Mughal officers concerned, especially Bahra Mand Khan.⁵ Bhim, who was serving at that time in the army of Mu'izz-ud-dīn, probably had suffered a setback early in the year 1692. Aurangzeb had prohibited the public celebration of Hindu festivals. These orders were enforced strictly even in the camp. Bhim, however along with certain other Hindu Rajas, celebrated the Holi festival. The censor accompanying the expeditionary force tried to stop the celebration, but in vain. He complained to the Emperor and on April 1, 1692, the case came up for imperial orders. Of course nothing could be done then, but the Emperor gave orders that in future the prohibition should be strictly enforced.⁶ Naturally the emperor was displeased with Bhim, and this might have given the Kachwahas a chance for creating trouble

(1) This is mostly based on the daily imperial news-letters of Aurangzeb's reign. Whenever a date is given the statement is based on the news-letter of the same date.

(2) *Jawabat-i-Alamgiri* (MS.), f. 163b.

(3) *Jaipur Records*, vol. XI, pp. 84 to 87.

(4) *Jaipur Records*, vol. VIII, vol XI 91, 113, 200, pp. 19, 21 and 22, 44 to 49; 94, 95, 107 to 112.

(5) *Jaipur Records*, vol. XI, p. 200.

(6) *Imperial News-Letters* dated April 1, 1697.

against him. But Bhim was a great warrior. The Emperor could not afford to be displeased with him for long; and on May 8 he was appointed to command an expedition himself.¹ The cause of the Kachwahas received further help on account of the appointment of Bishan Singh against the Jats. This Kachwahas-Sasodias struggle continued with varying fortunes for some time, ending in favour of the Kachwahas by the death of Bhim Singh in 1694.

Bhim died in August 1694 in the Deccan, while serving in Bedar Bakht's army. One of his Ranis, daughter of Padam Singh, burnt herself to death on her husband's funeral-pyre though an attempt was made to dissuade her. Of his sons the eldest at this time was Suraj Mal who, unfortunately, was absent in Rajputana, getting married. He was appointed a commander of 1,000 on the 26 of August, 1694.² On Bedar Bakht's recommendation, on September 19, 1694, Mansabs were conferred on Bhim's sons. Sujan Singh became a commander of 300, Ajab Singh of 300, whereas Suraj Mal's personal command was raised to 900 horse.³ Zorawar Singh, another son of Raja Bhim, had audience on April 3, 1703.⁴ Bije Singh another son, was appointed a three-sadi on August 23, 1703.⁵

Raja Bhim Singh was a great warrior. He served Mewar faithfully till the treaty of peace between the Mughals and Mewar, and his courage and bravery won for him the signal honour of becoming a commander of 4,000 horse at his entry into the Mughal service, and the title of Raja. He served the Mughals as faithfully in the Deccan and, despite his religious prejudices, Aurangzeb raised his command to 5,000 horse, so pleased was he with his work. His career in the Deccan goes against the commonly accepted belief that, after the war in Rajputana in 1680, the Rajputs ceased to serve in the Mughal armies. Here was Bhim Singh, their toughest opponent in Rajputana, enlisting himself under the Mughal banner and serving Aurangzeb faithfully.

(1) *Ibid*; dated May 8, 1692.

(2) *Ibid*; dated August 8, 94; The date given in *Ma'athir-i Alamgiri* which is equivalent to January 7, 1694 is wrong. The death was reported on 26th August, 1694; it could not have occurred seven months earlier. A letter from Bhim was read in the court on July 17, 1694 (vide News-Letter of that date).

(3) *Ibid*, dated 18th September, 1694.

(4) *Ibid*, dated April 3, 1703.

(5) *Ibid*, dated August 23, 1703.

THE HOUSE OF ALTUNTASH KHWARAZMSHAH*

DEPARTURE OF KHWARAZMSHAH VIA BUKHARA TO MAWARA-AL-NAHR TO FIGHT ALI TIGIN, AND HIS DEATH.

IN the meantime news came from the scouts in Bukhârâ that 'Alî Tigin was not at rest and was preparing an army, because he was disappointed by two things. In the first place, Mahmûd met Qâdir Khân and with his prestige the Khanate of Turkistan went from their house. Secondly, when the affairs of the kingdom were not yet settled, the Sultân had given him hopes of a territory provided he despatched an army together with a son ; but when affairs were settled without fighting and he ascended the throne without any trouble, he thought that 'Alî Tigin would seek an opportunity and cause trouble. Therefore, so long as he was in Balkh, the Sultan should be on his guard. Mas'ûd was embarrassed by this news, consulted Ahmad Hasan and Bu Nasr in private and suggested that, as Ali Tigin was a formidable enemy and his greed could not be satisfied, it would be advisable to uproot him from Mawara-al-Nahr and either send Yaghan Tigin, son of Qâdir Khan the ruler of Turkistan, as his Deputy and send to him Mas'ûd's sister who was betrothed to him, or, if he did not arrive, despatch Khwârazmshah with a huge force, and, as the conditions in Khwârazm were satisfactory, appoint a son in Khwârazm with sufficient troops. Ahmad Hasan opined that Ma-wara al-Nahr was a great kingdom, had been made the capital by the Samanid rulers of Khurâsân, and was well worth possessing ; but 'Ali Tigin was crafty and had been there for thirty years, and if Altuntash was chosen for the expedition an envoy had better be sent to him because if he made excuses the incident of Manjuq was still lurking in his mind and some other means should be adopted, as without him it would be impossible to overthrow 'Ali Tigin, and if he was willing to go it meant that the wound was healed. The names of Amîrak Bayhaqî and 'Abdus were recommended for the

* pp. 417-419.

Reportership and the Secretaryship of the army respectively. 'Abdus set out with a grand *Khil'at* for Khwârazmshâh consisting of 5 male and female elephants and other *khil'ats* for Abd al-Samad, Khwârazmshâh's private staff and the nobles and the military leaders of the royal forces.

On Tuesday,* the 20th of Rabî' I., a letter came to the court from 'Abdus to the effect that Khwârazmshâh had gone from Khwârazm to Amuy and sent 'Abdus back to the court duly rewarded. The following day the Amîr rode to the desert and reviewed the contingents, about 15,000 to be sent to Khwârazmshâh, till the noon-prayers. While trooping the colours, Mas'ûd exhorted the two commanders, Begtigin Chaugani Pidari (of Mahmûd's time) and Pir-i-Akhur Salar Mas'adi (of Mas'ûd's days), and the captains to be vigilant, not molest the people either in their own country or in that of the enemy, to obey the orders of Altuntash implicitly and not oppose him in any way. All dismounted from their horses, bowed and retired. Amîrak Bayhaqî was appointed the Reporter to the army, given verbal orders by Mas'ûd in the presence of Ahmad Hasan and Bu Nasr, and retired.

A letter had come from Amîrak to say that when Khwârazmshâh saw the royal forces he was afraid that they were 'Ali Tigin's vanguard, collected his force and had turned his boat from the middle of the Jayhun when he was reassured by Abd al-Samad, and that Khwârazmshah was disappointed; Amîrak had been to him several times and consoled him, but the situation looked gloomy at the outset. Swift messengers had been posted on the Balkh road to await news. Such messengers arrived every day, and one rushed in and reported to the following effect:—That, as Altuntash was crossing the Jayhun, 'Ali Tigin came to know of it and handed over the city of Bukhâra to the Ghâzis of Ma-wara al-Nahr, taking with him the treasures and other light things to Dabusi in order to fight there, and ordering his 150 chosen pages to go to Quhunduz and guard the fort there. When Khwârazmshâh was informed of this, he had Bukhâra raided by ten captains and a detachment, himself lying in ambush and keeping watch left and right. The moment he reached Bukhâra, the Lieutenant of 'Ali Tigin fled to Dabusi and the Ghazis of Ma-wara al-Nahr and the townsmen submitted, saying that they had long been wishing to be

* pp. 422-44.

subjects of Sultân Shihâb-al-Daulah (Mas'ûd). Khwârazmshâh rewarded them and ordered a forced march to Quhunduz. It was taken by storm and ruined, and 70 picked Turkish pages fell into the victor's hands and were kept to be sent to the court, in addition to much booty and ponies. The following day, Khwârazmshâh set out for Dabusi, when spies came and reported that 'Ali Tigin had brought an immense force, including his own men, the Turkmans, the Seljuqs and the emergency levies, and would fight the battle at Dabusi, which was adjacent to the Samanids, had running water and trees, and thus was the right place for ambushades.

Letters were coming in quick succession from Amîrak. When Bu Nasr left the garden and the merry-making and came to the office, a post arrived. Bu Nasr opened the letter and his face turned pale. The custom was that when a letter came Bu Nasr wrote a note and gave it to the porter of the office to hand it over, in his turn, to the attendant of Mas'ûd and, if it was very urgent, he gave the letter to Abu'l-Fazl Bayhaqî. This communique he took himself to Aghachi. Mas'ûd's bearer, who informed Mas'ûd, and Bu Nasr went in. The minstrels were sent away, the Minister was called and Mas'ûd..... conferred privately with them till the time for noon-prayers. The Minister went back and Bu Nasr sat in the office, and sent for Abu'l-Fazl Bayhaqî and started writing out the letter which was from Amîrak Bayhaqî and ran as follows :—

“ When Altuntash reached Dabusi, the vanguard of 'Ali Tigin appeared, Altuntash ordered the trumpets to be sounded, moved on and camped beside the foe on the water-side. A scuffle ensued between the vanguards; the main body came up between the two prayers (Noon and Afternoon) and the vanguards withdrew. Khwârazmshâh stood on a hillock, called the commanders and military leaders and said : “ Tomorrow there will be the battle. You, however, go back, to your posts, be on your guard to-night, and if a noise is heard, do not lose heart and herd together; for I have taken care to deceive them, appointing vanguard, and combat, as will be seen when the enemy turns up. He took Amîrak Bayhaqî with him and gave him dinner. His Secretary and private officials were summoned, and when he finished dinner, he held a private meeting with Ahmad Tash Sipah Salar and some Mahmûdid Captains and said; ‘ This 'Ali Tigin is a great enemy. He was quiet through fear of the late Amîr.

He was given hopes, and had they been fulfilled when affairs were settled he would not have raised trouble and opposition. When the confidential reporters wrote that he was led astray the Sultan sent 'Abdus to me about it. What alternative had I except submission as the fabricators had spoilt my case. Now it has come to the sword and a hot battle will take place to-morrow. I am not one of those who would run away. If things take a different turn, I shall not betake myself to Khwârazm; If I am killed it will be well—I shall be a martyr in the service of my master. But the right of my old services must be recognised in the case of my sons. All said; "If God wills all will be success".

"Then, by his order, scouts went in every direction and carried out all the precautions enjoined by the great commander. The people went back. The enemies aimed several times, shouts were heard, and they returned 'blind and blue.' At about daybreak Khwârazmshah stood on a hillock, with the commander and military leaders and the forces in their place, and said, "Free men! When day breaks the foe will appear very insolent and crafty, and the army, with one heart, will stake their lives. We have come to take their life and property and uproot them. Be vigilant and awake, and keep your eyes on my standard in the centre, as I shall be there. And if—which God forbid—you are slow, it will entail grave loss. The mighty Jayhûn is in front and the shelter of Khwârazm is a long way off. Indeed, I will not show my back; if you desert me, you will have to see God at the Resurrection. I say what I know". All rejoiced that Khwârazmshah did them justice and they would give their lives.

"Khwârazmshah stood in the centre and transferred the pick of the troops from the flanks to the centre in order to reinforce the right and left if required. He posted Begtigin Chaugani and Pir-i-Akhur Salar on the right with detachments and Tash on the left, strengthening the flanks with some royal troops and a strong rear-guard, ordering five grand captains with soldiers to cut in two whomsoever returned from the ranks, and despatching the choicest cavalry with the vanguard. At daybreak the bugles and clarions were blown, a shout was heard and Khwârazmshah advanced cautiously. When he had gone a farsang along the river, he found the water was shallow and was afraid when a few horsemen dashed from

the vanguard and reported that 'Ali Tigin had crossed the water and stood at ease in the desert with a jungle of trees on one side, and the swarming army on the other, and with a few outposts in the direction of the baggage and rear, thinking that they would come by the river-bank and would be held at bay from behind. Although Khwârazmshâh had posted his Secretary with the baggage and the rear-guard, he sent back 1,000 cavalry and 1,000 infantry to be ready with them. Messengers hurried to Ahmad, and the rear stood firm, Khwârazmshâh gave a message to the leaders arrayed on the river-bank, and all moved on together. He took Amîrak with him in order to watch and be his witness, and put him on a hillock with himself. 'Ali Tigin also stood on a mound as could be seen from the red ensign and umbrella. The combatants engaged a combat the like of which, Khwârazmshâh said, was not remembered. The right wing of 'Ali Tigin dashed upon the left of Khwârazmshâh at noon prayer-time, pressed hard and Khwârazmshâh's men took to their heels. He shouted and sent reinforcements from the centre. The left flank gave way, Tash Mahrûy was left. About 200 horsemen plunged in the river and crossed it. Khwârazmshâh hurled his right wing against their left and they were firm as bayonets and daunted the enemy. Many were killed and wounded on either side. The right wing returned. Begtigin and Pir-i-Akhur Salar with their 500 horsemen were hard pressed. The enemy swarmed upon them and their annihilation was feared. Khwârazmshâh and the centre advanced and dashed upon the centre of 'Ali Tigin, joined by Begtigin and Pir and the beaten cavalry. This was followed by the onslaught of 'Ali Tigin with centre and left. Khwârazmshâh took a lance and pushed forward. As soon as his ensign appeared his troops stiffened themselves like steel mountains, and so many were killed on either side as to render the movement of the cavalry difficult. Both the armies were satisfied with this calamity and the battle was stopped for the night.

“Had Khwârazmshâh not acted in this way, such a tremendous force would have been ruined. An arrow had mortally struck him in his left foot where a stone had fallen during a stone-shower in a fortress in Hindustan. But behold his courage ! Although he felt the pain, yet he did not mention it in the field. He asked a page to take out the arrow and dress the wound. When he reached

the camp his people were in no way harmed ; he encouraged the refugees and kept them in position. Despite recurring attempts at assault his Secretary Ahmad and the people appointed there had taken care, and nothing had happened to them. Khwârazmshâh commended them heartily and nobody knew that he was wounded. He called the military leaders and rebuked a few of them. They all apologised, and he excused them. He ordered them to come prepared on the following day to finish the task of vanquishing the enemy, as 'but for the night' they would have triumphed, and they all agreed. He detained Ahmad and me (*i.e.*, the Reporter) and said, 'This force would have been ruined had I not implanted my feet and sacrificed my life. But an arrow hit me in the same place where a stone had once struck. However, tomorrow I will go to the battle.' Ahmad said that it was not advisable to go to the field wounded, and perhaps a wind might blow in the meantime and they would see what the enemy was going to do, as he had sent out spies who would return at night ; and he sent, again, fresh men for scouting. I went back. In the morning a man came in haste and took me to him. He said, I could not sleep all night on account of this injury ; a moment ago spies came and reported that 'Ali Tigin is much embarrassed and perplexed on account of his shortage of men, and is ready to send envoys and negotiate for peace. Anyhow, we must pretend to ride our horses and set out. Ahmad asked my opinion, and I replied : 'The commanders and the soldiers should be called and told that he will go to the battle so that the soldiers may ride. Then we should send a man who should come from the vanguard with the news that the enemy will not give battle today ; as a messenger is coming there will be no fight. Then we will look after Khwârazmshâh.' Khwârazmshâh agreed, sent for the commanders and military leaders, who saw him and withdrew. The cavalry mounted, bugles blew, Khwârazmshâh sat on his horse with difficulty, the horse jumped and Khwârazmshâh fell off on the wounded side, broke his hand, was taken to his private tent and put to sleep on a couch. He lost his senses, called Ahmad and Amîrak and said, 'To me this has happened and I am busy with myself. Do whatever seems proper and don't let the enemy thrive and this army be ruined, Ahmad cried and said it would be better than what Khwârazmshâh was afraid of. He took Amîrak to the army, announced that there would be no fighting that day as 'Ali Tigin was exhausted and would

send an envoy, and asked them to keep a flow of outposts to the camp of the enemy so that if battle was offered they should ride and undertake the task, and if not, they would see what would be done. The outposts were sent out, bugles sounded and every precaution was taken.

“This old wolf (Ahmad) had seen the combat the day before and the weakness of his master. He, consequently, had sent a man at night to the Secretary of ‘Ali Tigin, Mahmûd Beg, with the message :—

‘It was first from you that boldness and tyranny came out which caused the Sultân to send Khwârazmshâh here. When we crossed the water, it behoved your master and was advisable to have sent an envoy and apologised for the impertinence and high-handedness which offended the Sultân. Then Khwârazmshâh would have intervened, interceded on his behalf and set everything right without any bloodshed. But Predestination worked. I do not say this because of humility as now we have tasted it; the Sultan is in Balkh and we are receiving reinforcements constantly. We Secretaries perform these great men’s tasks; it is incumbent on us to keep public welfare in view. Though Khwârazmshâh is not aware of what I say, and if he does come to know he would play havoc with me, still I do not want that any more blood should be shed. I fulfil my obligation to Islam and neighbourhood and kingdom : you should do what you think proper for yourselves’.

“The Secretary and ‘Ali Tigin took this opportunity and appointed the same night an envoy—a distinguished ‘Alawi of Samarqand—and gave him messages. In the morning the envoy came. Ahmad told Khwârazmshâh what he had done. Although he was busy with himself and was on the point of death that night, he exclaimed, ‘Ahmad ! I am gone ! May My sons not suffer for it as the Sultan may say that I was in league with ‘Ali Tigin.’ Ahmad said, ‘Things have gone beyond this. It is better that I have initiated to bring about peace and go in safely from here to the Jayhûn. When across the Jayhûn I will tell you this. A secretary like Amîrak is here. These things have come to light like the sun. But for this a great harm would have been sustained, Khwârazmshâh must take trouble and sit for a moment so that the envoy may be brought in.’ Khwârazmshâh put on his shoes and head-dress and came to the large tent and the pages stood with a large retinue, the army, the nobles and the military leaders. The envoy came forward, kissed the ground and

was seated next to Khwârazmshâh, and conversation was started about peace. The envoy began : 'Ali Tigin says :

' The late Sultan (Mahmûd) called me son, and when this Sultan (Mas'ûd) aimed at his brother and Ghaznin I offered my forces and my son. This was my reward. Now Khwârazmshâh is an old man of the kingdom, he should overlook, with the Sultân's will, what has happened and should go to Amuy, encamp there with his forces and intervene so that the Sultân may accept my excuse, and goodwill subsist as in the time of the late Sultân, and no blood be shed !

" Khwârazmshâh agreed to intercede for him and return to Amuy. The 'Alawi prayed for him and was seated in the tent. Khwârazmshâh asked the opinion of Begtigin, Pir and other military leaders about it and they all agreed and said : ' We will follow Khwârazmshâh and obey his orders. Our picked horsemen were badly harassed and so took to flight and, but for the determination of Khwârazmshâh and his staking his life, irreparable loss would have been incurred. Khwârazmshâh is wounded and many men have been killed.' Khwârazmshâh interrupted them, asked them not to talk but to parade cavalry and infantry, take extreme care and appoint outposts on four sides as one should never belittle the enemy's cunning. They all agreed, Khwârazmshâh got up ; his weakness became worse and he had three motions. He called Ahmad and said that this task was done and asked him to get rid of the envoy at once. Ahmad wept, came out of the private tent, sat in the large tent, gave a grand *Khil'at* and a worthy reward and dismissed the envoy. He also sent a keen, eloquent man, one of his own secretaries, with him with the message that when the 'Alawi reached 'Ali Tigin should move before their envoy and they also would cover that night one manzil on the way to Amuy. Outposts were set in four directions. The dysentery and weakness of Khwârazmshâh became acute. He called Shakar Khâdim, the Mihtar of the Saray, and asked him to send for Ahmad. When he saw Ahmad he started : ' I am gone ! It is not the time for weeping, and you should not cry. The end of a man is death. You people should join hands and should manœuvre in such a way as to let my death remain a secret tonight and tomorrow. When you have covered one manzil, if it becomes known, you can manage it. If—which God forbid—the news of my death reaches 'Ali Tigin you will never cross

the Jayhûn and you and this army will see what you would have never seen in my life. Amîrak, when he goes with the army to the court to see the Sultân, should explain that there is nothing dearer than life but I sacrificed it in obedience to the Sultân and I hope that the right of my services will be recognised in the case of my sons. I cannot speak any more ; I am busy giving up my life and saying that I believe there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger '. Ahmad and Shakar cried, came out, started making arrangements, and by afternoon prayer-time the case of Khwârazmshâh grew hopeless. Ahmad went to his large tent, called the announcers and sent the message to the army that peace was made. 'Ali Tigin set out for Samarqand. Their messenger reached the vanguard by the time of the night-prayers and recalled it. As Khwârazmshâh would move, they should wait for the alarm ; and the right, left, centre and the rear should march in order, because, although peace was brought about, they were in the enemy's land and the enemy should not be trifled with.

" When Khwârazmshâh died it was not possible to prepare a coffin etc., as it would spread the news. The elephant-litter was prepared and he was put in it for the night and an attendant seated to guard it, pretending that he could not sit on account of that wound and would travel at ease and comfortably in the litter. The news of his death had spread among his pages. Shakar Khâdim had the trumpet blown, the whole army set out with arms and numerous candles and had covered seven farsangs before morning-prayers. A large tent was pitched and the dead body was taken off the elephant. The news went from one person to another. Ahmad and Shakar Khâdim called a few persons such as the private officials, the physician and the Hakîm of the army and asked them to wash the body and prepare the shroud. Ahmad sent messengers to call the military leaders with their detachments to receive a message from Khwârazmshah. They all came. The contingents halted and he took the leaders apart and related what he had done in way of negotiations before the death of Khwârazmshâh and later on until they reached that manzil. They grieved much for the death of Khwârazmshâh and praised Ahmad, who asked them to go to Amuy as quickly as possible and said: 'Ali Tigin is twenty miles away from us, beaten and exhausted and by the time the news of Khwârazmshâh's death

reaches him we shall have arrived in Amuy. The more insolent pages of Khwârazmshâh had smelt the news and it was to control them that I gave you the trouble. We should set out at afternoon prayer-time and travel all night so that we may get to the river by the morning and try to cross it in the utmost haste,' All agreed with him and showed their willingness to obey him. He sent for Shakar Khâdim and asked him to call the captains of Khwârazmshâh. When they arrived he asked them to sit down. They did not sit before him out of their respect for him, but when pressed vehemently they sat down. Ahmad spoke out 'Do you know how much Khwârazmshâh tried that you have reached here? He died last night as man has to die, but the Sultan is alive and Khwârazmshâh has able sons and has done valuable services. When these commanders and Amîrak Bayhaqî go to the court and explain the matter, the Sultân will give the place of Khwârazmshâh to his worthy son and send him to Khwârazm. That is why I have made peace with 'Ali Tigin. He is far from us. We shall leave by the afternoon prayer-time and reach Amuy quickly. These officers will go to Balkh and we to Khwârazm. If you give me your word and persuade the pages of the household to have sense as when we reach Amuy rewards will be given out of Khwârazmshâh's coffers, you will not be infamous and all of you will keep a good name. Otherwise, if—which God forbid!—you raise trouble or disorder, it is evident how many you are; these 6,000 cavalry and infantry together with attendants will ruin you. Even if a few of you join 'Ali Tigin, you will command no respect in his eyes. I say this explicitly so that you may not see any dream. These dignitaries who are sitting are at one with me.' Then he turned his face to them and asked them what they said, and they all sung the same tune.

"Ahmad had them sworn, and they all went to the pages. It was reported that all of them shouted and ran for their horses and arms. The leaders rode their horses, and Ahmad ordered the cavalry to mount. When the pages saw it, they talked with their leaders for a moment. The leaders came and said that it was settled that the pages wanted an oath from Khwâja Ahmad that he would not harm them but keep them as in the days of Khwârazmshâh. Ahmad said that they would be kept better than in the times of Khwârazmshâh. They went away and came back. Ahmad took an oath and asked them to get off the horses and ride camels that night only for one

manzil and get on horses again the following day. After a little hesitation, they agreed to obey Khwāja's order, provided that one page out of every ten rode a horse and went with the captains as it would calm their feelings. Ahmad consented. They returned, ate a little, made preparations, travelled all the night, reached the river-bank in the morning, were not given the horses, crossed the Jayhûn and reached Amuy. Amîrak Bayhaqî was there. Ahmad said that as the huge force had come back safe he wanted to go to Balkh to the Court, but he was afraid that the news would reach Khwârazm and the loss would be hard to repair, and asked them to give a detailed report to the Sultân who would certainly show favour to the old house in recognition of their rights. All commended Ahmad, bade him farewell, and the horses were given back to the pages.

"I had prepared a communique, shorter than this detailed one, for the royal perusal."

(When this letter arrived) Khwâja-i Buzurg—i.e., the Minister—and Bu Nasr Mushkan were present with the Sultân at Balkh. They sent for Bu'l-Hasan 'Abd Allâh and Abd al-Jalîl, the Author, was also present, and letters were written : one to Amîrak Bayhaqî, asking him to come before the army, ordering Begtigin and Pir to stay in Kalif and Zamm and not to molest the peasants, and informing them about the departure of Muhammad A'rabi for Amuy with Kurd and Arab Contingents; another to the Amîr of Chaghaniyan (Amîr Abu'l-Qâsim), with these details and encouragements, ordering him to be on guard as 'Ali Tigin would send him an envoy, and a third to 'Abd al-Samad. Formerly he used to be addressed as Shaykh-na (Our Shaykh); now the address was made "Shaykhî wa-Mu'tamadî" (My Shaykh and My Trusted one). He was informed that as Khwârazmshâh gave up his sweet life in this service the rights of that kind old man must, of necessity, be recognised in the case of his sons who were with Mas'ûd and trained in his service and one of them, as chosen by Mas'ûd, would be sent later on to settle these affairs properly. A fourth letter was written to the army of Khwârazmshâh in thanks for the service they had done. All these letters were signed by the Sultân, and his seal affixed.

One day Mas'ûd gave audience. Hârûn, son of Khwârazmshâh and a Rafîi on his mother's side, stayed at the court for one hour and all believed that he would succeed

his father. He returned home between the two prayers i.e. noon and afternoon. The letter-patent was written for the Kingdom of Khwârazmshâh with the Deputyship of Hârûn to Amir Sa'id, son of Mas'ûd. In this letter the son of Mas'ûd was called Khwârazmshâh and this title was conferred upon him, and Hârûn was addressed as the Household-Deputy of Khwârazmshâh. The letter-patent got the royal seal. Letters were written to Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Samad and the army that Ahmad would be the Secretary and Hârûn was addressed as "My son and My Secretary" ("Waladî and Mu'tamadî").

On Thursday, the 8 of Jumada I, 423 A.H. the Khil'at of Hârûn was prepared—half of the Khil'at fixed for his father. He donned it and retired. Sati Tamyîz, another son of Khwârazmshâh, braver and better-looking than Hârûn, had built up hope that he would be sent and was very sad and disappointed. The Amîr rewarded him and said, "Thou art worthy of grander services than this." He kissed the ground and said, "The welfare of the servants is what the master thinks, and this servant does not consider one day's service and sight of the master equal to all the bounties and the Kingdoms of the world." On Friday, Hârûn went to the balcony; Bu Nasr had written the oath and put it before him; Hârûn repeated it, and the nobles and grandees became witnesses. Then he went to the Amîr to get permission to go. The Amîr exhorted him: "Be careful, and keep yourself before your eyes that your position may be elevated. Ahmad is instead of your father; obey his orders, keep the servants of your father well and recognise everyone's service; and forget not our great favour."

S. M. SIDDIQ.

(To be Continued.)

**CONTRIBUTION TO THE MODERN PERSIAN-
ENGLISH VOCABULARY.**

اقتصاد (iqtisâd) : "Economy." (وطن 1917, No. 40).
 — "Economics." (نوبهار). Cf. اقتصادی "Economic."

اقتصادی "Economic." (i.e., concerned with economics). See under اسارت اتحاد (1922, No. 219, p. 1. col. 3).

اقدام (iqdâm) : "Procedure, undertaking, taking action." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 3).

در مجلس اشراف مذاکره راجع بروسیه از طرف لرد پارمور مطرح شده
 بالفور جوابا از اقدام دولت دفاع کرد

In the House of Lords the discussion relating to Russia was brought forward by Lord Parmoor, who at once, in answer (to questions), set out to defend the Government procedure.

اقدام (iqdâm) : "initiative, undertaking, steps" (in furtherance of an object). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24 p. 1, col. 3).

آقای مهدوی در موضوع تصویب نامه هائی که از هیئت وزراء در خصوص
 واگذاری اراضی آبادان به نقط جنوب شرقی اظهار داشتند آقای رئیس الوزراء
 جدا تکذیب و گفتند تاکنون اقدامی بعمل نیامده است

To the statement of Aqâ Mahdavi on the subject of the Cabinet's approval of the consignment of the fertile lands to the Southern Petrol (company) the Premier gave an emphatic denial, and said that up to the present no steps had been taken.

اکیدا (akîdan) : "Peremptorily." (مین 1924, No. 27, 3. sub -col. 1).

ژنرال مزبور بکلیه قسمتهای توپخانه قشون آلمان از صحرائی وزین و قلعه و غیره
اکیدا امر میدهد

The above-mentioned general (Ludendorf) gave orders peremptorily to all the divisions of the German artillery—field, horse, and garrison, etc.

آگاهی (âgâhî): “Edification, being alive to facts.”
(آب و خاک 1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 4). See under ترقی (iltizâm).
التزام

فرهنگ (To make one responsible.” از کسی التزام گرفتن
1888, No. 572, p. 2, col. 1.).

و باید از ضباط و عمال جزو هم التزام بگیرند که مدلل این حکم تخلف نکنند

And the officials and revenue-collectors must be made responsible for any divergence from the injunctions of this firmân.

الکتریک “Electricity.” (طوفان 1927, No. 191,
p. 4, sub-col. 3).

— “Electric.” (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 4).

قوة آن را بتوسط ماشینها به الکتریک و بخار و غیره تبدیل نموده استفاده ها کرده
خود مان را خوشبخت و محفوظ می سازیم

By changing the force of that (water) by means of machines into electricity, steam, etc., we may have good fortune and security in the advantages (derived).

همه میدانیم که در اروپا و آتومیلهای الکتریک کثافات شهرها را
بخارج حمل میکنند

We all know that in Europe electric waggons and motor-cars carry out the town refuse.

آلمان (Alamân; as آلمان) “German, or Germany.” (Persian newspapers, *passim*).

امپراطوری بریطانیا (imperatôri-ye britâniyâ): “The British Empire.” (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 2).

ژورژ پادشاه انگلستان بنام امپراطوری بریطانیا تشاتی به پیروامیرال
فرانسوی اعطائموده است

King George of England has conferred the Order of the British Empire on the French Admiral X.

امتحان (imtihân). “ To undergo an examination.” (Persian newspapers, *passim*).

ازعهده امتحان بیرون آمدن az ‘uhda-ye imtihân bîrûn âmadan): “ To pass an examination successfully ; ‘ To pass.’ ” (Persian newspapers, *passim*).

امتناع (imtinâ): “ Refusal, rejection, dissent.” Sometimes better rendered as adj., “ dissentient.” (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 2, col. 1).

تبصره که آقای عظیمی راجع بقطع حقوق سفرا × × × پیشنهاد کرده
بودند مطرح و با × × × تبدیل (قطع) به (توقیف) × × ×
با کثرت ۶۳ رای در مقابل ۲۴ رأی امتناع تصویب گردید

The note submitted by Akâ ‘Azîmî having reference to the discontinuance of the claims of ambassadors was brought before (the Assembly), and with the alteration of “discontinuance” to “suspension” was approved by 63 votes against 24 dissentient votes.

امتیاز

(ب) امتیاز گذراندن (imtiyâz guzarândan; with
“ To grant a concession ” (to), (ترقی 1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

دولت امریکا مایل نیست که برای دولت ایران حالیه مشغول گذراندن امتیاز
نقط بامریکائیهها است مشکلاتی ایجاد کند

The United States is not inclined to raise difficulties for Persia which is now engaged in granting a petrol concession to Americans.

آمدن (âmadan). “ To turn out, to happen to be.” (کوه 1921, Apr. 10, p. 5).

امراد

امراد وقت (imrâr-e vakt): “ Letting time pass ; delay.” (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col., 5).

کیانی استاندارد در تعقیب سیاست امرار وقت باقی و دولت مانیز از این دول
دادن ها و امروز و فرداهای وی خسته نشده است

The Standard Oil Company is still pursuing its policy of delay, whilst our Government also is not (yet) tired of that (Company's) trickery and procrastination.

Living, livelihood. (imrâr-e hayât) : امرار حیات

(ترقی 1924, No. 7, p. 2, col. 4).

آیا کدام قانون و کدام وجدان اجازه داده که دسترنج يك مشیت بدبختی که
با خون جگر برای امرار حیات خود و خانواده شان تهیه کرده اند به مصرف
شهوت پرستی يك عده مالکین طماع برسد

What law or conscience has permitted that the hard earnings of a set of poor and unfortunate creatures who with their heart's blood gain them for their livelihood and that of their household should be at the ravenous disposal of a number of greedy (land) proprietors ?

امروز و فردا (imrûz-u fardâ-hâ) : “ Procrastination.” (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 5). See under امرار وقت

را or اضافت (with) انجام دادن (anjâm). انجام (or به) : “ To accomplish or carry out ” (a business or duty). (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 3, col. 4).

همیشه کار را در دنیا از کسی می خواهند که قابل انجام دادن آن باشد از سنگ
راه رفتن نمی خواهند زیرا قادر نیست از چهار پا فکر کردن توقع نمی کنند زیرا
نمی تواند بهمین طریق در جا معه ها و وظیفه بگردن کسانی است که می توانند
و قادر با انجام دادن آن هستند

In the world such work always is required of a person as he is capable of accomplishing. A stone is not asked to move, since it is unable (to do so) : an animal is not expected to think, since it cannot. In the same way, in communities such duties are incumbent upon people as they can take up and accomplish.

آن (Arabic). آنا قانا (ânan fa-ânan) : " From moment to moment." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, sub-col. 5).

آنا قانا جز وقوع انواع خدمات ××××× چیزی فراهم نیست

From moment to moment nothing accrues to (this country and people) but all kinds of shocks, (etc., etc.)

انارشستی (Fr.): "Anarchy." (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 1, col. 3).

انتخابات (intikhâbât; pl.): (Parliamentary) "elections." (ترقی 1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 1).

عمادالسلطنه شرحی راجع بسوء جریان انتخابات اردستان اظهار داشت

'Imâdu's-Saltana made a statement (in the National Assembly) concerning the bad mode of procedure in the Ardistan elections.

اکتریک (Fr.): "Intrigue." (یک 1924, No. 18, p. 2, col. 2).

انتشار (intishâr) : "Issue," (e.g., of a postage stamp) (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 2, col. 3).

Issue of a temporary stamp in France

انتشارتمبر موقتی در فرانسه

ایران جوان) (To issue," (e.g., a postage stamp). (انتشاردادن ibidem).

وزارت پست و تلگراف در نظر گرفته است تمبر پست مخصوصی انتشار دهد

The post and Telegraph Ministry has it in view to issue a special postage stamp.

انتصاب (intisâb) : "Appointment" (to an office). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 2, col. 2).

انتصاب appointment.

بنابر ابلاغ آقای وزیر مالیه آقایان ذیل هر يك بسمت معین منصوب
× × گردید

According to an intimation of the Financial minister the following gentlemen have been appointed, each one, to a particular office.

انتظار رفتن (with که): "To be expected." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 1).

و ابسه از دولت سردار سپه هم انتظار میرفت که مابین دول روابط حسنه خود را کاملاً محفوظ داشته باشند

And undoubtedly it was also to be expected from the government of the General-Commanding-in-Chief that he would maintain his good relations with these governments (Germany and France) perfectly intact.

انتقاد (intiqâd): "Criticism; selecting good coin from mixed." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 3, col. 5)

اول کسی که باین کار اقدام نموده است آقای مرتضاخان مشفق میباشد که جامعه را باشجاعت تمام انتقاد نموده و اینک رومان طهران مخوف را برشته تحریر درآورده اند

The first person to undertake this work was Akâ Mur-tazâ Khân Mushfiq who has criticized the community with great courage in his novel, "Frightful Tehran."

[The Editor of the اتحاد is speaking of the corrupt state of the Persian community].

انحطاط (inhitât): "Degradation." (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 2).

و هر روز آلت خارجیه شده و مانع ترقی ملیونها نفوس و عامل ترزیق نرافات و انحطاط و سرشکستگی يك ملت اسلامی میشود

And (who) every day becomes a tool of foreigners, a hindrance to the progress of millions of souls, an agent to the spread of idle superstitions and of the degradation and affliction of an Islamic community.

“To a certain extent.” تا اندازه (Andâza). اندازه (Andâza).
(اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 1).

خوشبختانه تا اندازه موفقیت حاصل و توجهات عمومی نسبت باین
مسئله مشهود گردیده است

Fortunately success has, to a certain extent, been gained, and public interest in this question has been witnessed.

انقصاد (in‘iqâd): “Conclusion,” (e.g., of an agreement) (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 2, col. 3).

بعضی از نظریات و اختلافاتی قبل از انعقاد معاهده تجارتی با دولت روسیه
در بین بود

Before the conclusion of the commercial treaty with Russia, there were some views (to be considered) and differences (to be settled).

انعکاسی (in‘ikâsi): “Reflex,” (انعکاس)
(as action). (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 2).

حرکت انعکاسی حرکتی است بلا توجه که باراده میتوان مانع شد از این قبیل
است حرکت پلکهای چشم و غیره

Reflex action is an unnoticed movement that can be hindered by (an act of) will, such as the movement of the eyelids, etc.

[This is scarcely the received idea of reflex action].

انفصال (infisâl): “Retirement, removal” (from office).
(ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 2, col. 2).

تغییرات در وزارت مالیه ————— انفصال

Changes in the Financial Ministry—Removals from office.

آنی (ânî): “Momentary.” (کاوه 1921, ap. 10, p. 2)

———— “Immediate” (اتحاد 1922, No. 217, p. 1).

وضع (vaz‘; pl. of auzâ): “State of affairs, position.” (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 11, sub-col. 3).

نمایندگان انگلیس راجع نتیجه کنفرانس بحری اظهار امیدواری کرده دلی این
بکته را مکتوم نکردند که اوضاع بدون شبه باریک است

The English representatives express hope as to the issue of the naval conference, but do not disguise the fact that the position is delicate.

— “Circumstances.” (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, col. 1).

مسائلی که در عهد نامه های تجارت گنجانده میشود بنا بمقتضیات وقت و
تفاوتهایی که در روابط اقتصادی طرفین پیدامیشود قابل تغییر و هرچندی بچندی
محتاج بتجدید نظر و تطبیق مواد آن با اوضاع است

The questions included in the commercial treaties, in accordance with the requirements of the times and the differences which arise in the economic relations of the two countries, are susceptible of alteration, and require revision from time to time and the bringing of their provisions into conformity with circumstances.

An “ultimatum.” (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 3).

اول (avval-râ) : “At first.” (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 1).

اثر حادثه اول را تاریک و در نتیجه استقلال و حیات ایران تا مین میگردید

The effects of (such) occurrence were at first obscure but in the issue the independence and life of Persia were secured.

اولیا

اولیای امور (avliyâ-ye umûr) : “The authorities, chiefs,” (e.g., of Departments). (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 2).

اولیای امور هم هر یک بنوبه خود مصدر کار و زارتی و غیره می شوند

Those in authority become each in turn, the centres of ministerial and other functions.

اونیوسته (Fr.) : “University.”

اوهام (pl. of وهم vahim). (auhâm-u khurâfât)
 پیک (" Superstitious fancies." اوهام وخرافات
 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 3).

باید دید کدام يك از این دو طرف حق دارند عناصر مرتجع و کهنه پرست ملا
 نماهای بی دین × × × فروشندگان زهر اوهام وخرافات × × ×
 یا توده های وسیعه خلق و طرفداران و حامیان آن

We must see which of these two sides is in the right: reactionary elements devoted to (bad) old institutions; false Mullas without religion, disseminators of the poison of superstitious fancies—or the wide masses of the people and their partisans and protectors.

اهتزاز (ihtizâz): "Vibration." (Redhouse; and
 مین 1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 4).

چه حرکت تنها نتیجه تقلص عضلات نیست بلکه ثمره سیاله ایست که
 در اعصاب حیوانی در اهتزاز است

For movement is not simply the consequence of the contraction of muscles, but the result of a fluid in vibration in the animal nerves.

خودرو (ahli): "Domestic;" (as opposed to
 "wild"). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 5, col. 1).

لوازم و وسایل بشیر از قبیل حیوانات اهلی و غیره محل ضرورت است

More necessities and means are required, such as domestic and other animals.

به (with) اهمیت دادن (ahammîyat) اهمیت
 "To attach importance" (to), "to think
 anything" (of). (اتحاد 1922., No. 215, p. 4, col. 5.)

این سالون رقص × × × سابقا کلیسای کوچکی بوده است ولی پرنس
 بیزمارک آن قدر کشیشها و رؤسای روحانی بمحبس ها فرستاده بود که حالا
 بر قاضی در يك معبدی اهمیت نمی داد

This ball-room was formerly a small chapel, but Prince Bismarck had sent so many priests and prelates to prison that now he did not think anything of having dancing in a place of worship.

آهین برهان (âhanîn-burhân): "With the force of iron, forcible, 'mailed'." (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 1, col. 1).

برای شرح این جمله × × × × میتوان چندین مقاله نوشت
و مغزودهان آن رسته غرض و ازوهیت بی حیثیت را با مشتهای آهین
برهان خرد کرد

To set forth this matter fully we must write some paragraphs, and with mailed fists smash the brains and mouths of that self-interested set and meritless body of men.

ائتلاف

ائتلاف کردن (i'tilâf kardan; with با):

"To agree, to unite" (with). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, sub-col. 3).

جناح راست حزب کمونیست با جناح چپ ائتلاف کرده اند که حکومت
شخصی استالین را سرنگون نمایند

The right wing of the communist party have united with the left to overthrow the personal rule of Stalin.

ایجاب

ایجاب گردیدن (ijâb gardîdan): "To be necessitated." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, col. 1).

پس صلاح اینست مدت آن (قرارداد تجارت) محدود باشد × × × ×
که چنانچه نواقصی در عمل مشهود و یا تجدید نظری ایجاب گردید در موقع
انقضاء مدت اقدام بشود

Hence, it is advisable that the term of that (commercial agreement) should be limited, so that if any defects should be seen in the working of it, or a change of views have been necessitated, action may be taken on the expiration of the term.

ایجاد

ایجاد کردن (îjâd kardan): "To institute, to set up." (کاوه 1921, Apr. 10, p. 6).

ایراد

خطابه ایراد نمودن (Khitâb-i îrâd namûdan) “ To make a speech, to give an address.” (اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 3, col. 2).

روز جمعه آقای مصدق السلطنه خطابه دایر بر لیاقت و قابلیت آقای یاور حسن خان بقائی ایراد نموده و مراتب خدمات مشعشی را که از ایشان بظهور رسیده بود متذکر شده بودند

On Friday Aqâ Musaddiqu's-Saltana made a speech on the fitness and ability of Aqâ Yâvar Hasan Khân Baqâ'i and mentioned the several brilliant services which he had rendered.

آروپلان An “ æroplane.” (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 3, col. 1.).

ایستگاه بحری (istgâh): A “ station ”, as in a “ maritime station.” (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 3, col. 4).

از نقطه سیدی بوالسلام در سرحد منطقه فرانسه تا بندر طنجه نزدیک تنگه جبل الطارق فرو رفتگی که مستعد ساختن بنا درو ایستگاه های بحری باشد دیده نمی شود

From the point Sîdî Bu's-Salâm on the border of the French zone as far as Tangiers on the Straits of Gibraltar no low-lying land is seen fit for the construction of ports or maritime stations.

ایلخانی (îlkhânî): “ Chief of a tribe.” (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, sub-col. 2).

اصفهان - سردار طفر ایلخانی بختیاری با چند نفر از خوانین وارد شده توقف کرده اند

Isfahan—General Zafar, the Bakhtiyârî tribal chief, has arrived (at Isfahan) with several Khâns, and is making a stay.

این است که (in ast ki): “ It is for this reason that.” (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 2, col. 1).

این است که ادامه خدمات خود را بموقع دیگر میگذاریم

It is for this reason that we postpone the continuance of our services to another occasion.

[Probably a Gallicism].

ب

ب (ba, now pronounced be). This preposition has the sense, "explained by", in the dictionary expression انگلیسی بفارسی "English-Persian"; i.e., English explained by Persian. (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 4, col. 3).

The Farhang-e Muqtadir, English-Persian :

فرهنگ مقتدر انگلیسی بفارسی

— به اسم آنکه (ba-ism-e ânki): "In as much as." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 4, col. 5).

این ترتیب را به اسم آنکه آن عایدی برای مصرف ترقی دادن صعت است
و خریداران هم توانائی تحمیل را دارند و نکت بفروش نخواهد بود ممکن است
مجرأ نمود

This plan may be put into execution, in as much as such return for expenditure would advance trade, whilst the purchasers, (being rich) could bear the burden, and there would be no hindrance to the sale.

— به اینکه (ba-înki): "To the effect that." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 1).

قانون تعدد زوجات بدولت خود پیشنیهادی نمایند به اینکه هر مردی اجازه
دارد چندین زن را ترویج نماید در صورتی که حالت مالیه او بتواند ایشان را
بی نیاز نماید

They will propose a law to their own governments in favour of polygamy, to the effect that any man will be at liberty to marry several women provided his financial condition can support them.

—	بطور خصوصی	See under	طور
—	بطوری که	See under	طور

با “considering.” (فکر آزاد) 1924, No. 148, p. 4 sub-col. 2).

ما باین فساد اخلاق عمومی آیا حق داریم بگوئیم چرا ترقی نمی کنیم چرا ما را
سایر ملل نیم وحشی خطاب میکنند

Considering such corruption of public morals have we the right to say, “Why do we not make progress? Why do other nations call us semi-savages.”?

بار

بار آوردن (bâr âvardan): “To bring a load.”

[Used metaphorically, as, بار فشار آوردن (bâr-e-fishâr âvardan). (with بر): “To bring pressure to bear” (upon)]. (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 1).

اهالی بار فشار آوردند مشغول اصلاحات خیابان ها و اتظیفات شهر تروین
میشود

The inhabitants have brought pressure to bear (upon the governor) to enforce his engaging in repairing the roads and cleansing the town of Kazvîn.

—— “To breed,” (e.g., silkworms). (گنج شایگان p. 83).

درخصوص عمل آوردن درخت توت و بنای تلمبار و بار آوردن کرم ×××
وساختن تخم نوغان اطلاعات علمی مفیده میدهد

To give useful scientific information on the cultivation of the mulberry-tree, the building of nurseries, the building of the silkworms . . . and the management of the eggs of moths.

باریک (bârik): “Critical,” (a situation).

(ایران جوان) 1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 1).

در چنین موقع باریک بناید از تحریات گذشته غفلت نمود و درسی را که تاریخ
بما میدهد خردشمرد

In so critical a situation we must not be unmindful of past experiences, or slight the lesson that History teaches us.

اردو بازار See بازار

بالغ (bâligh) : "Amounting" (to) '(Redhouse),
بالغ شدن (with بر) : "To amount" (to). (1927, محشر
No. 55, p. 8, col. 1).

روز شنبه جمعی از علما و تجار × × که بالغ بر پنجاه نفر میشد در منزل
آقای حاج میرزا علی اکبر جمع

On Saturday a number of learned men, merchants, etc.
amounting to fifty individuals assembled in the house of
Aqâ Hâjjî Mîrzâ 'Alî Akbar.

بالغ شدن occurs in the same article also with genitive
از حاضرین صورت نویسی شد بالغ يك صد و دو هزار تومان
هر کس بفرآخور حال خودش وجه نوشت

Those present opened a subscription-list to amount
to 1,02,000 tûmâns, and each person subscribed according
to his means.

بدایت (badâyat) : " (Of) first instance," (a Court of
justice). (1927, محشر No. 55, p. 4, col. 3).

باسمعیل × × ولد محمد اخطار میشود که مدعی العموم بدایت طهران
بر شما بجرم سرقت × × × اقامه دعوی نموده

Isma'îl the son of Muhammad is notified that the
Public Prosecutor of the Court of first instance of Teheran
has taken proceedings against him for theft.

بدبینی (bad-bînî) : "Suspicion, mistrust," (اتحاد
1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 5).

ایکبار دیگر از زیر پرده های ضخیم × × سیاست پیچ
در پیچ علائمی بروز نمود که شبیه بجران جدیدی در امر امتیاز نفت بوده تجدید
نگرانی ها و بدبینی ها را موجب شد

Once more from behind the thick curtains of (this)
intricate policy signs have appeared which point to a fresh
crisis in the matter of the naphtha concession and have
caused a renewal of anxiety and mistrust.

بد خواب (bad-khvâb) : "Sleeping badly, one who
sleeps badly." (1927, طوفان No. 191, p. 3, col. 5).

درجات See بدرجات

بدگوئی

بدگوئی کردن (bad-gû'î kardan ; with

از "To speak ill" (of). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 4). شوستر در کتاب خود سخت از مشارالیه بدگوئی میکند

Schuster in his book speaks very ill of the above-mentioned. [The "Above-mentioned" was Schuster's predecessor in regulating the finances of Persia].

ایران جوان) : "Manifestly." (for بدوا budûvan) : (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 11, col. 2).

مشارالیه اظهار داشت موضوع اجرای در عراق بدو اراجع بخود

دولت عراق است

The above-mentioned (Member) represented that the subject of conscription in 'Irâq manifestly concerned the 'Irâq government itself.

برات

برات کردن (barât kardan ; with به) :

"To consign by draft" (to). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 11, sub-col. 4).

کارگران ایرانی می توانند آزاد اند ۲۵ درصد اجرت خود را مطابق مظنه رسمی به ایران برات کنند

Persian workers (in Russia) may freely consign by draft to Persia in accordance with the official rate of exchange 25 per cent. of their wages.

تقی (barbarî) : a "barbarian, a savage."

1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 4). See بربریت

بربریت (barbarîyat) : "Barbarism." (تقی 1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 4).

"Barbarism and savagery."

See under اشکال

برداشت کردن (bar-dâsh t kardan) برداشت :

"To carry off." (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 2).

بلی آلبرت باماھی سیصد تومان (!) سیصد تومان حقوق علاوه بر سایر عملیات دوهزار تومان علنا از صندوق برداشت کرده است

Yes, X., whose pay is 300 tûmâns a month—300 tûmâns!—besides all his other procedure has openly carried off 2,000 tûmâns from the public chest.

داشتن See under برداشتن

بر علیه (bar 'alaih-e): "Against" (1922, اتحاد, No. 216, p. 4, col. 2 and 3).

شارژی دافر بریطانی بر علیه جمله که یونا نیا خیال دارند بطرف اسلامبول بکار
بر بند بدولت یونان اعتراض کرده است

The British Chargè d'affaires has lodged an objection with the Greek Government against an attack which the Greeks are designing to make against Constantinople.

برق See under چراغ برق

بر گذاری (verbal noun): "Giving, presentation."
(1924, اتحاد, No. 10, p. 4, col. 1).

کرم شاهانه مقتضی بود که بدون چون و چرا دستخط آفتاب قط و فرمان
مهر لمان به بر گذاری آن صادر گردد

The kingly generosity required that the sun-like autograph, the resplendent rescript, should without why or wherefore issue for the giving (of the petrol concession). [The paragraph is a skit on the thoughtless and arbitrary generosity of Nâsiru'd-Dîn Shâh].

گردانیدن See under برگردانیدن

بزك (bazak, from T. bezek): a "personal ornament"
(Redhouse; and محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 3).

آنچه را از دست رنج آن رعایای بیچاره بخزانة دولت وارد شده × ×
ارتقا نموده یا بر ثروت خود می افزایند یا صرف مشتهیات و اتومبیل سواری
و تفریحات و خریداری اسباب بزك مینمایند

That which should come to the Treasury from the hard earnings of the poor peasants they use for their subsistence, or to increase their wealth, or spend it upon enjoyments, motor-cars, recreations, and personal ornaments.

چہ با See under با

بسیاری (bisyârî ; archaic, bisyârê) : " A considerable number." (used often with gen. instead of از).
(1927, No. 55, p. 4, sub-col. 2).

وزنان پلیس امروزہ در بسیاری شہرہای اروپا موجود

And there are women police now in a considerable number of the towns of Europe.

بعد (ba'd). Often adj. : " Subsequent." (ایران جوان)
1927, No. 24, p. 11, col. 1).

در اطراف این مادہ مذاکرات و پیشنہاداتی شدہ و بقیہ آن موکول بجلسہ
بعدگردد

Some discussions and propositions were entered into regarding this article (of the proposed engagement) and the rest was relegated to a subsequent sitting.

از این بعد (az in ba-ba'd) : " Now and henceforth."
(اتحاد 1922, No. 215. 4, col. 3).

تصمیم متخذہ در شورای عالی متفقین منعقد در ۱۳ اوت سنہ ۱۳۳۱ راجع
بخارج کردن سرمایہ از این بعد بموقع اجرا گذاشتہ خواہد شد

The resolution adopted in the high council of the allies held on the third of August, 1921 relative to the transportation of capital will now and henceforth be given effect to (by Germany).

بعضا (ba'zan) : " Partially." (پیک 1924,
No. 18, p. 2, col. 3).

ہر گاہ اجتماعات مزبورہ کلا یا بعضا مسلح باشند مقارن همان اخطار
اولی حاملین اسلحہ توقیف و موافق حکم محکمہ نظامی مجازات میشود

Whenever such assemblies are armed, wholly or partially, on a first notice being given, the bearer of arms will be arrested, and punished according to the judgment of the Military Court.

بلدیہ (baldīya) : “ Municipality.” (میهن 1924,
No. 27, p. 1, col. 1).

بلدیہ طهران

امروز ادارهٔ بلدیہ بدست يك نفر نظامی افتاده است که تمام وسائل اصلاح
برای او آماده است

The municipality of Teheran

At the present time the administration of the municipality
(of Teheran) is in the hands of a military man, for whom
all the means of improvement have been provided.

بلشویک (Rus.) : “ Bolshevik.”

بلشویکی adj. from بلشویک

بله (ba-lah-e) : “ For, in favour (of)”, (contrast
بر علیه). (ستارهٔ ایران 1915, No. 47, p. 1, col. 2).

هموطنان را از دسایس آنها ئیکه علی کل حال مسائل ایران را بله خود
و علیه ما و همسایهٔ شمالی ما خاتمه داده × × × از هزار یکی را معرفی کنیم

Let us acquaint our fellow-countrymen with one in a
thousand of the tricks of those who in all cases have turned
the questions and difficulties of Persia in favour of
themselves and against us and our neighbour in the North.

بلیط (Fr.) a “ ticket.” (یک 1924, No. 18, p. 4, col. 1).
[Pronounced “ belîl ”].

بمب A “ bomb.” (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 2, sub-col. 3).

بمبارده

بمبارده نمودن “ To bombard.” (ستارهٔ ایران 1924,
No. 9, p. 3, col. 1).

بندگی

بندگی کردن (bandagî kardan) : “To give,” (as an inferior
to a superior). (تجدد 1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 2.)

البته يك کبانی که پیدا میشود و صدی شانزده بندگی میکند خیلی شایان تقدیر بوده

Undoubtedly a company which presents itself and gives 16 per cent. is highly worthy of appreciation.

[Spoken satirically of the mode of disposing of the petrol concession in the time of Nâsiru'd-Dîn Shâh].

بنیه (binya; generally pronounced "bunya").

از بنیه افتادن (To lose strength.) (فرهنگ 188, No. 571, p. 4, col. 1.)

بوجب اعلان رسمی که امروز × × منتشر شد حالت امپراطور از دیروز عصر باین طرف دوباره خیلی بهم خورده است و از بنیه افتاده است

According to an official announcement issued to-day the state of the Emperor (Frederick) since yesterday afternoon has been much disturbed again, and he has lost strength.

بودجه (Fr.): "The Budget." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 2).

— "Income, revenue." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, sub-col. 4).

ما متحیریم اداره امنیه با این بودجه سنگین درین مملکت بچه کاری آید

Of what use, we wonder, is the Department of Public Security in this country with all its heavy revenue.

— (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 1).

آن روز بلدیہ پنج شش هزار تومان در ماه بودجه داشت

At that time the municipality (of Teheran) had a revenue of 5 or 6 thousand tûmâns a month.

۳۳.

بهم خوردن [baham khurdan (khwardan)]:

"To be disturbed," (as the state of a sick person). (فرهنگ 1888, N. 571, p. 4, col. 1). See under بنیه (از بنیه افتادن).

بی اعتنائی (bî-i'tinâ'i): "Want of interest." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 5).

این تصمیم در نتیجه خستگی و یاس و یا بقول خود او بواسطه احساس بی اعتنائی و لا قیدی دولت نسبت به پیشنهادهای آن کمپانی است

This resolution to give up was the result of disgust at waiting and hopelessness ; or , in the words of the representative) himself, was caused by the feeling of the want of interest and apathy of the (Persian) Government relative to the proposals of that company.

[" That company " ; i.e., the Sinclair Oil Company].

بیان

بیان نمودن (or کردن) [Bayân namûdan (or kardan)], in connection with a word like شرح means " to give forth, to offer."

(مین 1924, No. 27, p. 2, col. 1).

آقای عمادالسلطنه شرحی راجع بعملیات نایبالحکومه اردستان درخصوص اینکه مردم را وادار میکنند که از انتخابات دوره پنجم شکایت کنند بیان

'Imâdu's-Saltana offered a statement on the action of the Vice-Governor of Ardistân in restraining people from complaining at the elections of the fifth parliament.

فکر آزاد (bî-haisiyat) : " Meritless." بی حیثیت

1924, No. 148, p. 1, col. 1). See under آهین برهان (" Obscure. obscurely." بی سروصدا 1921, Apr. 10, p. 1).

1927, طوفان (bî-sîm) : " Wireless." بی سیم
No. 191, p. 2, col. 2).

Wireless through Paris : بی سیم پاریس (bî-sîm-e Paris.)

بی شرفانه (bî-sharafâna) : " Ignoble, dishonourable," اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 3, col. 5).

افکار رزل و بی شرفانه جهالت خود پرستی و بی حسی درندگی و سبعت از يك طرف فکر آزاد و بی آرایش عشق پاک و از خود گذشتگی از طرف دیگر درس کتاب مجسم شده اند

Vile and dishonourable thoughts, selfish and senseless ignorance, ferocity and savagery, on the one hand; frank and unsullied thought, pure love and selflessness on the other, have been featured in this work.

بی صاحب (bî-sâhib): "Without a patron" (To help), "helpless." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 2, col. 1).

× × × نتیجه ندادند امتیاز نفت شمال بیک کمپانی مستقل امریکائی
موجب تحکیم و تثبیت زنجیر اسارتی است که × × سیاست جابرانه همسایه
جنوبی بگردن ملت بینوا بی صاحب ایران افکنده است

The result of not granting the concession of naptha in the North to an independent American Company would be the closer binding of the chains of that slavery that the oppressive policy of our neighbour in the South has cast round the neck of the poor and helpless people of Persia.

ستاره ایران (bî-taraf): "Neutral," (as a State). (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1. col. 1).

در روابط سایر دول بی طرف دولت ایران هم حفظ بی طرفی و تشدید مابین اتحاد
منظور داشته است

In her relations with all the neutral States also Persia has kept in view the preservation of neutrality and the strengthening of the foundations of harmony.

بی طرف "Neutrality." See under بی طرفی

بی عرضی (bî-'irzî): "Degrading." (adj.). (محرر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 4).

× × × وها بیها با عموم حجاج بلا استثناء رفتار نا هنجار نموده
بجز دشنام و غشهای بی عرضی تکلم دیگر با آنها نکرده اند

That Wahhâbîs have behaved unfittingly to all the pilgrims without exception and have spoken nothing but abuse and degrading words of insult to them.

بی غرضی (bî-gharazagî. As "Indifference." (بی غرضی فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 2, col. 1).

× × × زیرا از بی غرضی و عدم علاقه آنهاست که موضوع نفت شمال
این قدر بطول انجامیده است

Because it is owing to the indifference and want of interest of those (classes) that the subject of the petrol in the North (of Persia) dragged on so long.

بی مدرکی (bî-mudrikî) : "Want of comprehension."
(تجدد 1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 2).

بی هوسنی و بی مدرکی تاچه درجه برز مامداران تاریخ و دربار آسمانی حکومت
داشته است

To what extent did want of intelligence and comprehension prevail over the Ministers at the period and the heavenly court (of Nâsiru'd-Dîn) !

[Called the "heavenly Court" because of the high-flown compliments used in the reign of Nâsiru'd-Dîn Shâh].

بی مورد (bî-maurid) : "Aimless, objectless, inconclusive." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 1).

قرارداد ۱۹۱۹ نیز درقبال تغییر رژیم روسیه و انقلابات شمال ایران و اعمال
سیاستهای بی موردی ملغی گردید

The agreement of 1919 also in face of the change of régime in Russia, the disturbances in the North of Persia, and the aimless politics pursued has become null and void.

از میان (as ازین) (bain). (ازین رفتن (az bain raftan) : "To be lost."
(طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 1).

اقدام فوری عاجلی لازم است والا بکلی محصول این حدود ازین خواهد رفت

Immediate steps must be taken, otherwise, the produce of these districts will be wholly lost.

[i.e., through the ravages of locusts].

بین المللی (baina'l-milale) : "International."
(طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 1).

اگر انقلابات بالکان و بالآخره جنگ بین المللی نبود شاید هیچ قوه نمی توانست
قرارداد ۱۹۰۷ را موقوف الاجرا و بلا اثر بگذارد

If it had not been for the disturbances in the Balkans and finally the international war, it is possible that no power would have been able to invalidate the agreement of 1907.

بین النهرین (bainu'n-nahrain) : "Mesopotamia."
(Redhouse ; and newspapers, *passim*).

پا

پاکویدن (pâ kûbûdan): "To move round or about." (v. n.). (مین 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 3).

فکر حاضرین متوجه پاکویدن یا پرخیدن میز و همگی ساکت نشسته اند

The minds of those present are turned towards the moving round or turning of the table, and all are seated in silence.

[The writer is accounting for the turning of the table in table-turning by the influence of the sub-conscious mind].

پارلمانی (pârlamânî): "Parliamentary." (مین 1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 5).

پاکت A "packet." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 2).

— "Envelope" (of a letter). (Phillott).

پاکیزه (pâkîza; with به): is explained in the passage as متصل (Muttasil), i.e., "joined, affixed," meaning, presumably, "fastened; stuck" (to). (مین 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 3).

اگر میز را بلوچه تخته پاکیزه ای متصل کنند میز چرخد

If they fasten the table to the wooden disc the table will turn.

[The writer says that in table-turning if a peg be stuck on to the middle of a table and a wooden disc with a hole in the middle be put on top, so that the peg projects through the hole, the disc will turn but not the table; whereas if they be fastened together they will both turn].

پاورقی (pâ-varaqî): a "feuilleton." (Spelled in Persian فیدیون). (زبان آزاد 1917, No. 28, p. 3).

پایه A "step", a "basis."

پایه اصلی (pâya-ye aslî): "The radical basis, the basic principle." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, col. 1).

اولا — پایه اصلی روابط ما باید بر روی اصل معامله متقابل و تساوی بمعنای کامل کلمه برقرار

The basic principle of our relations must be established upon reciprocity and parity in the fullest sense of the terms.

پائین

پائین آمدن (pâ'in âmadan) : "To diminish."
(neut. v.). (ترقی 1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 3).

صادرات غله امریکا در شش ماهه اخیر فوق العاده پائین آمده است

The exports of corn from America have in the last six months diminished to an extraordinary degree.

پر (par).

پر شدن (parshudan) : "To be plucked," (as a bird). (زبان آزاد 1917, No. 28, p. 4).

پر کردن (parkardan) ; "To pluck," (as a bird). (Wollaston's Eng.-Per. Dictionary). پر نمودن (par namûdan). As پر کردن above. (زبان آزاد 1917, No. 28, p. 4.)

پرتاب

پرتاب نمودن (partâb namûdan) : "To hurl."
(کوشش 1927, No. 77, p. 2, col. 5).

باطراف و اکناف سنگها وسایر مواد ذویه پرتاب مینمود

(The volcano) hurled stones and other fusible matter all around.

پرتست (with به) : a "protest" (addressed to) (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 3).

پرداخت

پرداخت نمودن (pardâkht namûdan) : "To pay." (اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 3, col. 3).

کسیون اجلامی نموده همچون رای داده اند که عموم مهاجرین را بر شماری هر هریک بیست و دو قران ده شاهی هر ماهه مقرری معین و پرداخت نمایند

The commission held a meeting and decided that a census should be taken of all the refugees, and that a fixed monthly subsidy of 22 Qirâns and 10 shahîs should be paid to each of them.

پرسنل (Fr. *personnel*): "The staff, the officials."
(محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 3).

پرسنلی "Of the staff." (1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 3).

پروگرام "Programme." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 3).

پروتست (Eng.): a "protest." See also پرتست
پره (para): "Winged"; from پر "feather, wing." See پوست پره
پست "Low."

فرش پست (farsh-e past): "Carpets of inferior value." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 4, col. 5). Cf. its equivalent, فرش ارزان قیمت in the same column.
پست a "post or office." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 2).

See under آشکار کردن

— See پوست

پشت (pusht-e kâr): "Effort." (کاه 1921, Apr. 10, p. 4).

پشم کلاه ریختن (pashm-e kulâh rikhtan):
For "affairs to deteriorate." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 3).

دراواخر این سلطنت متمادی چون از یک طرف پشم کلاه شاه ریخته و از طرف دیگر وزیرکشاده بازو مبذلی مانند امین السلطان زمام امور مملکت را دست گرفته بود حالت اعتدال مالیه بهم خورد

Towards the end of this long reign (of Nâsiru'd-Dîn), since, on the one hand, the affairs of the Shâh had deteriorated, and, on the other hand, a Minister so lavish and prodigal as Amînu's-Sultân had taken the government in hand, the state of the Finances became unbalanced and confused.

پلیس "The police." (پیک) 1924, No. 18,
p. 1, col. 3).

(پست) پوست

پوست پره (pûst-e para) "Air-mail." (مین) 1924, No. 27,
p. 2, col. 1).

رپرت کمیون قوانین مالیہ راجع بصدور پوست پره

Report of the Commission on the regulations of the Financial Ministry relative to the issue of air-mail (stamps).

[I am assuming that the word تمبر has been omitted before پوست پره].

پوست شهری (pûst-e shahrî): "Town or local post." (ترقی) 1924, No. 7, p. 2, col. 3).

پهلو A "side."

پهلو (pahlû; with gen.): "According to "; as

پهلوی سیستم جدید "According to the new methods."

(ستاره ایران) 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 2).

سردار سیه × × × توانست کشتی جنگی پهلوی سیستم جدید از کارخانه
های آلمان برای ایران ابتیاع نماید

The General Commanding-in-Chief was able to buy for Persia from the factories of Germany a war vessel (built) according to the new methods.

پیدا

پیدا شدن (paidâ shudan): "To be found."

(ستاره ایران) 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 3).

هرگاه اقدامات لازمه برای جلوگیری از مرض مزبور جدا بعمل نیاید
در آتیۀ نزدیکی در صفحات مزبور یکفرد گاو پیدا نخواهد شد

If the necessary measures for checking the malady be not strenuously adopted, in the near future a single head of cattle will not be found in the above area.

پیدا

پیدا کردن (paidâ kardan): "To find,"

(e.g., work for anyone). (کاوه 1921, Apr. 10, p. 6).

پیراهن A "loose white vest."

پیراهن عثمان (pîrâhan-e 'Usmân): "The vest of 'Usmân."

Its metaphorical sense, "a call for strife and opposition," is explained by the following from Muir's *Caliphate*, p. 244:

"A citizen of Madina, wrapping carefully the severed fingers of Naila in the blood-stained shirt of Othman, meet symbols of revenge, carried them off to Damascus, and laid them at Muavia's feet."

پیش بینی

پیش بینی شدن (pîsh-bînî shudan): "To be

foreseen." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

چنین پیش بینی میشود که پس از گذشتن راپرت مزبور از نظر آقای رئیس الوزرا کمیونی مرکب از اشخاص بصیر و متخصص تشکیل

It is foreseen that after the above report has been received by the Premier a Commission will be formed of specialists.

پیش بینی کردن

(pîsh-bînî kardan; with accusative): "To foresee." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 2, col. 1).

مانمی توانم سکوت و سکوتی که عمارت بادگیر و بهارستان را فرا گرفته است تصدیق نموده و در مقابل مخاطرات و بدبختیهای که پیش بینی می کنیم توضیحاتی نخواهیم

We cannot endorse the silence and quietude that have fallen upon Government quarters; nor, in view of the dangers and misfortunes we foresee, can we refrain from certain expositions.

C. E. WILSON.

(To be continued.)

ISMA'ILI LAW AND ITS FOUNDER

I

EVERYTHING connected with Isma'ilism seems to be enveloped in a cloud of mystery and secrecy. The most ordinary doctrines are zealously guarded by the sectarians themselves ; even the books that are exoteric and quite harmless never reach the light of day, and are never studied except by the select few. It is not the purpose of this article to criticise or justify this attitude. Much can cogently be said on both sides, but one result is that the people at large remain grievously ignorant of the real nature and doctrine of Isma'ilism, and of its contribution to Islamic civilization.

In the case of jurisprudence this ignorance is shown by the fact, that even writers on Muhammadan Law generally suppose that Isma'ilism possesses no distinct legal system of its own ; and so great an authority as Ameer Ali laid it down that Ismâ'ilis are governed by " the general principles of Muhammadan Law "—whatever that vague and nebulous statement may mean. He is not however to be blamed ; even Nizaris* perhaps the most important, influential and numerous branch of the Ismâ'ilis, are generally ignorant of the existence of Ismâ'ilî Law—"the Pure Path" (*al-madhab at-tahir*)—to use the nomenclature of lawyers, on the analogy of the 'The Pure Imâms' (*a'immatu't-tahirin*).

The system of Ismâ'ilî jurisprudence, as it exists today and is to be found generally propounded in the works of Qâdî Nu'mân, was perfected in the reign of Al-Mu'izz li-dîni'llâh, the fourth Fâtimid Khalifah and the fourteenth (or according to others, the thirteenth) Imâm of the Ismâ'ilis (died A.H. 365/976 A.D.). The works of Qâdî Nu'mân being in Arabic, were preserved by the

* Also " Eastern Ismâ'ilis ", represented in India by the community known as Khôjas.

Musta'lian¹ branch of Ismâ'ilis² particularly in the Yemen, and now they are also to be met with in India. The Nizaris, for historical reasons, have not preserved this legal system, although it belongs as much to them as to the Musta'lians, because it originated in the times of Imâm Mu'izz, an Imam believed in by both branches. The Nizaris seem, however, to have generally adopted the jurisprudence of the country in which they settled; in Bukhâra and Samarqand, the Hanafî law; in Persia, the Ithna Asharî *Madhhab*; in India, the Hindu Dharam.

On an examination of the Ismâ'ilî legal system several peculiar characteristics appear which are to be carefully noted. Firstly, it is in reality a one man system; that is, except Qâdî Nu'mân, no jurist has attained the highest rank. In fact, if Ismâ'ilî tradition is to be believed,—and there is no reason why it should not be—it was not Qâdî Nu'mân alone who composed the standard books, but he wrote in close consultation with Imâm Mu'izz himself, and the two are like the Platonic twins, Socrates and Plato, the one completely submerged in the other; the work of Nu'mân being supposed to be a miracle of Imâm Mu'izz and the Imâm finding a mouthpiece in his great Qâdî and *hujjat*, Nu'mân.

Secondly, as regards the style and form of the works, they are more akin to the earlier Hadith literature than the later law works. No authority is cited except the first six Imâms; the vast majority of traditions being on the authority of Imam Ja'far as-Sâdiq, who is the fountain-head of Ismâ'ilî jurisprudence. The traditions cited are the decisions of the Imâms themselves, therefore erroneous opinions are not discussed or refuted, except in rare cases as, for instance, Mut'a (temporary marriage) which is, according to Ismâ'ilî Law, altogether unlawful and equivalent to *zina* (fornication). Thus the legal books of the Ismailis differ considerably from later works of Hanafî or Ithnâ 'Asharî Law.

Thirdly and lastly, the Ismâ'ilis make no distinction between the *first principles* of law and the *application* of the law. In Sunnite or Shî'ite jurisprudence generally the Shari'at laws are divided into two distinct divisions. The first division is called the *Roots* (or foundations) of the law (*Usul*). This deals with Qur'ânic interpretation, the

(1) Also called the Western Ismâ'ilis.

(2) Represented by the Bohoras in India.

criticism of traditions, distinguishing the genuine ones from those which are not genuine, etc. The second division deals with the *application* of these principles and arriving at the specific rules of Shari'at which every Muslim must obey. This division is called the *Branches* of the law (*Furu'*), popularly and erroneously also called *Furu'at*. The Ismâ'ilis assert that as the Founder of their system is Imâm Mu'izz himself, who through the instrumentality of his Qâdî laid down the law clearly, following in the footsteps of his illustrious ancestor, Imâm Ja'far as-Sâdiq, no such discussion need arise at all. The decision of the Imâm is before you, your duty is simply to follow it, if you wish to remain a follower of the Pure Path of the Pure Imâms.

As a brief account of the life of Nu'mân follows, it is needless to go into the subject here, but perhaps the story of the composition of *Da'a'imul-Islam* (the Pillars of Islâm)¹, the masterpiece of Nu'mân, and the text-book and Code of laws throughout the Fâtimid Empire, may not be uninteresting. It is related that once a large number of *Da'is* were gathered at the court of Imâm Mu'izz. The chief topic of conversation was the variations in religious practices and laws, and how erroneous opinions had crept into the Pure Path, the true Shari'at. This was strongly deprecated and the Imâm laid down the principle that the people should always follow in the footsteps of the previous generations. Then he cited the famous Hadîth of the Prophet ﷺ إذا ظهرت البدع في امتي فليظهر العالم علمه وإلا فعليه لعنة الله

“When innovations appear in my community, let the learned man make manifest his learning or else the curse of God be upon him.” Then, turning to Nu'mân, he said: “You are the person, O Nu'mân, who is indicated (by the Prophet) in this saying,” implying that it was Nu'mân's duty to set the matter right. He thereupon commanded Nu'mân to write the *Da'a'imul-Islam*, and while Nu'mân composed Imâm Mu'izz corrected and revised it, chapter by chapter, verse by verse. Thus ultimately a book came to be composed, brief but authoritative, and it served as the official code throughout the Fâtimid Empire, and to this day serves as the first and most important text-book of law among the Musta'lian Ismâ'ilis². It must however be repeated again that the importance of the *Da'a'im* lies in

(1) See Ivanow, *Guide to Ismaili Literature*, No. 64; and Fyzee, *Ismâili Law of Wills*, pp. 1-8.

(2) See “Qâdî an-Nu'mân,” *JRAS* for Jan. 1934, p. 20-42.

the fact that, having been composed before the split between the Nizâris and Musta'lians, it is the common heritage, together with all the works of Nu'mân, of both sections of the Ismâ'îlis.

The Ismâ'îlî system of jurisprudence, being a thousand years old, developed in the fourth century of the Hijrah (tenth century A.D.), is one of the earliest in Islâm, and it is to be hoped that it will be studied with the care and attention it deserves. The close study of law involves also the study of history, sociology, religion and ethics; as Professor Allen observes; "Law streams from the soul of a people like national poetry, it is holy as the national religion, it grows and spreads like language; religious, ethical and poetical elements all contribute to its vital force."*

II

The Qâdî Abû Hanîfah an-Nu'mân b. Abî 'Abdi'llâh Muhammad b. Mansûr b. Ahmad b. Hayyûn at-Tamîmî al-Ismâ'îlî al-Maghribî was the greatest of Ismâ'îlî jurists and a protagonist of the early Fâtimids in Egypt. Nu'mân appears to have sprung from a Mâlikî stock in Qairawân, adopting the Ismâ'îlî faith early in life. The exact date of his birth is not known, but it is probable that he was born in the last decades of the third century of the Hijrah. His connection with the Fâtimids began with his entering the service of Mahdî (the first Fâtimid Khalîfah), and serving him for the last nine years of his life (A.H. 313-322). Thereafter he continued to serve Qâ'im (the second Fâtimid Khalîfah) for the whole of his life. During this time Nu'mân was concerned chiefly with the study of history, philosophy and jurisprudence, and the composition of his numerous works. Just prior to Qâ'im's death, which occurred in 335-946, he was appointed a *Qadi*. His rank increased during the time of Mansûr (third Fâtimid Khalîfah) and he reached his zenith in the time of the fourth Fâtimid Khalîfah, Mu'izz (died 365-976), whom he predeceased by two years. Officially, he does not seem to have been appointed "*Qadi'l-qudat*," a designation given for the first time to Nu'mân's elder son 'Alî; but during the reign of Mu'izz, Nu'mân acquired great power and was in effect the highest judicial functionary of the realm, one of the most important figures in the hierarchy of the Da'wat.

**Law in the Making*, 54.

Qâdî an-Nu'mân was a man of great talent, learning and accomplishments : diligent as a scholar, prolific as an author, upright as a judge. Not many external facts of his life are known. Possibly he was a recluse immersed in juristic and philosophical studies, and engaged in the composition of his numerous works. He was the founder, and is rightly regarded as the greatest exponent, of Ismâ'îlî jurisprudence. According to the Ismâ'îlî tradition he wrote nothing without consulting the Imâms who were his contemporaries ; and his greatest work, the *Da'a'imu'l-Islam* (The Pillars of Religion) is regarded as almost the joint work of Imâm Mu'izz and Qâdî an-Nu'mân, and therefore as of the highest authority. It was the official *corpus juris* after the time of Mu'izz throughout the Fâtimid Empire. In addition to being a jurist, some of his works on other subjects are also considered to be standard works by the Ismâ'îlî doctors and are still eagerly studied ; for example : *Asasu't-Ta'wil* and *Ta'wilu'd-Da'a'im (ta'wil)*, *Sharhu'l-Akhbar* and *Iftitahu'd-Da'wat (akhbar)*, and *Al-Majalis wa'l-Musayarat (wa'z)*.

Nu'mân was the founder of a distinguished family of *qadis*, and both his sons, 'Alî and Muhammad, attained the rank of chief *cadi (qadi'l-qudat)*.

Qâdî an-Nu'mân died at Old Cairo (Misr) on Friday the 29th of Jumâdâ ii, 363-27 March, 974.

Nu'mân was a prolific and versatile author, and the names of forty-four of his works have survived. Of these twenty-two are totally lost ; and eighteen are wholly, and four partially, preserved by the Western Ismâ'îlîs of India. Instead of giving a complete list of his works, which can be found elsewhere, I am only mentioning the most important of them, while classifying them according to subjects :

A. FIQH, 14 works (*Kitabu'l-Idah*, *Da'a'imu'l-Islam*, *Mukhtasaru'l-Athar*) ; B. MUNAZARA, 5 works C. TA'WIL, (Allegorical interpretation of religion), 3 works *Asasu't-Ta'wil*, *Ta'wilu'd-Da'a'im*) ; D. HAQA'IQ, (Esoteric Philosophy), 4 works ; E. 'AQA'ID (Dogmatics), 6 works (*al-Qasidatu'l-Mukhtarah*) ; F. AKHBAR and SIRAH, 3 works (*Sharhu'l-Akhbar*) ; G. TA'RIKH, 2 works (*Iftitahu'd-Da'wat*) ; H. WA'Z, 3 works (*Al-Majalis wa'l-Musayarat*) ; I. MISCELLANEOUS, 4 works.

[SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY. The most important sources for the study of the life and works of Nu'mân are (1) Ibn Khallikân, *Biographical Dictionary*, Trans. De Slane, iii. 565 et seq., (2) Ibn Hajar, *Raf' u'l-Isr*, G.M.S., Vol. XIX, 586-87 and (3) Sayyidnâ'Imâdu'd-dîn Idrîs b. Hasan, *'Uyûnu'l-Akhhbar*, vol. VI, folios 33-41, and the latter half of vol. V. A full account of Qâdl an-Nu'mân appears in *JRAS* 1934, January No., pp. 1-32. Shorter accounts may also be found in Fyzee, *Ismâ'îlî Law of Wills* (Oxf. Univ. Press, 1933) 9-14; and Ivanow, *Guide to Ismâ'îlî Literature* (Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1933) 37-40.].

ASAF A. A. FYZEE.

MUGHAL RELATIONS WITH PERSIA

FROM BABUR TO AURANGZEB

III

TOWARDS the end of Jahângîr's reign we have seen that relations with Persia were not maintained, although the Shâh seemed anxious to renew them. After the loss of Qandahâr, Jahângîr had a just resentment against an old friend who had not only deprived him of a rich province, but had instigated against him the rulers of the Deccan and possibly Shâhjahan. The Shâh, however, kept on sending ambassadors, but no-one was sent in return from India. When 'Abbâs heard of the death of Parwîz, he appointed Taktâ Beg for the mission of condolence, but before he could leave there arrived the news of Jahângîr's death and of Shâhjahan's rapid success against his rivals.

Behri Beg was now appointed on the usual mission of condolence and congratulation. But before he reached the Indian Court, Shâh 'Abbâs died at Mâzandarân on the 9th January 1629, and was succeeded by his grandson Sâm Mirzâ, son of the unfortunate Safi Mirzâ, who now took the title of Safi I.

Although Shâhjahan was aware of the Shâh's death, he appointed Mu'taqid Khân to receive Behri Beg, and to introduce him into the royal presence. On 5th July 1629.² Shâhjahan bestowed a robe of honour and Rs. 20,000³ on the ambassador, who produced the late Shâh's letter.⁴ He was dismissed on the 13th Rabî' I 1039 (1629 A.D.) with a further reward, an elephant, a robe of honour and a jewelled dagger.

(1) *'Alam arai 'Abbasi* ff. 416 (Add 166684).

(2) *Qazvini* ff. 176b. —77.

(3) *Padshahnama* (Lah.) I, p. 261.
'Amal-i-Salâh, p. 883.

(4) *Majmu'u'l-Marasilat* f. 229.

At this time Mir Birkâ was sent to Persia on the usual mission after the death of Shâh 'Abbâs.¹ Rs. 50,000 were given to him for his expenses. A letter and a few presents for the Shâh, which included a beautifully wrought sword and a jewelled dagger, were entrusted to his care. In the letter Shâhjahân reminded the new Shâh of the old friendship between the two houses. "The late Shâh," he continued, "treated me in the days of my vicissitude as an uncle should treat a nephew, leaving a great burden of gratitude on my shoulders." The letter is very long and is full of all sorts of advice for the young Shâh. It closes with a word of praise for Mir Birkâ, a request for his early dismissal, and a promise of a regular embassy in the near future.

Shortly after his accession to the throne, Shâh Safi I sent Muhammad 'Alî Beg with a long, pompous and almost meaningless letter to Shâhjahân. When the news of the ambassador's arrival reached the Emperor, he was absent in the Deccan to suppress the rebellion of Khân Jahân Lodi. Makâmat Khân was sent to bring the envoy to the Deccan. Muhammad 'Alî was lavishly entertained on the road by Mu'taqid Khân, the Governor of Mâlwa² at Mându.

On 18th Sha'bân 1040, when the ambassador arrived near Burhânpur, Afzal Khân was ordered to conduct him into the royal presence. Shâhjahân was very generous and kind to the ambassador throughout his stay. He was dismissed on the 30th June 1632, soon after Mir Birkâ's return.³ At the time of his departure Rs. 25,000, in addition to Rs. 60,000 already bestowed on him in Ramadan, were given to him and also a golden robe of honour, an elephant, and other presents. His two secretaries, Muhammad Taqî and Allah Qulî were also suitably rewarded.⁴ Mir Muhammad 'Arab was appointed as chief bodyguard, and sent to convey him to the frontier.

In spite of these embassies Shâhjahân had all the time other designs, and was actively plotting, as has been explained in his relations with Turkey, to profit by the

(1) Page 282 *Padshahnama* I (Lah.) and ff. 252 of *Jamia-i-Marasilat* : Qazvinî, ff. 183b.

(2) Qazvinî. f. 219, Lah. vol. I. p. 361.

(3) Qazvinî. ff. 249-50, Lah. p. 441.

(4) Lah : 442.

unrest that followed the death of Shâh 'Abbâs, and by the youth and inexperience of the new Shâh. That Shâh-jahân was expecting some news of the conditions in 'Irâq is proved by an entry in '*Amal-i-Salih*', and consequently he did not dismiss Muhammad 'Alî Beg till after Mîr Birkâ's return from 'Irâq.² Meanwhile, an incident occurred in the province of Qandahâr which should have been a sufficient warning to the Persians of the Emperor's duplicity.

Shêr Khân Tarîn, the Persian Governor of Qoshanj, although a favourite of Shâh 'Abbâs, had, like all the members of his race, become rebellious after the Shâh's death, and had begun to plunder travellers and caravans from Persia. 'Alî Mardân Khân, the Governor of Qandahâr, warned him many a time without effect. In 1630, when Shêr Khân left Qoshanj to plunder Sibi, 'Alî Dardân fell on Qoshanj and occupied it. Shêr Khân after an unsuccessful attempt to recapture it, retired to Moki. He appealed through Ahmed Beg—the Governor of Multân—to Shâhjahân. He was sent for by the Emperor and was granted an audience on the 13th of March, 1632 and, though no help was given to him to recover Qoshanj, he was assigned a jâgîr in the Punjab,³ not very far from his old province.

On the 25th of Shawâl 1042 A.H. Khwâja Qâsim, otherwise known as Safdar Khân, was sent as ambassador to Persia.⁴ As Muhammad 'Alî Beg had brought presents worth three lakhs of rupees from the Shâh, others worth four lakhs were now sent to the Shâh in return. The majority of the presents consisted of finely wrought jewellery and other fancy articles manufactured in the royal factories of Ahmadabad, Patna, Benares and Malda. A letter drafted by Afzal Khân on behalf of Shâhjahân was also sent. The letter began with the usual words of compliment and praise, and reminded the Shâh of the old friendship between the two houses. A few words of praise of the manners of Muhammad 'Alî Beg⁵ are capable of double

(1) ff. 358.

(2) Page 422, Lah. vol. I.

(3) Qazvinî ff. 245 b., *Khuld-i-Barin*, ff. 40-41. Lah. vol. 2, pp. 419-21.

(4) Qazvinî, ff. 269-73b. Lah. I, pp. 477-86. '*Amal*. 550.

(5) محمدعلی بیگ که از اوضاع او معلوم میشود که خدمت سلاطین نموده معروف ناداب گردیده

meaning, if interpreted in the light of the sentence that follows :—" It seems that none of the able men of the time of our late uncle—the dweller of paradise—is left to advise Your Majesty on the subject of the old friendship between this house of the Khilâfat and that exalted dynasty." (Safavî). It is apparent that there were some matters which had caused friction between the two empires, for Shâhjahân expresses a hope for their amicable settlement. Certain verbal messages of great importance entrusted to the ambassador are also mentioned. A lengthy account of the conquest of Ahmadnagar and the severe punishment inflicted on the States of the Deccan is given, probably to remind the Shâh that in case of hostility he could not depend on his hereditary Indian allies this time. There can be little doubt but that all these complications concerned Qandahâr and Qoshanj.

From all accounts it seems that Safdar's mission was an organised espionage. Safdar was received by the Shâh soon after the successful Eriwan campaign.¹

In 1047 A.H., while Safdar Khân was still in Persia, Husaini was sent on a special mission to the Shâh with a letter. The object of the mission is given—" As friendship demands that we should communicate to a friend the events which have led to our happiness." The letter contains an account of the rapid success of Shâhjahân's arms in the Deccan and Bundhelkhand after Safdar Khân's departure. The letter concludes with the following words :—

" From the letter of H. E. Safdar Khân, we learn that he was exalted by being kindly received by that noble son (The Shâh). We expect that the Khân will still be there when this letter arrives, and will present it to Your Majesty in association with Husaini. A few words have also been addressed to the Khan in a firmân. It is hoped that with the instructions conveyed through Husaini he will be able to reach some agreement with Your Majesty."²

In order to understand the real significance of Husaini's mission one has to grasp the effect on Persia's neighbours of the death of Shâh 'Abbâs. All of them, without exception, immediately started reviving their long deferred schemes of vengeance. On the west, Murâd IV started active preparations to recover 'Irâq and

(1) *Khuld-i-barin*, ff. 90 and 107.

(2) Page 259 Lah. vol. I.

Eriwan. On the north, the Uzbegs began to dream of the recovery of Khurâsân. On the east Shâhjahân started his intrigues to get back Qandahâr and Zamindawar. On all sides Persia was assailed by age-long enemies ;¹ but so strong was as yet the prestige of Persia that for a time none of them dared to attack her alone. They attempted to form an anti-Persian league of Sunnî powers, and the part played by Shâhjahân in this scheme has been referred to more fully elsewhere, but it may be here pointed out that he was flirting both with Persia and her enemies. He had two great ambitions, one, to get back Qandahâr, and the other—that of all the monarchs of his race—to occupy his “ancestral lands.” The attainment of one to a great extent precluded the other. His father had, through Khwâjâ ‘Abdu’r-Rahîm, already received an offer of the Uzbeg help in case of an attack on Qandahâr. But, it seems, in the beginning Shâhjahân wanted to get back Qandahâr by diplomatic efforts and reserve his energies for the recovery of Trans-Oxiana, if possible with Persian co-operation. It was not till he was disappointed in that quarter that he openly approached her enemies with a proposal for alliance.

There is no doubt that Husaini was the bearer of some new proposals about the return of Qandahâr. The Shâh was at this time engaged on all sides with his enemies and Shâhjahân wanted to take full advantage of this situation. But, as luck would have it, a new channel of intrigues was at this time opened by the rebellion of ‘Alî Mardân Khân. The Khân was alarmed at the strictness of the new Vazîr Saru Taqî, who brought to the notice of the Shâh accumulated arrears of revenue, which ‘Alî Mardân Khân, taking advantage of the disturbed state of affairs in Persia, had failed to send to the Royal Treasury. The Shâh summoned him to the Court ; but he, knowing too well the fate of so many who had preceded him there, offered excuses for his inability to attend personally, but at the same time sent his son Muhammad ‘Alî with a promise to pay 12,000 tumâns yearly if left undisturbed in the government of Qandahâr. The Shâh rejected the offer and appointed Siyâwash Qullar-âqâsi as the governor of Qandahâr with orders to capture ‘Alî Mardân.² ‘Alî Mardân too had some supporters, especially Jânî Khân Qurcinbashi, but it seems they

(1) For these events see *Qasis-ul-Khaqani* by Walî Qulî Shâmlû.

(2) See *Ma’athiru’l-umara*, p. 186 (Trans.).

could not do much in face of the open hostility of the Vazîr, who now submitted a long list of charges against him.¹

The arrival of the Governor-designate with a large army frightened² the Khân, for many of the Qizilbâsh garrison escaped and joined the Persian forces outside the fort.³ At the suggestion of Malik Mughdud⁴—a leading Abdâli chief—‘Alî Mardân sent Mughdud’s brother Kamrân to Ewâz Khân Qaqshal, the Commander of Ghaznin and Sa’îd Khân the governor of Kâbul, asking for immediate help. He also sent a letter to Shâhjahân promising to surrender the fort if sufficient troops were sent to take it over. Sa’îd Khân forwarded the letter to the Court by Rafi’u’llâh, nephew of Qâzi Khân, an official of Kâbul.⁵ In the meantime, ‘Alî Mardân’s position became more and more critical and he began sending repeated appeals to the Mughal officers near by, especially to Qulij Khân.

Ewâz Khân marched out of Ghaznin in the middle of February 1638, with about 1,000 soldiers, and on the 12th day reached Qandahâr. ‘Alî Mardân opened the gates to him. On the last day of the month the Khutbah was recited in Shâhjahân’s name. ‘Alî Mardân sent a formal letter of submission with nine newly-coined Muhars to the Emperor. Sa’îd Khân also marched out of Kabul and, after occupying Qilât Ghilzâi, which surrendered without any resistance, reached Qandahâr soon after Ewâz.⁶

Though the great majority of the inhabitants of Qandahâr were Sunnis and consequently pro-Mughal, there were quite a large number of Shi’as, who bitterly resented ‘Alî Mardân’s treachery. Muhammad Amîn, the Qâzi of Qandahâr, had great influence on ‘Alî Mardân’s mind, and succeeded one night in inducing the Khân to repent; a plot to kill Ewâz Khân was hatched, but Mashad Qulî Khân at last convinced ‘Alî Mardân of the utter futility of this plan. One lakh of rupees was sent

(1) *Khuld-i-Barin* pp. 114-116b.

(2) Tâhir Wahîd says that his fears were quite imaginary. f. 236.

(3) Lah. vol. II, p. 32.

(4) Tâhir Wahîd says Mashhad ‘Alî.

(5) Page 28, Lah. vol. II.

(6) Sir Percy Sykes wrongly states that Qandahâr was seized by the Uzbegs after the death of ‘Abbâs I (Page 217; 1930 Ed.). It never passed into the hands of Uzbegs after Shaibânî’s death. It is very strange that these remarks should have escaped M. Longworth Dames’ notice.

to 'Alî Mardân and two lakhs to Malik Maghdûd, his brother, and to 'Alî Mardân's officers from the treasury of Kâbul by the Emperor's order.

Elaborate preparations were made by Shâhjahân for the defence of the fort under the command of Qulij Khân. Sa'îd Khân in the meantime defeated Siyâwash's army which escaped beyond the Hilmand. Bist and Zamin-dâwar were also subdued.¹

In Ramadân 1048 A.H. Safdar Khân sent a letter to Shâhjahân which throws a great deal of light on the Turco-Persian relations of that period and on the surrender of Baghdâd by Tahmâsp Khân. It also mentioned how the Christian Powers, on hearing of the Sultân's expedition to 'Irâq, had started mobilization which led to Murad's hurried retreat from Tabrîz and its reoccupation by the Shâh. It is interesting to note that the Shâh distributed the Turkish prisoners all over Persia, and the batch that was sent to Qandahâr ultimately came to India after 'Alî Mardân's surrender, and were sent back to Turkey via Sûrat.²

Being fairly well informed of the events in Persia, Shâhjahân wanted to take full advantage of the situation. It seems that intrigues with 'Alî Mardân were initiated through one Piri Aghâ, long before Siyâwash's arrival.³

Soon after the fall of Qandahâr, Yâdgâr Beg arrived from Persia with a letter⁴ and presents from the Shâh. Mîr Khân and other nobles were sent to receive him at a little distance from the capital. It seems he had left Persia before the fall of Qandahâr. Rs. 30,000 and a robe of honour were bestowed on him. Rs. 4,000 were also given to his brother Safi Qulî.⁵ After the fall of Qandahâr Safdar Khân was dismissed with the usual honours accorded to a returning ambassador; but no-one was sent with him from Persia, for the occupation of Qandahâr was regarded by the Shâh as an act of war.⁶

Husaini lingered on in Persia and did not return to the Indian Court till the 20th Rajab 1048 when he was

(1) Lah. vol. II, pp. 24-54; *Khuld.* f. 116.

(2) Page 18, Lah. Part III, vol. II.

(3) For these intrigues see Lah. vol. II, pp. 23-28; *Bahar-i-Sukhan* f. 45.

(4) *Jamia'-i-Marasilat* ff. 258b.-54.

(5) Lah. II, p. 99.

(6) For Safdar Khân's return see page 117, Lah. II.

received by the Emperor in an audience. He must have brought back some information about the movements of the Persian troops under Rustam Khân, for elaborate precautions were taken ; but it seems the Shâh was too busy in the west to take any effective measures for the recovery of Qandahâr. The Shâh, however, sent a letter to Shâhjahân through Husaini in which Shâhjahân was addressed as 'uncle'. It is not improbable that both Safdar and Husaini had tried to deceive the Shâh that the occupation of Qandahâr was due more to a misunderstanding than to any designs of conquest on the part of Shâhjahân.¹

Yâdgâr Beg was allowed to return in 1639. In all Shâhjahân bestowed on him two lakhs of rupees in cash and gifts worth Rs. 50,000. In a letter sent with him, Shâhjahân, though justifying the occupation of Qandahâr, apologised for any misunderstanding caused by his action and advised the Shâh to forget the incident. A glass, a decanter and a tray, all set with priceless jewels, were sent to the Shâh. Another robe of honour and a jewelled sword were given to the ambassador.²

No further diplomatic intercourse took place between the two Empires till after the death of Shâh Safî I, when Shâhjahân sent Jân-nisâr Khân in Safar 1058 A. H.,³ apparently on the customary mission of condolence and congratulation, but in reality to secure Persian neutrality for the Central Asiatic Campaign. Although Shâh 'Abbâs II was very young and the administration was carried on by Saru Taqî, Persia was in a favourable position to intervene, owing to her friendly relations with Sultân Ibrâhîm. Jân-nisâr was promoted in rank before his departure and a large sum was given to him for his expenses. Presents worth 3½ lakhs were sent to the Shâh. A letter drafted by the famous Prime Minister, Sa'dullâh Khân, was also sent. It began with a quotation from the Qûr'ân. It gave some lame excuses for the occupation of Qandahâr and attributed the misunderstanding caused in the mind of the late Shâh to flatterers who magnified this "little incident" and thus succeeded in their mischievous designs of breaking off old-established relations between the two houses. The Shâh was addressed as "beloved

(1) See for these events *Qisas*, ff. 48.

(2) *Lah.* II, p. 125.

(3) *Lah.* II, pp. 492-500 ; Tâhir Wahîd, 61-64 ; *Qisas* f. 54.

grandson". A hope for the renewal of old friendship was also expressed.¹

It may here be pointed out why Persia refrained from taking the part of the Usbegs when she had a strong grudge against Shâhjahân. The Persian histories tell us that, in spite of a strong anti-Mughal party at the Court, the idea of helping the bigoted Sunnis of Central Asia did not very much appeal to the Persian mind in general. Saru Taqî, the regent, was not sure enough of his position to indulge in the experiment of a war; and, above all the Shâh was a minor and in a personal government, an aggressive foreign policy is impossible during a minority administration.

When Nazr Muhammad Khân escaped to Persia, Shâhjahân immediately sent Arslân Beg, son of Firhâd Beg Baluch, as an envoy extraordinary to Shâh 'Abbâs II, with a letter explaining the causes which led to the Central Asiatic Campaign and the conquest of Balkh; a hope for the ultimate conquest of Samarcand and Bukhârâ was also expressed. The letter stated that Arslân Beg was not entrusted with any other mission except in connection with that letter. There is little doubt that the real object was to dissuade the Shâh from his contemplated help to Nazr. Many costly presents were also sent.

In 1648, when 'Abbâs assumed authority, he aspired to outshine his illustrious ancestor of the same name. Qandahâr presented a suitable target, for the Mughal prestige was then very low owing to the disastrous Central Asiatic Campaign. He first succeeded in securing not only Turkish neutrality, but even Sultân Ibrâhîm's good wishes², for Shâhjahân had offended the Sultan, as explained elsewhere.

Before beginning his campaign the Shâh dismissed the Indian ambassador, in order to maintain the secrecy of his preparations. Shâh Qulî Beg was sent with presents and a very polite letter³ to Shâhjahân. In the letter the Shâh highly commended the Emperor's generosity in restoring Balkh to Nazr Muhammad and hoped for the "similar restoration of Qandahâr." There could have

(1) Letter is given both in *Lah. II*, and *Jama'u'l-Insha* ff. 122b-126. *Lah. II*, pp. 595-602.

(2) *Qisas* ff. 25-26. It is also stated that Ibrâhîm sent an ambassador wishing 'Abbâs success in the campaign.

(3) Pages 25-26. *Munsh'at Tahir Wahid*.

been little doubt about the reply and the fort was invested on 16th December 1648.

Shâhjahân was much upset, for he had been deceived by the youthfulness of the Shâh. He wanted to move immediately to Kâbul to supervise personally the measures of relief, but the Shâh had been clever enough to foresee the unpopularity of a winter campaign among the Indian troops and ministers, and had timed his attack accordingly. Shâhjahân's minister succeeded in persuading him to move to Lahore instead of Kâbul, and to send 'Alî Mardân Khân with 5,000 troops and 5 lakhs of rupees.¹ In Qandahâr itself Daulat Khân, the Governor, was a weak old man, and his task was made more difficult by the treacherous attitude of Shâdi Khân, who ultimately opened the Wais Qarn gate to the Persians, thus forcing Daulat Khân to capitulate on Feb. 11th 1649.

The Shâh, as his great-grandfather had done, sent Shâh Qulî Khân with an apologetic letter, when Shâhjahân was at Kâbul supervising preparations for Aurangzêb's siege of Qandahâr. The Emperor did not receive the ambassador in audience, but appointed Ja'far Khân to entertain him. He stayed for a month without managing to obtain an audience, and was dismissed with a verbal reply from Shâhjahân conveyed through Ja'far. The verbal message is given by Wâris² in the following words:—"Go and tell your master that it behoved him to have continued the hereditary friendship between the two houses. It is only the wise who can appreciate the need of a strong friend. When we heard of the Shâh's attack on Qandahâr, we immediately ordered the Prince (Aurangzêb) with countless forces to contest its possession, and we are in the meantime staying here (Kâbul). As the Shâh has retired on hearing of the approach of our army, although the Prince was eager to give him battle, he has now been forced to lay siege to the fort. It is only through God's help that we have been able to do what has already been done and by his aid we hope still more shall be achieved."

It is needless to go into the details of Aurangzêb's unsuccessful campaigns of 1649 and 1652. When he failed to take the fort, he tried to bribe the governor Autâr

(1) Wâris. 411-13.

(2) ff. 463-65 (Add. 6556).

Khân, who sent him a contemptuous reply. A more elaborate but equally abortive attempt was made by Dârâ in 1653.¹

No diplomatic relations were maintained with Persia throughout the remainder of Shâhjahân's reign. During the War of Succession Murâd opened a correspondence with the Shâh, and we learn that the Shâh actually mobilized some troops to Qandahâr,² but so rapid was Aurangzêb's success that before the Shâh could take any action, all the claimants had disappeared from the scene. Dârâ also wrote to the Shâh after his defeat, seeking for the Shâh's intervention.³

It was probably the attitude of hostility towards Shâhjahân after the unpleasantness about Qandahâr which induced Shâh 'Abbâs II to take such an active interest in the War of Succession. Aurangzêb's rapid and decisive victories left him no alternative but to recall his troops. There can be little doubt but that, from the very outset, the Shâh was not well disposed towards Aurangzêb on account of their bigotry and Aurangzêb's inveterate hostility towards the Shâh's allies and co-religionists in the Deccan.⁵ The Shâh knew that Aurangzêb's success would mean the extinction of the southern kingdoms. Had the War of Succession been a little prolonged, Aurangzêb's opponents could have depended on Persian and possibly Deccani support.

It must have been with a heavy heart that 'Abbâs decided to send the customary embassy of congratulation to Aurangzêb in 1070 A.H., and this attitude of indifference to a great extent explains their subsequent bitter relations. It seems that Aurangzêb, after defeating his brothers and imprisoning his father, established some sort of contact with Persia through one of his friends Hakîm Dâud—a Persian by birth and an old friend of Zulfiqâr Khân, the minister of the Shâh. The object was that

(1) See *Latifu'l-Akhbar* (a detailed account of the siege), Add. 24089.

See also Wâris, ff. 468-473b., and *Tarikh-i-Tahir* (Add. 11632) ff. 114 b.

(2) For letters to and from Murâd see *Munsha'at-i-Tahir Wahid* (1) ff. 6b.-7b. (2) 10b. See also *Qisas* ff. 135, 137b.

(3) *ibid.* ff. 3b.-4b.

(4) For War of Succession and the Shâh's interest in it, see *Qisas*, ff. 134.

(5) See the correspondence between the Shâh and the rulers of Bijâpur and Golconda. *Munsha'at-i-Tahir Wahid*, ff. 7-10b.

Zulfiqâr should induce the Shâh to send the customary embassy of congratulation to Aurangzêb.¹ This is, however, not mentioned by any Indian historian.

As soon as the news of the Persian ambassador's arrival on the Indian frontier reached Aurangzêb he appointed Abdâl Beg as the official Mehmândâr. Orders were also sent to Tarbiât Khân, the governor of Multân, Khalilullah Khân the governor of Lahore and other officials of the Punjâb for suitable entertainment of the ambassador. "According to the established custom of India" the Emperor was kept informed of the ambassador's progress towards the capital from stage to stage.³ Budâq Beg, the ambassador, kept on sending by swift couriers fruits which he was regularly receiving from Persia for the Emperor.⁴

The ambassador was suitably entertained at Multân by Tarbiât Khân, who presented him with a purse of Rs. 5,000.⁵ In Lahore Khalilullah Khân gave a grand banquet to which the gentry of the Punjâb were invited.⁶ In addition to the purse of Rs. 20,000 he gave the ambassador 400 silver trays full of specialities of the Punjâb and 700 trays full of sweets, halvâs and 'attar.' Many other valuable presents, such as expensive clothes, were presented to him by other officers. When the ambassador reached Serâi Bâwalî, he was ordered to rest there in the garden of Shâlimâr and to present his credentials on the third of Shawwâl.⁷ There can be little doubt but that Aurangzêb so timed the ambassador's arrival in Delhi that he should be present at the A'îdgâh during the A'îd ul-fitar celebration, when almost the entire Muslim male population of the city would be present for prayer and festivity after the Fast of Ramadân.

Aurangzêb wanted to impress the population of Delhi, which was, as Bernier tells us, distinctly pro-Dara and had demonstrated its sympathy for him by open lamentation at his fate and stoning of his betrayer. He wished to

(1) *Qisas* ff. 142b; see also the Shâh's letter to Budâq—*Munsha'at-i-Tahir*, ff. 67-69b.

(2) For Budâq's appointment see *Qisas* ff. 142.

(3) *Muntakhibu'l-Lubab* II, p. 126.

(4) *Alamgirnâma*, 609.

(5) *Muntakhibu'l-Lubab* II, 126.

(6) *Alamgirnâma*, 610.

(7) *Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri*, 35.

make it evident that, with the recognition of his government by Persia, the last hope of those who depended on foreign intervention had disappeared.

The Persian ambassador met the Emperor for the first time informally at the A'idgâh with the populace gazing at them. A public audience was arranged in the Dîwân-i-A'âm for the third of Shawwâl¹ and he was conveyed through the city in a big procession, attended by Sa'if Khân, Asad Khân, Multafit Khân and other nobles. Cavalry and troops lined the route he followed and the city was gaily decorated.² The ambassador's bodyguard of 500 handsome horsemen was much admired by the populace.³

All Indian historians are agreed that he performed *kornish*, but Manucci has given a cock-and-bull story about his being compelled to perform *Sijdah*.³ Bernier, who was an eye-witness, says that he saluted the Emperor in the Persian fashion and delivered the Shâh's letter.⁴ The letter⁴ began with praise of the Prophet and his son-in-law. A hope was expressed that Aurangzêb, by gracing the throne of the House of Timûr would strengthen the foundations of the Empire and wield the enemy-killing sabre. It reminded Aurangzêb of Tahmâsp's help to Humâyûn and of the old friendship between the two houses which made it necessary for him to send an embassy and messages of congratulation. A few words about his siege of Qandahâr and the misunderstanding it had caused were also added. A promise of help whenever an occasion arose was also conveyed. The letter closed with the following remarks: "Some important proposals necessary for strengthening the old friendship have been entrusted to the tongue of our ambassador, to which we hope your Majesty will give due attention."⁵ The patronising tone of the letter must have considerably displeased

(1) *Muntakhibu'l-Lubab* says fourth, but both the *Alamgirnama* and *Ma'athir* say third. The A'id festivity lasts for two days usually.

(2) *Storia* II, 51.

(3) *ibid.* 147.

(4) Bernier says that Aurangzêb raised the letter to his head and then passed it on to a noble who broke the seal. *Munsha'at-i-Tahir*, ff. 82-83b.

(5) It is not difficult to see that these proposals related to the Shâh's desire for the preservation of the States of the Deccan, an interference which Aurangzêb much resented and which was the main cause of the subsequent misunderstanding.

Aurangzêb. A few days later Aurangzêb received another letter from the Shâh.¹

Haveli Rustam Khân on the bank of the river was lavishly furnished at the government's expense and the ambassador was lodged there. 'Azîz Bakhshî now took over from Abdâl Beg the duties of Mihmândâr. On the next day the ambassador presented Nazr Qulî and Ahmad Beg, two courtiers of Shâh 'Abbâs, and Zain-ul-a'âbidîn, his mullâ; all of them were suitably rewarded. On the seventh of Shawwâl he displayed the Shâh's presents. There were 66 'arab and Gîlân horses, a diamond worth sixty thousand rupees, and in all the gifts were valued at four lakhs and twenty thousand rupees. Budâq also gave many presents on his own behalf. A robe of honour and rupees sixty thousand were bestowed on him.²

At the time of his departure a further sum of one lakh of rupees, another robe of honour, a horse with a golden saddle and an elephant with a silver howdah were bestowed on him. In all he got rupees five lakhs in cash and many presents. Rs. 3,500 were bestowed on the members of his suite.

Aurangzêb showed special favours to this ambassador as his mission had very important political significance. So far none of the Muslim sovereigns except Subhân Qulî had sent the customary embassy of congratulation. Aurangzêb knew that they would not be slow to follow the Shâh's example. His hopes were justified by the arrival of an ambassador from 'Abdul 'Azîz Khân, the Amîr of Bukhârâ, while Budâq was still in India. Budâq's embassy also silenced all those who were still hoping for foreign intervention, especially the Persian faction at the Court.³

Some misunderstanding seems to have arisen between Aurangzêb and the ambassador towards the end of the latter's stay in India. Aurangzêb ordered the ambassador's caravan to be stopped and the slaves he had

(1) *Munshi'ât-i-Tâhir*, ff. 13.

Sir Jadunâth Sarkar has made a mistake (iii, 122 footnote); the smaller letter was not brought by Budâq's, forerunner of 24th March 1661, but was sent to India after Budâq's departure, see *Qisas* ff. 143. Budâq also got a letter from the Shâh where in the Shâh does not seem pleased with the course of the negotiations. ff. 67-69b., *ibid*.

(2) *Âlamgirnâma* 623.

(3) There was a strong Persian faction at the court. *Storia* ii, 52.

bought in India to be detained.¹ Manucci also alleges that his goods were rigorously searched. None of the Indian historians mention these incidents.²

Although Budâq Beg was dismissed after a few months, Tarbiât Khân, the ambassador-designate to Persia, did not leave till the beginning of 1073 A.H. An elephant with silver howdah, ten horses, a khil'at, one complete set of golden trappings, a jewelled sword and a dagger were bestowed on him, and his rank was increased from 3,000 to 4,000 horse.³

A letter drafted by Dânishmand Khân (Bernier's "Aghâ") and gifts worth 7 lakhs of rupees were sent for the Shâh. The letter⁴ was very long and began with the usual prayers, expressions of love and compliments. It acknowledged the Shâh's letter which was described as "the strengthener of love, friendship and union." A regret was expressed that the old friendship between the two houses was unfortunately interrupted by the unnecessary misunderstanding about Qandahâr in the time of Aurangzêb's "beloved" father.⁵ It gave at some length Aurangzêb's achievements and the shortcomings of his brothers, especially Dârâ; and tried to impress on the Shâh that the treatment meted out to them was not unjust.⁶ Of Tarbiât's mission it said: "As Budâq Beg, so well acquainted with etiquette, was allowed to return, it was decided that someone who is initiated in manners should be sent to Your Majesty as a result of mutual love. The distinguished Tarbiât Khân, who is an old servant of this house and is acquainted with this Court of Khilâfat, was selected for this honourable duty. Many messages of love and union have been entrusted to his tongue."

To the Shâh's boastful offer of help Aurangzêb wrote that he only needed God's help who had favoured him so far with many victories.

(1) Bernier attributes it to the excessive numbers of slaves he had bought, and his servants were alleged to have kidnapped, but this does not justify such stringent measures. It is possible someone aroused Aurangzêb's suspicions that Budâq was carrying a letter from Shâh-jahân.

(2) For Budâq's embassy see *Storia* ii, 47-54, 151, 153 and 282 Bernier, 146-151; where certain details not mentioned by Indian historians are supplied.

(3) *Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri*, 47.

(4) *Bahar-i-Sukhan* (Or. 178) ff. 13-24.

(5) *ibid.* ff. 16b.

(6) *ibid.* ff. 19b.

It is difficult to find what is the source of information of Sir Jadunâth Sarkar and other historians regarding the cold reception accorded to Tarbiât Khân in Persia.¹ *Qisas* tells us that as soon as the Shâh heard of Tarbiât's arrival through Mansûr Khân, the governor of Qandahâr, firmâns were immediately despatched to all governors on the ambassador's route to convey him to the Court with due honours as the rules of hospitality demanded.

Mirzâ Hâshim—son of Mirzâ Muhammad Husain—one of the royal chamberlains, was appointed the official Mihmândâr and has sent to Yazd to receive the ambassador. The ambassador reached Isfahân on the 4th Shawwâl 1075 and, after resting for a few days, was granted an audience. He then presented Aurangzêb's letter. Many awards were bestowed on him by the Shâh and a great banquet was given in his honour. This was followed by an archery competition. *Qisas* also gives some odes and chronograms composed by the Court poet, Mirzâ Mas'ûd², and others.

After some time the attitude of the Shâh towards Aurangzêb and his ambassador changed. It may here be pointed out that the Shâh probably wanted from Aurangzêb a promise not to annex the kingdoms of Bijâpur and Golconda but that Aurangzêb resented this interference in his sphere of influence, for the States were considered by the Mughals as their vassals: on the other hand, the Shâhs always regarded them as their natural allies to whom they were bound by the ties of religion and culture. The letters of the rulers of the Deccan³ leave little doubt that they had approached the Shâh to save them from threatened extinction. That the Shâh contemplated attacking India is further proved by his correspondence and⁴ treaty⁵ with 'Abdul 'Azîz Khân, for it was

(1) See *Storia* II. p. 128, in the connection.

(۲) خدا یکان جهان شاه نوجوان عباس که پرتو کرم او بخصاص و عام رسید
همای اوج سعادت ز کوکب مسعود بزیر سایه شاه فلک مقام رسید
به نزد والی هندوستان بخدمت شاه پس از دعا و ثنا کورنش سلام رسید
شمسکه ایلچی اورنگ زیب را احوال رفیض تبرست او با انتظار رسید
بد ستاری توفیق در دره نمائی خضر با آستان شاه اردی اہتمام رسید
ز عقل سال دورش طلب نمودم گفت رسول هند پا بوس شاه بکام رسید

(3) *Munshi'at-i-Tahir Wahid*, ff. 7b, 89, 41.

(4) *Munshi'at-i-Tahir*, ff. 15.

(5) *ibid.* ff. 17b.

necessary to secure Turanian neutrality for the success of his schemes.

Tarbiat Khân was consequently dismissed with an almost insulting letter¹ which blamed Aurangzêb for the anarchy and rebellion prevailing throughout India. A great portion of the letter was devoted to "Shivâ's" activities owing to Aurangzêb's weakness and incompetency: a reference was made to the murder of his brothers and the imprisonment of his father. This was followed by a religious discussion on Aurangzêb's misbeliefs. He further reminded Aurangzêb that his (the Shâh's) House had always been the refuge of the kings of the time, a proof of which existed in the help rendered to Humâyûn, Walî Muhammad and Nazar Muhammad, and now it was his desire to help Aurangzêb by marching with a great army to extinguish the flames of rebellion and misrule in India.

Tarbiat returned in May 1668. Aurangzêb was much displeased with him and did not allow him to enter his presence for some time. He attributed the failure of this mission to Tarbiat's tactlessness² and deprived him of his rank.³ As the Shâh had threatened an invasion of India and Tarbiat had brought back news of the movement of the Persian troops,⁴ Prince Mu'azzam and Râjâ Jaswant Singh were sent with a large army to the frontier.⁵ The Shâh, however, died on the 22nd August and, the danger of an invasion having blown over, the Prince and the Râjâ were recalled.⁶ Tarbiat Khân, too, was restored to his position and on the death of Khân Daurân was appointed Governor of Orissa.⁷

Aurangzêb's intrigues against the Safavî dynasty have been referred to more fully in his relations with Central Asia. It was largely through his intrigues that the Ghilzais became a perpetual source of trouble to Persia and ultimately overthrew the Safavî dynasty.⁸

(1) *Faiyaz-ul-qawânin* 889-98.

(2) *Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri* p. 57.

(3) Manucci describes many scenes of Aurangzêb's impotent rage (ii, 146), so does John Campbell, another eye-witness.

(4) *Storia* II, p. 147.

(5) *Ma'athir*, p. 57.

(6) *'Alamgirnâma*, 984.

(7) *'Alamgirnâma*, 1050.

(8) Manucci tells us that Gurghun Khân reported to the Shâh that it was impossible to crush the Ghilzais unless the Mughal territory were attacked. Vol. IV, p. 271. The same difficulty is experienced by the British in dealing with some nomadic tribes in N.W.F.P. and Balûchistân.

In 1688 Aurangzêb tried to get back Qandahâr by means of intrigues and helped Ahmad Khân, the rebel governor of Herât, in besieging it; but the attempt failed.¹

After Tarbiât Khân's return no further diplomatic intercourse with Persia is on record till after the death of Aurangzêb, when Shâh Husain sent Mîr Murtaza to Farakhsiyâr in 1124 A.H.²

(1) For this attempt see *Futuhât-i-'Alamgiri*, ff. 183b. For Aurangzêb's correspondence with Hassan Khân, another governor of Herat, see *Bahar-i-Sukhan*.

(2) *Muntakhabu'l-Lubab* II, p. 271. It also says that no ambassador came from Persia after Budâq Beg till 1124 A.H.

ABDUR RAHIM.

(Concluded.)

THE ART OF WARAQAT¹

DURING THE 'ABBASID PERIOD

AT a time when the art of printing was unknown, copying and writing by hand was very popular, and hence this art, known as warâqat, came into existence and flourished for a long time throughout the Islamic world.

Different interpretations have been given to the term warâqat. Generally, it was used for copying and stationery as defined by As-Sam'ânî.² But the French Orientalist De Slane has translated it as "Bookbinding" in the notice of the Spanish poet and man of letters Ash-Shantarini (d. 617 A.H.), inferred from his verses, given by Ibn Khallikan.³ The learned Orientalist has also explained, in a footnote, the general meaning of the term to signify also the profession of a stationer and that of a copyist.

But⁴ there is no justification for such inference, as in these verses the likening of a bookbinder to a tailor, who prepares dress for others and remains himself naked, does not apply to a bookbinder, but in this way the greatly fallen condition of this art is indicated.⁵

The term warâqat was also applied to bookselling, as suggested by Ibn Nadîm's use of *warraqin* for the book-sellers of Baghdâd⁶ as well as Ibn Jauzî and Khatîb's mention⁷ of the *Suqul-warraqin* for the book-markets of Baghdâd.⁸

(1) Paper read at the Urdu Section of the Seventh Session of the Indian Oriental Conference, held at Baroda, on the 27th and 29th December 1933.

(2) *Ansab* fol. 579. London.

(3) Vol. I, p. 264.

(4) English translation of Ibn Khallikan, vol. III, pp. 59-61.

(5) Ibn Khaldûn (*Muqaddimah*, Bulâq ed. pp. 398-400), in his chapter on Warâqat. mentions bookbinding as included in this art, which in his time (8th century A. H.) had fallen into disrepute.

(6) *Fihrist*, p. 169, Cairo ed.

(7) *J.R.A.S.* (1912) p. 71, the Arabic text quoted from Al-Khatîb's History of Baghdâd, vol. 27 MS.

(8) *Manaqib Baghdad*, p. 26,

Thus it is evident that the term warâqat was applied to :

- (1) Copying and transcription,
- (2) Stationery,
- (3) Bookselling.

Now I am going to show under each separate head, and by other details pertaining thereto, how far the Muslims had given an impulse to the art of warâqat absolutely for the cause of disseminating the arts and sciences among the people. The scope of my paper is confined to the Abbasid period as the Islamic rule for its culture and civilization covers a more extensive field.

The Art of Copying.

In the earlier centuries of Islam, this art was cultivated and developed to the highest pitch. The persons well-versed in this art were called " warrâqîn " or " nassâkhîn. "

Like the pre-Islamic poets, who had their own " rawi " or humanist, almost every learned man had his own *warraq* or amanuensis. Ibn Sa'd, author of a huge compendium on the Prophet's biography, was the scribe of Al-Wâqidi.¹ Ishâq b. Husain, the renowned Christian physician of Baghdad, had employed a scribe named Arzaq, in whose handwriting Ibn Abi Usaibî'a saw the Arabic translations of Galen's works signed by his master Husain.² Sandi b. 'Ali was the scribe of the celebrated musician of Baghdâd, Ishâq al-Mûsili.³ Ahmed b. Akhi, a Shâfi'î man of letters was an employee of Ibn 'Abdus al-Jihshiyârî.⁴ Ahmed b. Muhammad al-Qarashî worked as a copyist for Ibn Fatis of Damascus (d. 350).⁵ Ibn Malsâqâ wrote for the eminent Jewish physician Ibraîm az-Zaffân—Ibn Abi Usaibî'a saw MSS. of his writing signed by his master.⁶

The art of copying being greatly profitable was acquired and adopted as a means of livelihood by many literary men of the day. Ibn Haitham, the great mathematician and optician of Egypt in the 4th century A.H., used to transcribe Arabic versions of Euclid and the Majesti

(1) *Fihrist*, p. 145.

(2) *Tabaqatu'l-Atibba*. I. p. 188.

(3) *Fihrist*, p. 203.

(4) *Yâqût*, *Irshad*, I. p. 81.

(5) *Ibid*, II. p. 78.

(6) *T. Atibba*, II. p. 105.

(syntaxis) of Ptolemy, and sell them for a price which provided him with a living all the year round.¹

Abu Sa'îd as-Seyrafi (d. 368), who was appointed a Qâdi in some suburbs of Baghdad, lived on this profession. Before attending to his duties, which he discharged honorarily, he used to copy 20 pages for which he received a remuneration of 10 dirhems (four rupees) daily.² A famous litterateur of Fez, Ahmad b. 'Abdu'llâh al-Hutai'ah depended on copying for his daily bread.³ Al-Kirmâni (d. 329 A.H.), a grammarian and lexicographer, wrote for money.⁴ Ibn Abkhar, the Qâdi of Alexandria (d. 568), used to copy books and was paid for it.⁵

Those who were unemployed and could not betake themselves to any career, sought their daily bread by adopting the profession of a copyist. There were many learned men who in the days of their adversity fell back upon this helpful profession. Yâqût has furnished us with the instance of a scholar Ahmad b. Sulaiman Al-Qatî'i who, on account of adverse circumstances, was near starvation. His wife and children also shared the same fate with him. At last his wife cried out for the starvation of her young ones. She advised her husband to sell his books, but the true lover of books did not like to part with them. He at last succeeded in saving himself and his family by applying himself to the profession of copying books and selling them in the market.⁶

Another man, a learned traditionist, who was one of the teachers of At-Tirmizî and Nasaî, earned his living by copying books. Safadi gives a curious anecdote about him. Once he was reduced to chill penury and worked hard at his profession. One night while he was writing with a fast hand, suddenly he lost his eyesight through cataract. He was totally blind and could not see even the light of the lamp before him. On this sudden calamity he began to shed tears of remorse and in the same state he fell asleep. He dreamt and beheld the Prophet in a vision. The Prophet inquired the cause of his weeping.

(1) *Ibid*, p. 90.

(2) Yâqût, *Irshad*, III, pp. 84, 105.

(3) Ibn Khall, I, p. 54.

(4) Suyûti, *Bughya*, p. 47.

(5) *Ibid*, p. 297.

(6) Yâqût, I, pp. 38-39.

He complained of the loss of his eyesight and his deprivation from writing the Prophet's sayings. The Prophet then put his hand on his eyes and chanted something over them. When he awoke he found to his astonishment his eyesight restored. He sat again at his work and began copying.¹ Ar-Raffa as-Sirri (d. 360), the celebrated poet of Baghdâd, who wrote encomia on Saifu'd-Daulah and other princes of the Hamdânid dynasty, in his impecuniosity, used to compose his poems and sell them out in the market. But when he incurred many debts, he began to work as a copyist.² An eminent literary man and lexicographer, Abu Nasr Sulaimân b. Qatramish (d. 620), after his father's death squandered away money on gambling, and in utter destitution started on the career of a copyist.³ In the 9th century A.H. to what extent the art of copying had fallen into decay can be gauged from the verses of As-Shantarini, referred to above, who tried hard to secure any humble situation but could not get one, and at last entered the service of the Governor of a province as a scribe. His services being dispensed with, he earned his living by copying MSS.⁴

In this connection it is noteworthy that there were persons among these copyists who wrote abundantly and with a fast hand which excites our wonderment. The Hanbalite traditionist and jurist, Ahmad b. 'Abdu'd-Dâ'im al-Maqdisî (d. 668) wrote so rapidly that he transcribed 9 kurrasa (36 pages) in his leisure hours. It is said of him that he copied the text of the well-known work on Jurisprudence, *Al-Quduri*, in one night, which may seem highly improbable. He was engaged in his profession for 50 years. During this period he copied two thousand volumes, to which he alludes in a poem quoted by As-Safadî.⁵ He also copied twice the History of Damascus, which is a voluminous work.

It is said of Yahyâ b. 'Adî, a philosopher at Baghdâd, that he was a prolific copyist. Once a friend expressed wonder at his writing so much, to which he replied: You may be astonished at my sitting for a long time and reading so many books, but you should be aware that I have

(1) *Naktu'l-Umiyan*, p. 312.

(2) *Ansab*, fol. 255.

(3) Suyuti, *Bughya*, p. 46.

(4) Ibn Khall, I, p. 264.

(5) *Naktu'l-Umiyan*, p. 99 and *Fawatu'l-Wafayat*, I, p. 46.

written with my own hand two copies of Tabarî's commentary on the Qur'ân, a stupendous work of enormous size, and submitted them to the princes in the neighbourhood. And the works of the scholastic philosophers which I have copied are countless. By God, I can write more than 100 pages in a day and a night.¹

Shâkir al-Kutbî informs us that a traditionist and poet of the 6th century, Ibn Ikhwatu'l-A'ttâr (d. 548), wrote a large number of books—difficult to enumerate. Ibn u'n Najîrâmi saw a copy of *Al-Tanbih* by Abu Ishâq Shirâzi written by him, at the end of which he says that it was written in one day. He transcribed one thousand MSS.² Ibn al-Qâtî (d. 644), a historian and a philosopher, was a calligraphist and an expert copyist. He used to write 4 *kurrasa* (16 pages) daily, while lying on his back. He wrote a large work named *Majma'ul-Adab fi Mujma'il-Asma 'ala Mu'jami'l-Alqab*, comprising 50 volumes.³

As scribes were employed in almost all the private and public libraries, so this profession attracted a large number of persons. They were well remunerated. In the grand library of the Banu Ammâr at Tripoli, 180 scribes were employed for copying MSS., and of them 30 persons were constantly at work in the library.⁴ There were several scribes in the library of the famous historian Abu'l-Fidâ, the ruler of Hamât in Syria. In the middle of the seventh century, there were numerous scribes in the library of Ibn al-Ghazzâl, the Wazîr. Once he wanted to get copied Ibn 'Asâkir's history of Damascus comprising 80 closely written MS. volumes; and that being a colossal work it was distributed to ten scribes, 8 volumes to each. They set to copying the work and were able to finish it in two years.⁵ In the same way, scribes were employed in the libraries of Cairo.⁶ and Shîrâz.⁷ The same was the case in the library of the Caliph Al-'Azîz in Egypt⁸ and in Spain in Al-Hakam's library.⁹

(1) Qiftî, *Tarikhul-Hukama*, p. 369, Lippert ed.

(2) Safadi, *Fawat*, I, p. 268.

(3) *Fawat*, I, p. 272.

(4) History of Ibn al-Furât, MS. fol. 36.

(5) *T. Atibba*, II, pp. 234-236.

(6) Maqrizî, *Khitat*, I, p. 458.

(7) Yâqût, *Irshad*, V, p. 447.

(8) Maqrizî, I, p. 409.

(9) Ibn Khaldûn, vol. IV, p. 146.

Ibn Khallikân, in his notice of Al-Farrâ the grammarian, describes the incident of getting his two works, *Kitabu'l-Ma'âni* and *Kitabu'l-Hudûd*, transcribed at the instance of Caliph al-Mâ'mûn, which gives us an idea of the great number of the scribes. When Al-Mâ'mûn, says the author, ordered Al-Farrâ to compose a book on the principles of Grammar he employed scribes and dictated to them for two years when the book was completed. Next time, when Al-Farrâ called the copyists to his presence to dictate to them his book on Rhetoric so large a number of scribes rushed to the spot as rendered their counting difficult. Only judges among them were counted, 80 in number.¹ The same author has stated in his notice of the Wazîr Ibn Killis that in his house sat different batches of scribes employed for particular branches. One batch copied the Qur'ân only, another transcribed books on Hadîth, jurisprudence, literature and medicine. A large number of them was simply retained for putting in diacritical points.²

The art of calligraphy was a bye-product of the art of copying, which was carried to perfection. It produced artists like Ibn al-Bawwâb, Ibn Muqlah, Yâqut al-Musta'simî and a host of others. There were learned divines, men of letters and artists among them, like Ibn Jauzi, Al-Jauharî, the author of the Arabic dictionary *As-Sihah*, the celebrated musician 'Abd-al-Mu'min Isfahâni, etc. On account of their beautiful penmanship their works were appreciated and sold at fancy prices. The well-known calligraphist Yâqût al-Musta'simî (d. 618), who bore the title of "Abu'd-Durar" (father of pearls) on account of his beautiful writings, was a master-hand of great reputation. It is stated by Ibn Khallikân that his MSS. have spread throughout the whole Islamic world. He had a special attachment to Al-Jauharî's dictionary of which he prepared several editions and sold them at 100 dinârs (£ 50) each.³ Al-Juwainî, known as "the pride of copyists" (*Fakhrul-Kuttab*), (d. 586), was a famous calligraphist of Baghdâd. His MSS. fetched handsome prices. According to Ibn Khallikân, he was an unequalled master of his time in Egypt.⁴

(1) Ibn Khallikân, II, p. 228.

(2) Ibn Khallikân, II, p. 384.

(3) Ibn Khall, II, p. 207.

(4) *Ibid*, I, p. 144.

The writings of some of the calligraphists were so much appreciated and admired that, in spite of inaccuracies, their MSS. were greatly valued; of such was Ibn al-Qassâr of Baghdad (d. 576).¹

The charges for copying depended on a beautiful hand and its accuracy and varied according to the quality of work, As-Seyrafi charging 1 dirhem (6d.) per folio (2 pages).² The Nestorian physician Bukhtishû' received one thousand dinârs (£500) for 200 folios (400 pages). When Al-Farrâ called the copyists for dictating his *Kitabu'l-Ma'ani*, they demanded 1 dirhem for 5 folios, but when he insisted on a lower rate, consented to write 10 pages for 1 dirhem.³ This goes to prove that in the 3rd century 1 dirhem for 5 pages was taken to be excessive at Baghdad. Sometimes accurate and finely written MSS. were sold at high prices. The MSS. of Ibn Khurzad of Egypt, and a copy of the *Dîwân* of the Arabic poet Jarîr, written by himself, fetched 10 dinârs⁴ (£5). The writings of Amîr al-Musabbihi (d. 395), being much appreciated, were remunerated at one pound for 50 folios.⁵

Stationery

Although stationery is also included in *waraqat*, we possess no information regarding it in the Arabic historical works. Of course we can gather certain details about the art of paper-making, but here we are not concerned with that. Paper was sold, as in our times, at the book-sellers' shops. According to As-Sam'âni⁶ a stationer was called *kaghadi*, and still the same term is used for a stationer in Gujarât and Kathiawar. We have no information about the different prices charged for different kinds of paper at that time. But it can easily be understood that, on account of the flourishing condition of the paper industry and the large consumption of paper, numerous shops for paper-selling must have been established, especially when we know that paper was manufactured in Islamic countries and paper-mills were erected in almost all the chief towns of the Muslim Empire. The art of manufacturing paper from rags was invented

(1) Ibn Khallikan, I, p. 344.

(2) Yâqût, *Irshad*, III, p. 84.

(3) Ibn Khall. II, p. 228.

(4) Ibn Khall. II, p. 228.

(5) *Ibid* I, p. 516

(6) *Ansab*, fol. 472.

during the 'Abbâsid period.¹ Some scholars think the word *kaghid* to be of Chinese origin, and it was Chinese prisoners of war, brought to Samarqand after the battle of Atlakh near Talas, who first introduced, in 134 A.H. (751 A.D.), the industry of paper-making from linen, flax or hemp or rags after the method of the Chinese.²

At the end of the 3rd century, the only paper-mill was established in Trans-Oxiana,³ and afterwards there flourished paper-mills at Damascus,⁴ at Tripoli (Syria) and in Palestine.⁵ Notwithstanding this, Samarqand was the only centre of paper-manufacture to which people used to send for paper for their libraries. The well-known prose-writer and epistolographer Al-Khwârazmî jestingly excuses a friend for not writing on the ground that he lives a long distance from Samarqand and so finds paper too dear.⁶ This shows how dear paper was at places far from the centre where paper was manufactured. Ibnu'n-Nadîm has given the names of different kinds of paper then in vogue.⁷

Bookbinding.

It will not be out of place here to speak briefly of the art of bookbinding. How refined was the taste of Muslims in regard to this art, can be imagined from the precious leather-bound books referred to in Arabic chronicles.⁸ Ibnu'n-Nadîm tells us that originally the bindings were very crude. Books were bound in leather, dressed in lime, which, by reason of the defective process, remained much too stiff and hard. At a later date, in Kûfa, a more effective way of dressing leather was invented. This was done by means of dates, with the result that the leather became softer and limper. Later on, the art was much developed and much progress was made in ornamentation and illumination of leather-bound books. A European scholar, Sarre, has furnished a monograph on Islamic bookbinding which contains 36 coloured illustrations of Arabic and Persian bindings. These pictures look like the real thing and, taking them to be real, one touches

(1) *Fihrist* p. 32.

(2) *Encyclopedia of Islam* II, p. 626.

(3) *Istakhrî* p. 288.

(4) *Maqdisî*, p. 180.

(5) Nâsir Khusru, *Safar-Namah* p. 11, Bombay ed.

(6) Al-Khwârazmî, *Resâil* p. 25.

(7) Arib, *As-Silah*, p. 90, Leiden.

(8) *Fihrist*, p. 14.

them with his fingers. All the illustrations have been taken from the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Art of Painting in gold and Illustrating.

Along with the arts of calligraphy and bookbinding, the art of painting in books also came into vogue. Gilding with gold and silver and binding of artistic designs was carried to perfection by the Muslim artists. There were some scholars who were expert in this art, like Abu 'Ubaidah, known as Tarsûni (d. 730), who, according to Siyûtî, was an expert bookbinder and painter in gold.¹ As-Sam'âni saw a MS. of the Qur'ân written by Abu Usâma, the ruler of the Syrian fortress Shaizar (5th century), in letters of gold on the Syrian mica, the like of which, he says, no human eye has ever seen.² Ibnu'n-Nadîm has given the names of some persons who were expert in gilding MSS. of the Qur'ân.³

As the portrayal of living beings was held to be forbidden in Islam, at first the labours of the Muslim artists were solely confined to painting flowery designs and lifeless things, but in course of time living beings were also painted. Yâqût makes mention of a MS. of Bal'ami's *Sowaru'l-aqalim*, containing pictures, which he presented to Az-Zâhir, the son of Salâhu'd-dîn and ruler of Hamâh.⁴ Even at the present day, we find hundreds of illustrated MSS. in the libraries of Europe and the Near East.⁵

Book-trade.

Owing to the love of the Muslims for reading books, and their increasing popularity, the book-trade received a great impetus. Book-shops were established in every Muslim land. The manufacture of paper was a chief factor in the development of the book-trade. In the 3rd century A.H., there were 300 book-shops at Baghdâd.⁶ Maqrizî writes of a book-market in his own time.⁷ Al-Khatîb of Baghdâd, in the middle of the 4th century,

(1) *Bughya*, p. 51.

(2) *Ansab*, fol. 846 and Yaqut II, p. 190.

(3) *Fihrist*, p. 14.

(4) Yâqût, *Irshad*.

(5) For an account of such illustrated books see the *Discourses of the Arabian Academy, Damascus* vol. I, p. 185.

(6) *Ya'qubi*, cf. Von Kremer.

(7) Maqrizî, III, p. 165.

refers to the book-market of Baghdâd which was in a flourishing condition, all the shops being full of books.¹ These were in small shops in close proximity to each other and generally in the vicinity of a mosque. Books exposed for sale on trestles had a label on the back to facilitate the search for them.

Books were sold either privately or by auction. The auctioneer was called *Munâdi* (crier)². Most of the book-sellers were men of learning and scholars like Abu Hâtim Sahl b. Muhammad As-Sijistânî, the lexicographer, Yâqût (d. 620) the geographer and others. The booksellers had their agents called *dallalu'l-kutub*³ who used to supply them with books ; as, for instance, the poet Haziri, who owing to his profession was named *Dallal-ul-Kutub*.⁴ Another *dallâl* or agent was Al-Wajih b. Surah in Egypt, who sat at the door of his house with books, and learned scholars used to come to him on Monday and Tuesday to purchase books from him.⁵

In this connection, it may be interesting to note that a blind scholar Zeynu'd-dîn al-'Amidi of the 8th century, was a book-dealer and knew the price of each book in his house. Whenever he bought any book, he made a coil of a paper, made figures according to the Abjad method, pasted it inside the book and putting a scrap of paper on it, he embossed it, so that the letters could be easily felt by hand. When he wanted to ascertain the price, he used to lay his hand on the embossed letters.⁶

Although, owing to the extensive use of paper and a flourishing book-trade, the prices of books had comparatively gone down, yet these do not appear to have been very cheap. In the 5th century a copy of Ibn Duraid's *Jumhara* was sold at 60 *dînârs*⁷ (£30 or Rs. 425). The voluminous chronicles of At-Tabarî were bought for one hundred *dînârs*⁸ (£50 or Rs. 700). The Omayyad Jarîr's *diwan* was purchased for 200 *dînârs*⁹ (£100 or Rs. 1,400). *Kitabu'l-'Ain* of Khalîl b. Ahmad, which a bookseller

(1) *J.R.A.S.* (1912) p. 71.

(2) *Bughya*, p. 97.

(3) Ibn Khall, I, p. 63.

(4) *Ibid* i., p. 286.

(5) *Ibid* i., p. 63.

(6) Safadi, *Nakt*, pp. 207-208.

(7) Ibn Khall, I, p. 479.

(8) Maqrizî, I, p. 408.

(9) Ibn Khall, II, p. 522.

brought from Khorâsân to the market of Basra, was sold at 50 dînârs¹ (£25 or Rs. 350). An Arabic translation of the commentary of *Acroasis* of Alexander Aphrodisias was bought for 100 dinars² (£50 or Rs. 700). But, as the number of books and the scribes went on increasing, the price of books fell gradually. Syed Amir Ali,³ Miss Olga Pinto,⁴ an Italian lady orientalist, and Dr. F. Krenkow, the learned Arabist, have deduced from Yâqût's statements regarding the Ad-Damiriyyah Library of Marv, whence he used to borrow books, that the average price of a book in the 'Abbâsid period was one dînâr. "My residence" says Yâqût "was never without 200 books, among them were books worth 200 dinars lent to me without any deposit."⁵

From this it is clear that Yâqût used to retain books, many of them worth 200 dînârs, not that the average price per book was one dînâr.

Sometimes, precious books were sold at low price, owing to the pecuniary circumstances of the seller. It is said of Avicenna that he had read Aristotle's work on metaphysics forty times and had learnt it by heart, and yet he was unable to comprehend it thoroughly. One evening he went to the book-seller's market, when a book-agent was putting a book up to auction. He requested Avicenna to buy it but he refused, thinking it a worthless book. 'It is dirt cheap', insisted the auctioneer 'and going to be sold at 3 dirhems (Re. 1-2-0) only, its owner being in urgent need of money.' At last the book was purchased and the buyer, to his utmost joy, found it to be the commentary of Al-Fârâbi on the metaphysics of Aristotle, which solved his difficulties. For possessing such a useful book, he gave alms to the poor in gratitude to God.⁶

Book-selling being a profitable business and books being sold at high prices, clever book-sellers would demand a high price for the works of a well-known author, sometimes even charging an exorbitant price for an ordinary book by selling it under the name of some renowned

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- (1) *Fihrist*, p. 42.
 - (2) I, pp. 69-70.
 - (3) *History of the Saracens*, p. 460 new ed.
 - (4) *Islamic Libraries*, translated by F. Krenkow, *Islamic Culture* vol. 3, No., 2, p. 215.
 - (5) *Mu'jamu'l-Buldan*-IV. pp. 509-510.
 - (6) *T. Atibba*, II, pp. 3-4.

author. Thus a book-seller once compiled a book of songs in the name of the celebrated musician Ishâq al-Mûsili, and sold it for a considerable sum.¹ Such tricks were often played in the book-markets. Counterfeit coins and forged documents were brought for sale in the market. Such frauds were not only common with the book-dealers; the customers also were not backward in such tricks. It is related of a grammarian 'Abdullâh b. Ahmad Al-Khashshâb, that, when selecting books from a lot on sale, he was accustomed to take advantage of the book-seller's inattention to tear the book, and then, alleging it to be incomplete, to purchase the incomplete portions at a nominal price.² The book-sellers of Baghdad Ibnu'l-Khazzâr, Abu Bakr al-Qantarî and Abu Huseyn al-Khurâsânî relate of As-Seyrafi, the Judge at Baghdâd, that, on account of his poverty, whenever he wanted to sell any book, he used to get it copied by his pupils and wrote at the end of each MS. that he has collated it with the text and made corrections therein, his object being to draw more money for a correct text.³

Book-shops as Literary Clubs.

On account of the special importance attached to the book-sellers' shops during that literary age, book-stalls were generally used as literary clubs, where scholars and savants used to assemble, and lively discussions were held on literary topics. The book-sellers were not only ordinary publishers, but men of talents and ability and most of them were famous authors. Book-shops were so much held in esteem that Al-Muhallibî, the Wazîr, advised his son not to sit in any bazar except a book-market.⁴ Maqrizî has given verses of some poet who has expressed the same idea.⁵

The book-shops had become a rendezvous and place of recreation for the scholars. Yâqût informs us about the shop of a certain book-seller, Sa'd, a litterateur, poet and prose-writer.⁶ It was the resort of scholars and men of letters. Yâqût has also told us of a blind grammarian Abu'l-Ghanîm Habashî b. Muhammad (d. 568), who,

(1) *Fihrist*, p. 141.

(2) *Bughya*, p. 278.

(3) Yâqût, *Irshad*, II, p. 190.

(4) *Al-Fakhri*, p. 3, Cairo Ed.

(5) Maqrizî, III, pp. 125-126.

(6) Yâqût II, p. 23.

in spite of his blindness, constantly used to go at night into the book-market of Baghdād and continued to do so for twenty years.¹ In the seventh century, a scholar Ibn al-Qune was accustomed to sit in the book-market of Damascus.² Ibn Jauzī (d. 597), writing about the book-market of Baghdad, remarks that it is a resort of savants, scholars and poets.³ Writing about the book-market of Old Cairo, the vestiges of which were seen till 780 A.H. in his own time, and which was afterwards transferred to Cairo, Maqrizī says that it was a centre where learned men used to meet.⁴

To judge of the cultivation and development of the art of warāqat, one has only to imagine those public, private and royal libraries and the immense number of books scattered in mosques, madrasahs, khanqahs, serais, hospitals and royal palaces, throughout the length and breadth of the Islamic Empire. I think no people have ever written, copied and collected so many books as the Muslims did during their halcyon days. Alas, that precious treasure of Arabic learning has largely disappeared. It was partly destroyed in the devastating invasion of the Tartars. Some of it was sunk by them in the waters of the Tigris ; some was committed to the flames by the brutal ignorance of the Crusaders, and some was destroyed or lost in the internecine wars of the Muslim princes. Notwithstanding this, splendid proofs of the literary labours of the sons of Islam are to be found in the libraries of the East and the West.

(1) Yâqût III, p. 3, Safadi, *Nakt*, p. 134.

(2) *Bughyah*, p. 97.

(3) *Manaqib Baghdad*, p. 26.

(4) Maqrizī, III, p. 125.

QAZI AHMADMIAN AKHTAR.

MUSLIM COLONIES IN INDIA BEFORE THE MUSLIM CONQUEST*

(Continued)

THE LINE OF THE RULERS OF MULTAN

From the above accounts there emerge three different lines of the rulers of Multân.

1. Manbah bin Asad (منبه بن اسد) was descended from the Qureysh family of Asâmah bin Lowa'î (اسامه بن لوی). This family is known as Banû Manbah. There are unmistakable signs of its existence from 290 A.H. to 340 A.H. (from Ibn-Rasta to Istakhrî)

2. Jalam bin Sheybân (جلم بن شیبان) who, according to Bêrûnî, is the first Qirmati or Ismâ'îlî to have possessed Multân, flourished between 340 or 367 A.H. and 375 A.H., that is, between Istakhrî or Ibn Hauqal, and Bashari. Bashari is the first Arab traveller who mentions the relations between Multân and the Fatimids of Egypt.

3. Sheikh Hamîd's son was Nasîr or Nasar (نصیر یا نصر) and his son was Abu'l-Fath or Abu'l-Futûh (ابوالفتح یا ابو الفتح). Daûd Qirmati. Sheikh Hamîd was contemporaneous with Alaptagin and Sabuktagin, that is, his period and that of his son Nasar (if he ever was ruler) can be placed between 351 A.H. and 390 A.H. Sultan Mahmûd's contemporary was Abu'l-Fath Daûd. Hence the period of his rule extended from 390 A.H. to 396 A.H. (the date of the first conquest of Multân) or even to 401 (the second conquest of Multân and the capture of Daûd).

Persian historians were not familiar with the first and second dynasties. However, according to the statements of Arab travellers, they were pure Arabs. The Persian

* Translated from Urdu by Sayeed-ul-Haqq Desnawi B.A. (Hons).

historians were familiar, because of Sultân Mahmûd with the third dynasty. In this connection a few corrections can be made. The Arabic patronymic of him whom they called Abu'l-Fath was Abu'l-Futûh and the name they wrote as Nasîr was, according to the oldest authority of Gurdèzî, Nasar. This verbal correction is important because Firishta and others have ascribed them to the Lodis and Pathans whereas the names Sheykh Hamîd, Nasar and, Daûd are pure Arabic names and Nasar instead of 'Nasîr', is of purely Arabic origin. The patronymic Abu'l-Fath or Abu'l-Futûh is a particular feature among the Arabs. Particularly Abu'l-Futûh and the honorific title of 'Sheykh' are purely Arabic. Among the Ismâ'îlî Bâtînis (Esoterics) the word 'Sheykh' was specially used in the sense of 'Amîr' since it had more a religious than a political significance. Hasan bin Sabbah was known as Sheykhul-Jabal. Hence the story that they were Lodis and Pathans is a fiction. Even the existence of Islâm among those people at that time can hardly be recognised. On this ground my opinion is that Sheykh Hamîd, Sheikh Nasar, and Abû'l Futûh Daûd were Arabs by descent and were descended from Jalam bin Sheybân (جلم بن شيان). A famous Indian author* has written an entirely baseless statement that Abu'l-Futûh Daûd was the same person who is famously known in the History of Sind as Sômrâh (سومره) and that Sômrâh was his Hindu and Abu'l-Fath his Islamic name. This error is due to his assumption that the same dynasty ruled both in Multân and Mansûrah. Since the ruler of the Multân line was Abu'l-Futûh and that of the Sind line was Sômrâh, he took the two names to be those of one person. This is entirely erroneous. From the preliminary sentences of the letters in Kitâbu'd-Durûz written to "the Mowahhidîn (Unitarians) of Multân and India in general and to Sheykh Ibn Sômar Râjah Bal (شيخ ابن سومر راجه بل) in particular" it cannot be proved that Ibn Sômar was the ruler of Multân. Nor has any historian mentioned Somar's name in connection with the Multân rulers; nor is there any authority for believing that way. The connection of the Sômaris was with Sind alone which was

* The late Maulvi 'Abdul Halîm Sharar wrote it on page 9 and p. 12 of the second volume of his *History of Sind*. Perhaps the Maulâna was misled by Elhot's remarks (*vide* vol. 1, p. 491).

an independent State entirely separate from Multân. The unanimous verdict of Arab travellers goes to prove it. This much is proved from the letters that Abu'l-Fath Daûd, ruler of Multân, and Sômar subscribed to the same faith and probably, after the downfall and incarceration of Abu'l-Fath, Sômar became the spiritual head (Sheykh and Imâm) of the Carmathians of Sind.

One thing can be said concerning all this. It was a rule with the Ismâ'îlis that, for the convenience of preaching their faith among many peoples, to declare hereditary nearness with those peoples in order to draw them closer. Thus Sheykh Hamid and others might have declared themselves. Pathans in order to draw the Pathans closer to themselves. They were not in any way connected with the Hindus ; nor were Hindi words used with their names.

THE INDO-ISLAMIC CULTURE OF MULTÂN.

In Multân there was a delightful mixture of Arab and Indian cultures. The town was beautiful, though small. There were separate markets for every profession and calling. There was a rampart wall all round the town. Outside Multân, at the place where there were military barracks for the Amîr's army, there were tall buildings. Bêrûnî has said that in the town there was a mosque built by Muhammad bin Qâsim (probably between 340 A.H. and 375). Jalam bin Sheybân, the Ismâ'ilî Qirmatî closed it down as an Umayyad relic. He demolished the famous idol-house dedicated to the sun-god and built a Jâmi' Mosque on its site. When Sultân Mahmûd conquered Multân (in 396 A.H. or 403 A.H.) he opened the former mosque and left the second dilapidated. At the time when Bêrûnî wrote his book (in 424 A.H.) it had become levelled to the ground and henna trees were standing there.

Istakhrî (340 A.H.) has written that the Amîr of Multân goes on an elephant to the Jâmi' mosque to say his Friday prayers. The Arab Amîrs had come to like immensely this elegant conveyance of the Hindu Rajas. Again, he says that the inhabitants of Multân put on pyjamas and the majority of the people speak Persian and Sindhi. In fine, the Hindus and the Muslims had become similar in matters of dress and religion.

Regarding the manner of dress and the language spoken, Ibn-Hauqal (367 A.H.) makes the following statement : " The Hindus and the Muslims here dress alike,

There is the custom of growing long hair in Multan. In Mansûrah, Multân and their suburbs, Arabic and Sindhi are spoken. The inhabitants of Makran speak Persian and Makrani. 'Kurtas' (loose and long garments) are worn, but the merchants, like the people of 'Irâq and Persia, use shirts and sheets'.¹

Bashari came here in 375 A.H. He has drawn a fine picture of the culture and manners prevailing here. He says :—

"Multân is smaller than Manusûrah but is more populous. Fruits, though not many, are cheap..... And, as in Seyraf (the port of 'Iraq), so also here there are many-storied buildings of the 'Sal' wood. No corruption, no liquor-drinking. Those who are found guilty of this offence are killed or punished severely. In their transactions of sale and purchase they do not lie; nor do they weigh less than what ought to be weighed. They treat travellers courteously. The majority of the inhabitants are Arabs. They drink canal-water. There is fertility and opulence. Trade is in a flourishing condition. Sufficient luxury. The Government is just and impartial. In the bazar will be found no woman who is embellished. Nobody will talk to a woman openly on the road or street. The water is fine; life is lived happily; there is mirth and courtesy here. Persian is understood. Trade is fairly lucrative. The people are healthy, but the town is dirty. Houses are narrow. The air is warm and dry. The people are wheat-coloured and dark".² "The coinage of Multan has been fashioned after the Fatimid coinage but mostly *Qanhriyyat* (قہریات) are current."³

MANSURAH.

To the Arabs the largest town of Sind was Brahmanâbâd whose original Indian name, as is mentioned by Bêrûnî, was Bahamnawâ (بہمنوا). The Persians called it Brahmanâbâd and this name became current among the Muslims. Later on, military and political necessities

(1) *Safarnamah-i-Ibn Hauqal* p. 232 (Leiden).

(2) *Ahsanu't-taqasim* by Bashshâri p. 48 (Leiden).

(3) *ibid* p. 482. *Qanahrî* (قہری) seems to be some ordinary coin.

Elliot 'has written 'Qandhâriyât' (قندھاریات) and he suggests that these coins were minted in Qandahâr. This is baseless and is a mere invention.

compelled the Arabs to build their own towns of which Mahfûzah Beydâ' and Mansûrah became very famous.

In the last days of the Umayyads when Arab power wavered and the Sindhis began to drive them towards the coast, the Arab Governor at that time, Hikam bin 'Awânâh Kalbî (حکم بن عوانه کلبی) mustered all the Arabs at one place and built a town named Mahfûzah on the other side of the river.

'Amru (عمرو) who was a brave man and a politician and the son of Muhammad bin Qâsim was also with Hikam. He performed all the duties of Hikam. He built Mansûrah on the sea-coast at a distance of two farsakhs from Brahmanâbâd¹.

In the days of the 'Abbâsids, that is, during the period of Mu'tasim bi'llâh (mid. third century A.H.), when a member of the Barmakid family 'Imrân bin Mûsa bin Yahya bin Khâlîd (عمران بن موسى بن يحيى بن خالد) was appointed Governor of Sind, he built a town named Beyda (بيضاء).

But Fate had ordained fame and immortality for Mansûrah.

THE FOUNDER OF MANSURAH.

Why was this town so called? Some wrongly thought that it was built during the time of the Khalîfah Mansûr the 'Abbâsid and hence became known as Mansûrah. This is entirely wrong as this town was already built in the time of the Umayyads. Likewise, Mas'ûdî has ascribed it to Mansûr bin Jamhûr² who had become the ruler of Sind when the Umayyad power was on the wane and the 'Abbasid empire was being established. But this, too, is not correct. One should not be misled by names. Its founder, as is stated by our oldest authority Balâdhari (d. 279) was 'Amru, (عمرو), son of Muhammad bin Qâsim. Hence Mansûrah (Victorious) like Mahfûzah (Safe and Secure), was a name of good omen.

(1) *Futuh'u'l-buldan* by Balâdhari p. 444 (Leiden).

(2) *Muruju'dh-dhahab* vol. 1, p. 379.

THE DATE OF ITS FOUNDATION.

Hikam, during whose time 'Amru built this town, was sent by Khâlid bin 'Abdullah Qasri (خالد بن عبدالله قسري) the Amîr of 'Irâq. Khâlid became Amîr of 'Irâq in 105 A.H. and was dismissed in 120 A.H. Hikam was the second Governor of Sind sent by Khâlid, so his period probably dates from 110 A.H. On this hypothesis, the date of the foundation of Mansûrah should fall somewhere between 110 A.H. and 120 A.H.

ITS SITUATION.

First of all Ibn Khardadhbah (250 A.H.) mentions it as situated on the banks of the river Sind.¹ Again, Balâdhari (279 A.H.) says, "It was built a little away from the river."² Ibn Hauqal and Istakhrî have both written that it was built on the banks of the river Mahrâ at such a place that the river, branching, turned it into an island." Some Arab geographers have given its latitude as 93° from the west and 12° from the south.³ Luckily I have before me the map of Sind prepared by Ibn Hauqal in his own time. It shows that at a little distance from the place where the river Sind, after traversing the Punjab, flows into the Indian Ocean, there is a new branch of the river which, turning at a little distance, rejoins the river. Due to the area of land covered by this branch, on the banks of the river a small plot of land is formed into an island. The town was built here and, surrounded by water on all sides, was guarded against the sudden attacks of invaders. It was just like Seringapatam which has been formed by the turns and twists of the Kaveri in Mysore. There is a similar town in Trichinopoly too (within the boundaries of Madras). According to the ancient military science, such places were very strategic.

Abu'l-Fazl has, in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, solved the intricacies and unravelled the skein of knots. He says that the old name of Bhikar (بھیکر), a famous town of Sind, was Mansûrah.⁴

The truth is that the whole geographical account of Mansûrah exactly applies to it. Abu'l-Fazl says, "Here

(1) *Al-Masalik wa'l-Mamalik* by Ibn Khardadhbah p. 174.

(2) p. 444 (Leiden).

(3) *Mu'jamu'l-buldan* by Yâqût, word *Mansurah*.

(4) *A'in-i-Akbari* vol. 2, p. 160 (Nawalkishore Press).

all the six rivers unite into one, and, then, divided into two, flow below it, one to the south and the other to the north." The name of Bhikar is very familiar in Indian histories and is known even to this day.

Mansûrah was safe on account of its situation and it lay on the river-bank and near the sea. It was suitable for the in-coming and out-going of traffic from Arabia and 'Irâq as, in times of danger, they could edge away. Hence very soon it became the Arab capital in Sind. In the 3rd century we hear its name mentioned as a capital. Balâdhari (d. 279 A.H.) says in the description of Mansûrah, "This is the town where Hukm nowadays stays."¹ All the later Arab travellers mention it in that capacity and at last it became the "Dâru'l-amârah", or capital of the Qureyshite Arab Kingdom.

SIND IN THE TIME OF THE 'ABBASID CALIPHATE.

The province of Sind remained bound up with the centre at Baghdad till the days of Caliph Al-Ma'mûn (218 A.H.). But, even in the last days of the 'Abbâsids, Arab Amîrs began to dream of independence. Fadl bin Mâhân a slave of the Samâides (بنی سامه) conquered a town of the name of Sandân (سندان) and got the 'sanad' or authority for Amîrship direct from Al-Ma'mûn. He built a mosque² in which Friday prayers were said and the Khutbah was read in the name of the Khalifah. After him, his brother Muhammad bin Fadl bin Mâhân became the ruler and his period corresponds to that of Al-Mu'tasam bi'llâh (227 A.H.). He attacked the Medes with a fleet of seventy ships. During his absence his brother Mâhân conquered and possessed the State, and perhaps these family feuds explain why the Kingdom slipped out of Muslim hands.³ During the time of Al-Mu'tasam bi'llâh, Muhammad bin Khalîl proclaimed his independence in Qandâbîl (قندابيل) but an officer of Mu'tasam named 'Imrân Barmakî (عمران برمکی) Governor of Sind, captured the chiefs of that place and sent them to Qasdâr (قصدار) (Qazdâr).⁴

(1) *Futuh'u'l-buldan* by Balâdhari p. 444.

(2) A Jâmi' mosque is one in which Muslims congregate for Friday prayers (Translator).

(3) Balâdhari p. 446.

(4) *ibid* p. 445.

During the time of 'Imrân Barmakî exactly the same family feuds ensued between two Arab tribes Yamani (Qahtâni) and the Hijâzî (Nazârî) as had put an end to the Umayyad supremacy. 'Imran sided with the Yamani. At that time the leader of the Hijâzis was a Qureysh chief 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Azîz Habârî (عمر بن عبد العزيز هباري) who, taking opportunity by the forelock, murdered 'Imrân.¹

THE HABARI QUREYSH DYNASTY OF SIND.

During the Prophet's time there was a certain person named Habâr bin Aswad (هبار بن اسود) of the Banu Asad who was a sworn enemy of Islam and the Prophet.

At last he embraced Islam in 8 A.H. at the time of the conquest of Mecca. One of his descendants had come to Sind with Hikam bin 'Uwânah Kalbî (حكيم بن عوانه كلبي) Governor of Sind. The grandson of this man was 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Azîz Habârî². His genealogy is:—'Umar, son of 'Abdul 'Azîz, son of Mundhir son of Zubeyr, son of 'Abdur Rahmân, son of Habâr son of Aswad. During the Umayyad and the 'Abbâsid periods this family had a share in influencing the trend of State affairs.³ Becoming the leader of the Hijâzis he killed 'Imrân. The natural consequence was that 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Azîz Habârî assumed the rulership of Hijâzî Arabs in Sind. In 240 A.H. during the reign of the Khalifah Al-Mutawakkil when Hârûn bin Khâlid, the Governor of Sind, died, 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Azîz sent a petition to the Khalîfah's court requesting him to hand over to him the province of Sind. The Khalîfah granted his petition. Ya'qûbi (d. 278 A.H.) who wrote his book in 259 A.H. writes in his history; "Hârûn bin Khâlid, the Governor of Sind, died in 240 A.H." 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Azîz Sâmî, who was descended from Sâmah bin Luwa'i (سامه بن لوى) and who had established his rule over Sind, wrote that he was administering the country quite well. Al-Mutawakkil granted his request and during the period of Al-Mutawakkil's caliphate he remained the permanent ruler.⁴

Ya'qûbi's statement, describing 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Azîz as a descendant of Sâmah bin Luwa'i, is not correct.

(1) Balâdhari p. 446.

(2) *ibid.*

(3) Ibn Khaldûn vol. 2, p. 327.

(4) *Tarikh Ya'qubi* vol. 2, p. 599 (Leiden).

'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Azîz was descended from Habâr bin Aswad, who was descended from Ka'b bin Luwa'i (v. Ibn Khaldûn vol. 6, p. 327 Egypt). Probably Ya'qûbî has confused them with the Amîrs of Multân who were Sâmaids (بنو سامه).

However, even after the rule of 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Azîz Habâri the 'Abbâsid connection remained intact. In Al-Mu'tamad's reign (256-279 A.H.) the name of Sind appears in connection with the Baghdad administration, since it was during this period that, together with Turkistân, Sajistân and Kirmân, the province of Sind was also entrusted to Ya'qub bin Leys, the founder of the Safari family of Khurâsân.¹

In 261 A.H. Al-Mu'tamad handed over to his ambitious brother Al-Mowaffaq the province of Sind together with the other Eastern countries. At the same time on the Arab and 'Irâqi coast of the Persian Gulf, the Qarâmitah raised the standard of revolt while in the west rose the movement of the Ismâ'îlî Fâtimids which in the end travelled up to Egypt.

Probably this is the time when the former nominal relation of Sind with Baghdad was snapped away. Balâdhari, who died in 279 A.H. writes : Samah (صمه) son of Abu's-Samah who was a freedman of the Banu Kandah and who had come to Sind with an 'Abbâsid Governor of the early 3rd century named 'Umar bin Hafs bin Hazâr (عمر بن حفص بن هزار), has forcibly become an independent ruler of Sind."²

But it appears that the descendants of 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Azîz had little peace of mind. 'Umar bin, 'Abdul 'Azîz Habâri (هباري) himself lived in Bâniah (بانيه) a town in Sind.³ But his descendants, having gained permanent possession of Lower Sind, made Mansûrah their capital. In 270 A.H. 'Abdullah, son of 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Azîz Habâri was the ruler of Mansûrah. It was in his time that the Hindu Raja of Alrâ (Alwar in Sind) asked him for a Muslim preacher and scholar to acquaint him with Islam.⁴ When Mas'ûdî comes here in 303 A.H.

(1) Târikh Ibn Khaldûn vol. 3, p. 343 (Egypt).

(2) Balâdhari p. 445.

(3) Ibn Hauqal — *Dhkrû's-Sind*.

(4) *'Aja'ibu'l-Hind* by Buzurg Shahryâr p. 3 (Leiden).

he finds 'Umar, son of 'Abdullah, ruling at Mansûrah. He finds there many Arab chiefs, Sayyids and members of the 'Alwaî family too. The names of the King and the Wazîr were 'Umar bin 'Abdullah and Riyâh (رباح) and the Qâdi was of the family called Al-Abî'sh Shawârib respectively. The exact words of Mas'ûdi are¹ :—

“ At the time I reached Mansûrah, Abu'l-Mundhir (ابوالمندر) 'Umar bin 'Abdullah was the ruler. It was there that I saw his minister Riyâh (رباح), both his sons, Muhammad and 'Alî, and also an Arab chief who was one of the rulers of that place and who was named Hamzah.² I also saw many descendants of Hazrat 'Ali bin Abi Tâlib who come from the lineage of 'Umar bin 'Alî and of Muhammad bin 'Ali. The family of the rulers of Mansûrah, and that of the Qâdis (this family being known as Al Abi'sh-Shawârib) had between them ties of relationship. The rulers of Mansûrah are the descendants of Habâr bin Aswad who are known as Banû 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Aziz.

After Mas'ûdi came Ibn Hauqal in 367 A.H. The same family was ruling up to that time. Though there was no political or administrative tie yet the religious tie existed even now. They mentioned in the Khutbah the name of the 'Abbâsid Khalîfah. The exact words (of Ibn Hauqal) are :³

“ The ruler of the country is a Qureyshite who is said to come of the lineage of Habâr bin Aswad. His ancestors ruled here and now he is the ruler. In the Khutbah was read the name of the 'Abbâsid Khalîfah”.

When Maqdisi came here in 375 A.H. he found the same family at the head of the Government. But the influence of the Shi'a Daylamî which ruled over Persia was extending through Baluchistân to Sind. But the

(1) *Murûju'dh-dhahab* by Mas'ûdi vol. 1, p. 377.

(2) Dr. Bird, quoted by Elliot (vol. 1, p. 488) has quite misunderstood the sentence when he says, “ The descendants of Hamzâh Saiyyadush-Shohada settled down here.” He was misguided by the word 'Hamzah. This Hamzah is not the uncle of the Prophet but some Arab chief of that name. Mas'ûdi is mentioning Hamzah and not his descendants. Hazrat Hamzah (uncle of the Prophet) had no male children. Nor did his progeny multiply.

(3) *Safarnâmah* Ibn Hauqal, *Dhikru's-Sind*.

Khalifah of Baghdād still continued to have hold of the imagination of the people. Bashari says¹ :—

“Mansûrah is ruled over by a Sultân of the Qureysh family. But in the Khutbah is recited the name of the ‘Abbasid Caliph, and sometimes the name of ‘Adadu’-daulah (Deylamî). When I was in Shîraz, an ambassador from this place had gone to the son of ‘Adadu’-daulah”.

Ibn Hauqal says that Mansûrah was one mile long, one mile broad, and was surrounded by rivers on all sides. The inhabitants were Muslims. Bashari says, “Mansûrah is the central town of Sind and the capital. It is like Damascus. The houses are made of wood and clay. The Jâmi‘ mosque is made of bricks and stone and is large. Like the mosque of ‘Umar, it is supported by pillars of the ‘Sal’ wood. It is situated in the centre of the market. There are four gates to the town—Bâbu’l-Bahr (The River gate) Bâb Tûrân, Bâb Sandân (سندان) Bâb Multân.²

There were various towns of Sind within the radius of this Arab Kingdom. Bashshârî says that Mansûrah was the capital of Sind and among the towns were Deybal, Zandrij (زندريج), Kadâr (کدار), Mâyâl Batli (مائال بتلي). Istakhri mentions other towns too—such as Bâniah (بانية), Sadûsân (سدوسان) Alwar (الور), Saubârah (سواره) Saymûr (صيمور). Mas‘ûdi says, : “There are three hundred thousand villages and hamlets, etc., within the ambit of the Mansûrah Kingdom. It can give an idea of how large the Kingdom is”. Mas‘ûdi again says, “There are fields and trees everywhere, and the population is interspersed.”³

From this one can guess the prosperity and population of Mansûrah.

Mas‘ûdi says :—“The inhabitants of Mansûrah are constantly at war with the Medes, a clan in Sind. The King has eighty military elephants. The rule is that there is a force of infantry five hundred strong for each

(1) *Ahsanu’l-taqasim* by Bashshârî p. 485.

(2) *Ahsanu’l-taqasim* p. 479.

(3) *Muruju’-dh-dhahab* vol. 1, p. 378.

military elephant. Of these, two elephants are very famous and brave fighters. The name of one was Munsir Qals منسر قلس and that of the other was Haydarah (حيدرہ) and they were tamed.¹

Mas'ûdi has, in a way, told us the whole military strength of Mansûrah. If there were five hundred fighters for elephant, there would be an army forty thousand strong for eighty elephants.

LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF MANSURAH.

The best account is given by Bashari in his *Safar Namah*. He says, "The inhabitants are good-natured and courteous. Islam is in a flourishing condition. There is plenty of learning and there are lots of scholars. They are of quick intelligence and sharp wit. They do pious deeds and spend sums in charity."²

"The non-Muslim subjects (*Ahl-e-dhimmah*) worship idols. There are no preachers among Muslims. Most of the Muslims are 'Ahl Hadîth'. I saw here Qazi Abu Muhammad of Mansûrah who was a Daûdi and an Imâm of his faith. He had a circle of pupils. He is an author. He published many good books.....In the large towns are found Hanafî theologians too. But there are no Malikis or Hanbalîs or Mu'tazalis here. Their ways are ways of virtue. They are virtuous and chaste."³

The existence of 'Ahl Hadîth' at such an early date is very surprising. Daûdi does not signify Daûdi Bohras but the followers of Imâm Daûd Zâhirî who were a kind of *Ahl Hadith*.

LANGUAGE.

Mas'ûdî says, "There is a separate language in Sind apart from the languages of India. Bashari says about Deybal (ديبل), the port of Mansûrah, "Only merchants live here. The tongues spoken are Sindhi and Arabic"⁴. It can be guessed that Arabic had a powerful and lasting influence upon the language of Sind, as can

(1) *ibid.*

(2) *Muruju'dh-dhahab* vol. 1, p. 379—*Ahsanu't-taqasim* p. 479.

(3) *Ahsanu't-taqasim* p. 481.

(4) *Muruju'dh-dhahab* vol. 1, p. 281.

be found even today. Arabic words are mixed up in the Sindhi language as in Urdu. The most lasting influence is found in the fact that even today the Sindhi script is Arabic exactly as it was before.

EXTINCTION OF MANSURAH.

Nothing clear is known about the extinction of the Arab Kingdom of Mansûrah. It is certain that it existed till Bashari's time (375 A.H.). Fifteen years later began Mahmûd's invasions. In 416 A.H. Sultan Mahmûd's famous invasion of Somnath took place, and on his way back he took the route to Sind from Gujarât. He pressed on from Sind on the banks of the river Sind to Multân and from Multân to Ghazni.

Historians have explained that he passed through Mansûrah¹. But Ibn Athîr in his *Tarikhu Kamîl* has an important sentence in his narrative of the events of that year² :—

“ And the Sultân intended to go to Mansûrah. The Governor of Mansûrah had turned an apostate. When he learnt the news of the Sultân's approach, he went out of the town, and, together with his men, hid himself in bushes. Sultân Mahmûd gave chase to him. Many were killed ; many drowned themselves in the river ; a few were spared. The Sultan pressed on to Ghazni through Bhâtîya³ (بھٹیہ). The question is :—What is meant by “ turning an apostate ” ? If the ruler of Mansûrah was not declared an apostate merely to justify Mahmûd's incursion, it will mean that the ruler of Mansûrah had like the ruler of Multân, perhaps become an Ismâ'îlî Qirmitî. We have the evidence of Basharî, who came 41 years before. He testifies that the people of Mansûrah were Sunnis, nay, Ahl Hadîth (followers of Tradition). However that may be, it is proved that the Habâri kingdom was annihilated in 416 A.H. at the hands of Sultân Mahmûd. The famous research scholar Ibn Khaldûn says on one occasion, while describing the family of 'Umar-bin-'Abdul 'Aziz :—

(1) *Zeynu'l-Akhbar* by Gurdezi p. 87 (Berlin).

(2) *Kamîl* Ibn Athîr vol. 9. p. 248 (Leiden).

(3) Elliot has, with reference to Ibn Athîr, written, “ Sultan Mahmoud appointed a Mussalman as king of Mansoorâ.” But in Ibn Athîr is found not this sentence but the statement I have given above. He made the mistake because he relied on some European translation.

"One of the descendants of Habâr bin Aswad (هبار بن اسود) was 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Aziz who, in the turmoil following the murder of Al-Mutawakkil, brought Sind under his dominion. His descendants ruled over Sind one after another until they were blotted out by Sultan Mahmûd. They had their capital at Mansûrah*.

Considering the stress that Bashari, who was a theologian, lays in 375 A.H. upon the people of Mansûrah being conscientious Sunnis (Ahl sunnah) it seems difficult to believe that in 416 A.H. they became Qarâmitah. It is proved from Ibn Khaldûn's statement that Sultan Mahmûd snatched away the kingdom of Sind from the hands of the Habâri Amîr. It appears from Ibn Athîr's statement that the Sultan learnt about the Amîr from whose hands he snatched away the kingdom that he had turned an apostate—that is, he had become a Ismâ'îlî Qirmâtî.

It has been mentioned above that unless the people of Mansûrah were declared Qirmâtî Ismâ'ilîs simply to give the Sultan a pretext for invading Mansûrah, we can infer from Ibn Athîr's statement that the Qirmâtîs had swamped the Sunni Habâri dynasty after 375 A.H. Or it may be inferred that after Multân had slipped out of their hands, they established their rule over Sind, and Sultân Mahmûd blotted out this Qirmâtî kingdom in 416 A.H.

THE LETTER OF THE DRUSES.

The Druse letter from which a quotation has been given above is very important in this connection. It is written in the Druse letter sent by the religious leaders (Imams) of the Durûz of Syria :—

"Addressed to the Muwahhidîn (Believers in the Unity) of Multân and India in general and to Sheykh Ibn Sômar in particular".

In this letter Ibn Sômar Râjah Bal was the legitimate heir of Bhôtawra (بهوترا) and Haudal Hilâ (هودل هيل). The names of many other scions of the family are mentioned, some of which are Arabic and some Indian. He tries to excite their sense of shame thus :—"O revered Râjah Bal ! exalt thy family. Bring back the Mowahhidîn and younger Daûd اصغر) within the pale of true

* *Tarikh Ibn Khaldun*, vol. 2, p. 327 (Egypt).

faith. Mas'ûd who has recently set him free from slavery and imprisonment has done so because he wants thee to perform thy duty against his nephew 'Abdullah and against all the inhabitants of Multân for which thou hast been appointed, so that the believers in (holiness) Taqdîs¹ and 'Tauhîd' (Unity of God) may be distinguished from the rebels and those who are steeped in darkness.²

Very important conclusions can be inferred from this letter.

(1) The Sômars (سومر), who were inhabitants of Sind and later on founded the Sômarid dynasty, were Ismâ'îlis.

(2) Their names were both of a Hindu and an Arabic character. This shows that the family was Indo-Arabic or compounded of Arab and Indian elements.

(3) The rulers of Multân, Abu'l-Fath Daûd, etc., and the Sômaris of Sind were followers of the same faith.

(4) Sômar (سومر) was probably the Sheykh or Imâm of the Ismâ'îlis. The Ismâ'îlis used Sheykh to denote their religious leader.

(5) It appears that Abu'l-Fath Daûd left behind him a son known by the name of Daûd Asghar or the younger Daûd and set free by Sultân Mas'ûd on his recanting the Ismâ'îli faith.

(6) 'Abdullah Abu'l-Fath was the maternal grandson of Daûd Akbar or the elder Daûd, and nephew (sister's son) of Daûd Asghar whom the people of Multân wanted to make their Amîr.

(7) This letter was designed to make Ibn Sômar Râjah Bal incite his clan to fight against Sultân Mas'ûd, 'Abdullah and the people of Multân, and restore the lost power of the Qirmati Ismâ'îlis. In Multân attempts at restoration of the lost power were made, but they were fruitless.

(1) The Ismâ'îlis iterate and reiterate 'Tauhîd' and 'Taqdîs,' as they deem it a heresy to believe in attributes of God-head as the Sunnis do. They believed in the negation of qualities which, according to their faith, meant Tauhîd and Taqdîs. This was the doctrine of the Mu'tazilâhs too, and hence they called themselves *Ahl 'adl wa tauhid*.

(2) Elliot, vol. 1, p. 491.

(8) The last important thing which is inferred from this letter is the powerful personality of Sômar, that he was a powerful and influential person. If Sômar's son was the contemporary of Sultân Mas'ûd, it should be said that Sômar was the contemporary of Sultân Mahmûd (d. 421 A.H.).

(9) It was the Sômaris who, twenty years after the date of this letter, during the weak Government of Sultân 'Abdur Rashîd bin Mahmûd Ghaznawi (d. 444 A.H.), became rulers of Sind instead of the Ghaznawis.

AN IMMORTAL RELIC OF THE HABARI DYNASTY.

Though the material relics of the Habâri Kings have been lost for ever, yet a spiritual relic remains extant for ever and that is the family which migrated from this place to Multân and lived under the sheltering care of the Ghaznawis; Sheikh-ul-Islam Zakariya of Multân was born in 578 A.H., and died according to Firishta, in 666 A.H., and, according to *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar* in 661 A.H. Sheikh Abdul Haqq of Delhi has described him as *Asadi*¹, that is, as belonging to the tribe of Habâr. Sheykh 'Aînu'd-din of Bijâpur links him up in descent with Hazrat Habâr bin Aswad bin Muttalib bin Asad². Pirzâda Muhammad Huseyn Sâhib in his Urdu translation of Ibn Batûtah (vol. 2 p. 8), has quoted an Arabic excerpt from an old book 'Khulâsatul-A'ârîfin found in the collection owned by the present descendants of the Sheykh. This excerpt is quoted from the sayings of Sayyid Jalâl Bukhârî. The genealogical table given in the book also proves it. There are two histories connected with the coming of the Sheykhul-Islâm's family to India. One is that he came to India in the first century A.H. with the Arab conquerors of Sind, as is found in Ibn Batûtah; the second is that he came to India from Arabia in the fifth century A.H. The two do not clash. This family arrived in Sind in the 2nd century A.H., and after the extinction of Mansûrah went to Multân and settled down there under the protecting care of the Ghaznawi Kingdom. But the statement of his coming here via Khwârazm, as found in Firishta, is not correct.

A more important statement is by the author of *Târîkh-i-Tâhiri* that Sheykh Bahâu'd-dîn was a Sindh

(1) *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar*, اخبار الاخبار p. 26 (Hashim Press, Meerut).

(2) Firishta, vol. 2, p. 404 (Nawalkishore Press).

and an inhabitant of the later Muhammad Tûr built in the Sukkur district by the Samah tribe after the destruction of the earlier Muhammad Tûr.

SIND UNDER THE GHAZNAWIS, THE GHORIS AND THE EMPERORS OF DELHI.

That Sind was in the hands of the Ghaznawis till 444 A.H. is proved by the fact that tributes from Sind were sent till the time of Abdu'r-Rashîd Ghaznawî (444 A.H.). After him the Ghaznawî Kingdom was embroiled in anarchy and turmoil, but nominally the Ghaznawis continued to be rulers of the Punjab and Sind. In 578 the Ghôrîtês began to muster strength and power in Sind. Nâsiru'd-dîn Qabâchah, a general of Shihâbu'd-dîn, established his dominion over Sind, and Iltamish over Delhi. At last Iltamish defeated Qabâchah and expelled him out of Sind. From that time Sind was really independent, though it was nominally bound up with Delhi. In the time of Muhammad Shâh Tughluq (752 A.H.) Sind slipped out of the hands of one local ruling tribe into the hands of another local ruling tribe. In 792 A.H. Sultân Fîrôz Shâh peacefully brought it into his possession and entrusted it to local rulers in whose hands it continued to remain till 927 A.H. when Arghûn ارغون, a Tartar Amîr, conquered it. At last at the end of 1000 A.H. it came into the possession of Akbar the Great.

We are not concerned with the history mentioned above. We have to consider only two self-ruling tribes of early history—*Somari* and *Samah*. The local tribe which possessed Sind during the days of Ghaznawî weakness was known as Sômarî. The other local tribe which came to the head of the Government of Sind in 752 A.H., during the days of Muhammad Shâh Tughluq, and which continued till 927 A.H. (1521 A.D.) was Samah. There is a lot of divergence among historians regarding the origin of the two tribes. The nationality and religion of the Sômaris in particular are very debatable points.

From the reference to the letter of the Druzes which has occurred above it is clearly proved that in 422 A.H. (the period of Sultân Mas'ûd) Sheykh Ibn Sômar Râja Bal was, the ruler; he was an Ismâ'îlî; and the Imâm of the Durûz tried to shame him into re-establishing the

* *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*—Elliot p. 256.

Ismâ'îlî supremacy over Multân and Sind. No wonder that, on the breakdown of the Ghaznawi power, the Sômaris established their rule over Sind in the time of Sultân 'Abdu'r-Rashîd (444 A.H.).

This Kingdom of theirs lasted somehow from 444 A.H. to a few years after 734. In this connection Ibn Batûtah's evidence is of the utmost importance. He came to India through Sind in 734 A.H., when the Sômarî tribe was ruling over Sind, and it owed allegiance to the Emperors of Delhi. Ibn Batûtah, who had seen them, says :—

“ Then I arrived at Janânî (جنانی) *which is a large and handsome town on the banks of the river Sind and which has lovely bazars. The inhabitants are called Sâmirah (سامره) who settled down here, as historians have written, at a time when Sind was conquered during the time of Hajjâj. The Sâmirah do not dine with anybody; nor can anybody see them dining. Nor do they intermarry with others. The name of their ruler (Amîr) at this time is Wanâr وناار whom I will describe later on.”

Further he describes Siyûstân (سیوستان) and Sîhwân (سہوان) (Sîwân is now in Karâchi district) :

“ In this town live the Sâmirite Amir, Wanâr, described above, and Amîr Qeysar Rûmî امیر قیصر رومی, and both are under the supremacy of the Sultân (of Delhi). Both had eighteen thousand horsemen. There was a Hindu here named Ratan and he was a financial expert. He went to the Sultân's Court with some nobles. The King liked him, gave him the title of the Râjah of Sind, invested him with the insignia of a Râjah and sent him to Siyûstân which he gave him as a jagir when he arrived there. Wanâr and Qeysar were highly offended at the supremacy of a disbeliever (*Kafir*) over them. They took counsel together and killed him.....and robbed the treasury. All the people elected Wanâr to be their King, giving him the title of Malik Fîrûz. Then Wanâr, thinking that he was away from his tribe, was frightened and went away to his tribe.....The soldiers made Qeysar their King.....when the Viceroy of Multân learnt

* There is no trace of this town. It seems that it was destroyed by the river. Abu'l-Fazl also does not mention it.

this news, he sent an army for chastisement and punished him severely. (A summary).

Ibn Batûtah arrived at that time and put up at a Madrasah. He could not sleep on account of the stinking smell emanating from dead bodies.

1. The Sâmiris link up the settlement of their ancestors with the arrival of Hajjâj bin Yûsuf Thaqqî.

2. They were not Hindus by religion. Nor did they like Hindu domination. There are some things which mark them off from Muslims in general.

3. At that time Sind was under the domination of the Sultân of Delhi. A Resident of the Sultân used to live with the Sâmiris.

4. In administrative affairs Sind was immediately under Multân and under Delhi through the medium of Multân.

RELIGION OF THE SOMARIS.

Their faith in Isma'ilism is proved by the Druze letter but a few more points emerge from Ibn Batûtah's statements. It appears obviously from Ibn Batûtah's statement that the Sômaris came with the Arab conquerors of India. It is evident that they were not Rajputs; but this also is evident, that they had adopted some particular non-Islamic customs with regard to eating, drinking and marriage. Nevertheless, they did not call themselves Hindus but thought themselves to be *Muwahhids* (believers in the Unity of God) and Muslims. They adopted the Islamic title of *Malik Firuz* and considered it an insult and a degradation to be ruled over by a *Kafir*. So decidedly they were not Hindus. Such a motley religion was that of the Qirmitis and the Ismâ'ilis who made a juxtaposition of Islam with local customs and beliefs. In India they described Hazrat 'Alî as the incarnation of Vishnu and they included other such things in their code of belief. This facilitated the propaganda for their religion in every land. It is proved from histories that in early times propagandists came to Sind from Qil'ah ul-maut of the Ismâ'ilî.* This custom of juxtaposing doctrines was found among them. They also adopted Hindu names and

* *The Preaching of Islam* by Dr. Arnold p. 293.

even to-day such instances can be found among the Khôjas of Bombay. In this connection is found a strange incident connected with the life of Makhdûm Jahânân Sayyid Jalâlu'd-dîn Bukhârî who was a disciple of the disciple of Sheykhul-Islâm Zakariya of Multân. The description of Sayyid Jalâlu'd-dîn Bukhârî will come later. He lived in the town of Aûj (اوج) in Sind and numbers of people rallied to him. It is written that the ruler of Aûj who was a Sômrâ once came to him. There was a crowd of dervishes. 'Sômrâ' turned one of them out of the mosque without Hazrat's permission. Instantly the Hazrat remarked, "Magar divâna shudai" (Perhaps thou hast gone off thy head). At that very time he became insane. The whole town was filled with the news of this event. At last his mother came and entreated Hazrat. The fault was forgiven. He recovered his senses, came to the mosque and kissed Hazrat's feet, recognised him as his spiritual leader and was among the chosen ones.* May it be inferred from this incident that he recanted the Ismâ'îli faith and became a Sunnî.

The Ismâ'îli Fâtimid Kingdom of Egypt was put an end to by Sultan Salâhu'd-dîn. After that Hasan bin Sabbah's Ismâ'îli (Nazârî نزاری) Kingdom of Qila'ah-ul-maut existed from 483 A.H. (109 A.D.) to 654 (1256) when Hulaku's sword shattered it into smithereens. The effect of the destruction of the real centre upon the Ismailites of Sind is evident. Hence it is quite possible that the Sômrîs or some of them took to the Sunni faith through the initiation of Jalâl Bukhârî.

In order to solve the problem of the nationality of Sômrâs, we should study the accounts given by ancient historians. You have heard the earliest statement of Ibn Batûtah that they described their ancestors as having settled down in Sind at the time of the conquest of Sind by Hajjâj bin Yûsuf. Then we have the statement of Mîr Mohammad Ma'sûm author of Târikh Ma'sûmî, in the second chapter of which he says :*

"Sultân Mahmûd conquered Multân and Sind. During the time of Sultân 'Abdu'r-Rashîd (441—444 A.H.) when the Kingdom was weakened by his levity, they threw the Ghaznawi yoke off their neck and the Somra tribe assembled at Tharî (تھری) and elected one named Sômrah to be their King. In the neighbourhood there was a powerful Zamindar (landholder) named Sa'd with whom

* Firishtha vol. 2, p. 416 (Nawal Kishore Press).

he came in contact and whose daughter he married. The fruit of the union was a son who was named Bhônkar ہونکر who succeeded his father after the latter's death."¹ (Mîr Ma'sûm goes on to describe his descendants, some of whom bore Arabic names like Khaff (خفیف) and 'Umar (عمر) and some of whom bore Hindu names like Dûdâ).

The author of *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* has mostly written stories and fictions. He begins his book with 'Umar Sômrah عمر سومره or the age of Sômrah and with the love affairs of a Hindu lady. In this connection he says, "It was a Hindu tribe. It followed the Hindu religion. It ruled from 700 A.H. to 843 A.H. They had their place near Alwar and Muhammad Tûr was their capital."²

In the *Beglar-namah* only this much is found that after the Islamic conquest of Sind the Arab tribe of Tamîm ruled over it. After some time the Sômars possessed it and remained in possession of it for four hundred years. The name of their capital was Mahâtam Tûr. مہاتم طور

How amazing is the fact that the name of their capital, like the names of their persons, was Indo-Arabic. Sometimes it is Muhammad Tûr and sometimes Mahâtam Tûr. It is said that Mahâtam (مہاتم) is the inversion of Muhammad. It is just possible that it may be so. It was situated between Jôpârkar and Dangabazar in the district of Deyrag which lay where modern Châchgām and Bâdban بادن stand.

The author of *Tuhfatul-Karam* has quoted the following from *Muntakhabu't-tawarikh* (not that by Badauni) written by Muhammad Yusûf.

"When Sultân 'Abdur Rashîd bin Sultân Mahmûd became the ruler of Ghazni the people of Sind found him a weak King. In 445 A.H. (1053 A.D.) the Sômrahs assembled in Thari (ٹھری), elected as their King one named Sômrah to whom was born a son named Bhângar from the daughter of Sa'd a zamindar (landholder). Bhângar ruled for five years and died 461 A.H."³ (summary) Again the same author says :—

(1) *Tarikh Ma'sumi*—from Elliot vol. 1, p. 215.

(2) *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* تاریخ طاهری (Elliot) pp. 260 and 484.

(3) *Tuhfatul-Karam*, Elliot vol. 1, p. 344.

“The Sômrâhs are descended from the Arabs of Sâmarâ who came to Sind in the 2nd century A.H. with the tribe of Tamîm. Tamîm was appointed Governor of Sind during the ‘Abbâsid règime.”

Again he says :—

“Dalva Rai (دلورائے) was the Râjah of Sind. He was merciless to his brother ‘Chhota Irâni’ چھوٹا ارانی who went to the Khalifah of Baghdad who ordered seventy Arabs and Sayyids of Sômrâh to go with him. Sayyid settled down in Sind and Dalva Rai gave him his daughter’s hand.¹”

The author of *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*² has explained the cause of the quarrel between Dalva Rai and his younger brother. The younger brother had leanings towards Islam from his very boyhood. He had read the Qur’ân and had become a Muslim at heart. He went secretly for pilgrimage (to Mecca). On his way he married in a strange manner a girl named Fâtimah. On his return journey when he reached Sayûstan سیوستان in Sind he died and was buried there. His grave attracted numbers of people.

All these quotations indicate that this tribe was of a mixed Indo-Arabic descent. Those who describe it as Arab mention one aspect ; those who call it Hindu point out another aspect. Sômar, as is apparent from the Druze letter and Persian histories, was the founder of this Kingdom. Hence the tribe came to be known as Sômari

سومری Sâmarah سامرہ etc. It has nothing to do with Sâmarra a town of ‘Irâq. That town was originally Sarra man râ’a which in course of time, became known as Sâmarah among the masses. The ‘Abbâsid Khalîfah Mu’tasam bi’llâh (227 A.H.) had built it.

European historians have described them as Rajputs converted to Islam. The writer of the article on Sind in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* has written the same thing³. Elliot also attempted to prove it but none of them have backed their statement by arguments. It appears from the remarks of Persian historians that they

(1) *ibid* p. 348

(2) *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, Elliot p. 258.

(3) Eleventh edition, vol. 25, p. 148.

were not pure Hindus. How, then, could they be pure Rajputs ?

Maulvi 'Abdul Halîm Sharar has written a strange thing—that they were Jews converted to Islam. Maulvi Sâhib had this suspicion because a sect of Jews was Sâmarî which was ascribed to the mountain of Shamrûn in Syria. Another cause of this suspicion was a sentence of Bashshârî which the late Maulvi Sâhib has twisted to suit his purpose.

The fact is that in the description of sects and communities in his preface he has shown the particular importance of the numeral (4) and written, "The non-Muslims from whom poll-tax (Jizya) is levied (*ahludh-dhimmah*) are divided into four classes :— Jews, Christians, Fire-worshippers (Mâjûs) and the Sabaeans. Then there is the objection that Sâmrâhs too are *ahlu'dh-dhimmah* and thus there are five classes instead of four. The objection is met by the statement that the Sâmrâhs are a sect of the Jews. They also recognise Moses as their prophet". These are the words in the original MS. In a marginal note the Editor has quoted words from another MS. in which the objection has been met. "The idol-worshippers of Sind too live in an Islamic country, thus *ahlu'dh-dhimmah* should be divided into five" Bashshârî says in answer, "The idol-worshippers of Sind are not *ahlu'dh-dhimmah* since they do not pay the Jizya (poll-tax)¹. Hence *ahlu'dh-dhimmah* are only four classes".

The late Maulvi Sharar having seen 'Sind' below 'Sâmrâh' linked them together and put forth a baseless theory. Bashshârî's Ahsanu't-taqâsîm still exists, which everybody can consult for himself and arrive at the real facts.

(1) *Ahsanu't-taqâsîm* by Bashshârî p. 42 (London).

(2) That this name is found among Shi'a Ismâ'îlis is strange. Perhaps it is Unâr اُنَّار as found in *Siraj Afîf* سراج عفیف Its pronounciations are Oonâr اُونَّار or Wanâr or 'Unâr اَوْنَّار as is found in Ibn Batûtah and some Persian histories of Sind.

SOME PROOFS OF PERSIAN INFLUENCE ON ANCIENT INDIA.

Thanks to the research of scholars and the recent excavations of the Archæological Survey of India we are to-day able to estimate the small part played before the birth of Christ¹ by Persia in the history of India.²

The real history of ancient Persia begins from the time of Cyrus when he established the Achæmenian Empire in 560 B.C. In the course of time that empire grew in size and power with the addition of the North-west of India, Babylon, Scythia, Lydia and Egypt. In other words, the Achæmenian empire with such distant territories annexed to it became "a huger realm than was ever in the hands of one single man."¹ But the conquests of Ancient Persia, besides being material, were also cultural. Besides wars, conquests, and plunder, the ancient Persian empires, whenever they annexed any new territory, carried on a mutual exchange of ideas and beliefs, giving to the conquered nation what was best of theirs and receiving in return what was best of the other's. It was in this way that India was influenced by Persia; it was in this way that it happened that the first Suez Canal in history was constructed by Darius the Great of Persia for the welfare and prosperity of Egypt and not by Mons. Ferdinand de Lesseps, as we were taught at school;² it was, further, in pursuance of the same policy that the Jews were released from captivity and helped to rebuild their destroyed temple of Solomon by Cyrus of Persia

(1) *The Cambridge History of India* ((1922), vol. I p. 346.

(2) Vide Budge, E. A. Wallis, *A History of Egypt* (1902) vol. VII, p. 68.

The Cambridge Ancient History (1926), vol. IV, p. 25.

Herodotus, II-158, Rawlinson, G. *History of Herodotus*, vol. II, pp. 205-207.

Herodotus, IV-39, Rawlinson, G. *History of Herodotus* (1858-60) vol. III, p. 27.

Strabo, XVII-I-25, Hamilton, H. C. and Falconer, W. *The Geography of Strabo* (1854-57) vol. III, pp. 243, 244.

when he conquered Babylon in 563 B.C., after they had been held captive there for seventy years by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon. Their gratitude to Cyrus was expressed by their calling him in the Bible "the anointed of the Lord"¹ and the shepherd² who performs the Lord's pleasure.³

Persia had a very close connection with India. According to Firdausi,⁴ the Homer of Persia, and Abu'l-Fazl,⁵ the learned Minister of Akbar the Great, many kings of the prehistoric period of Persia came to India, beginning with Hoshang and ending with Bahman, son of Isfandyâr. But when we come to the historic period, whence India and Persia begin their true history, i.e., the sixth century before Christ, it is to be noticed that Cyrus, the founder of the Achæmenian dynasty came as far as Gandhara only, and it was left for Darius the Great to annex the north-west of India to his possessions a little after 517 B.C.⁶ This conquered territory of India was a rich addition to the vast Achæmenian Empire, paying nearly 15 lacs of Rupees in present money as tribute.⁷ Until 326 B.C., when Alexander conquered it, the north-west of India remained a Persian province and there is ample evidence to-day to show what a vast amount of influence was exercised by Persia over Ancient India during the two centuries of her rule and even after.

The name *Hindustan* is not indigenous. That name was given to the land of India by ancient Persians and not by the inhabitants of India themselves. The Hindu Vedas refer to India as 'Sapta-Sindhu'⁸, while the Avesta of the Ancient Persians call it 'Hapta Hindu'.⁹ Hence according to the Vedas the land should have been called 'Sindhustan', whereas it has actually taken the name of 'Hindustan' from the Avesta 'Hapta-Hindu'¹⁰

(1) Isaiah, XLV-I.

(2) Ibid, XLIV-28.

(8) Ibid, XLVI-II.

(4) *Shah-Namah*.

(5) Abu'l-Fazl-i-'Allâmi, '*Ain-i-Akbari*', tr. by Blochmann and Jarrett, (1888-1894).

(6) McCrindle, J. W. *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, (1901) p. In.

(7) *Herodotus*, III-94, Rawlinson, G. *History of Herodotus* (1858-60) vol. II, p. 408.

(8) *The Rig Veda*, Book IV-28.

(9) Vendidad, 1-19.

(10) Vide Rawlinson, H. G. *Intercourse between India and the Western world from the Earliest Time to the Fall of Rome*. (1916) p. 20.

But the department in which India was influenced most by ancient Persia and of which we have ample evidence is architecture. Prior to the days of Asoka (268-226 B.C.), when the history of Indian Architecture begins, architectural works in India were made of wood. The change from wood to stone, inaugurated by Asoka, was influenced by Persia where there already existed stately buildings made of stone.¹ The influence started with Asoka, who, before being king, acted as Viceroy of Taxila where there was much Persian influence, as it was quite near the Persian borders. Taxila, *Takshasila* of the Sanskrit books, was a Persian province for nearly two centuries after the conquest of northern India by Darius. That long space of time was sufficient to enable Persia to influence India and we see that the people of Taxila followed the ancient Persian mode of disposing of their dead by leaving them to be devoured by vultures, instead of burning them as is the custom of the Hindus.² Further, at and around Taxila are found a great many Kharoshthi inscriptions and this Kharoshthi language was derived from the Aramaic language used by the Achaemenians of Persia.³ Hence, Asoka, who was greatly impressed by the civilization of old Persia during his viceroyalty at Taxila, imitated several Persian models in his life, and his architectural works show the greatest debt of India to old Persia.

Take Asoka's pillars and edicts for example. King Darius of Persia is well known for his rock-inscriptions the most famous being at Behistun.⁴ He is equally famous for his monolithic pillars which were erected to mark some important events of his life—for example, the pillars erected on the banks to mark the completion of the Suez Canal,⁵ and those on the Bosphorus to commemorate the building over it of a bridge for his army to

(1) Smith, V. A., *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, (1911), p. 18.

(2) Strabo, XV-62, McCrindle, J. W. *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, (1901), p. 69.

(3) Smith, V. A. *Edicts of Asoka*, (1909), p. XIX.

Marshall, Sir John. *A Guide to Taxila*, (1918), p. 76.

Bhandarkar, D. R., *Asoka*, (1925), p. 187.

(4) Tolman, H. C., *A Guide to the old Persian Inscriptions* (1892) p. 118.

(5) Budge, E. A. Wallis, *A History of Egypt*, (1902), vol. VII, p. 68
Tolman, H. C., *A Guide to the Old Persian Inscriptions*, (1892) p. 141.

cross the strait.¹ Asoka was so much influenced by this practice of Darius that he not only copied the rock-inscriptions, the best-known instances being the inscriptions of Gunar, Dauli, Kapurdingri, Jaugada and Khalsi,² but also built his still more famous monolithic pillars, thirty in number, inscribed as well as uninscribed, after the fashion of Darius.³ This practice of having rock-inscriptions and monolithic pillars is quite foreign to India, and Asoka is the only king in the whole history of India who followed that practice of the Persian kings. The style used by Asoka in the rock-inscriptions is an exact copy of Darius, who begins with the words: "Thus saith Darius the King,"⁴ while Asoka, imitating him, begins: "Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King".⁵ As regards the pillars we find that the architecture of old Persia made use of the famous bell-shaped capitals on the top of pillars. These capitals were further surmounted by lions or bulls, or other figures, the first two as symbols of strength.⁶

The same things are repeated in Asoka's pillars, especially in the pillars of Sarnath and Sanchi. These bell-shaped capitals of Persia appealed so much to India that even after Asoka they continued to be used by Indians and we see them to-day at the Caves of Orissa, Bhaja, Karla etc.⁷

According to Dr. D. B. Spooner, who carried on excavations at Pataliputra (modern Patna) not only did Asoka build his monolithic pillars and inscribe his rock-inscriptions after the Persian fashion, but he even built his own palace at Pataliputra on the model of the famous palace at Persepolis, because there is a very close resemblance between the Palace of Persepolis and the palace of Asoka.⁸

(1) Herodotus, IV-85-87, Rawlinson, G., *History of Herodotus* vol. III, p. 62-66.

(2) Smith, V. A., *Asoka, The Buddhist Emperor of India*, (1920) pp. 126 ff.

(3) Macphail, J. M., *Asoka*, (1st Ed.), p. 56.

(4) Vide Tolman, H. C., *A Guide to the old Persian Inscriptions* (1892).

(5) Vide Smith, V. A., *Asoka, The Buddhist Emperor of India*. (1920) pp. 149 ff.

(6) Cf. Fergusson, J., *The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis*, (1851,) pp. 158-161.

(7) Vide Fergusson, J. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1910), vol. I. p. 59, p. 178.

(8) *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle* 1918-14, pp. 45 ff.

Another influence which Persia exercised over India is in the matter of hair. The Persians wore long hair,¹ while the Indians, for reasons of climate, never encouraged long hair or beard. But during the Mauryan days Indians also adopted the Persian mode of wearing long hair², so much so that we are informed by Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the Court of Chandragupta, that "if one is guilty of a very heinous offence, the king orders his hair to be cropped, this being a punishment to the last degree infamous."³ This reference clearly proves that the Indians had adopted the Persian fashion wholeheartedly. Besides, the ancient Persians are known to have observed the custom of having a ceremonial bath called Nahan (Sanskriti, Snanbath) once a year.⁴ This practice of ceremonial bathing was borrowed by India, but it is only with regard to the kings that we have knowledge of it. Whether the people of India in general followed this Persian custom or not I am unable to say, but it is certain that the kings of India followed it. According to Strabo the ceremonial washing of the king's hair was a great occasion, because "when the king washes the hair they celebrate a great festival".⁵

P. P. BALSARA.

(1) Herodotus, IV-19, Rawlinson, G., *History of Herodotus*, vol. III. p. 348.

Herodotus, III-12, Rawlinson, G. *History of Herodotus*, vol. III, p. 838.

(2) Vide Smith, V. A., *Asoka*, p. 142.

(3) McCrindle, J. W., *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (1877), p. 73.

(4) Vendidad, VIII-11.

(5) Strabo, XV-69, McCrindle, J. W., *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, (1901) p. 75.

Cf. *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 201-208.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

KITABU'L-AWRAQ*

MR. Heyworth Dunne, in his short Arabic foreword, which a wonderfully apt quotation from Al-Mutanabbi illumines like a lightning-flash, tells us how he came to form the project of reviving *Kitabu'l-Awraq*. The praises which Prof. H. A. R. Gibb of the London School of Oriental Languages lavished on this work of As-Sûlî made him determine to unearth and edit it, and made him welcome an invitation from the Egyptian educational authorities to go to Egypt because he knew that portions of this work in manuscript were to be found there ;

ولولم يكن في مصر ما سرت نحوها بقلب المشوق المستهام المتيم

The present volume represents the portion of *Kitabu'l-Awraq* found in an MS. in the Royal Library, Cairo—an MS. nearly ruined by white ants. Happily a copy had been taken before the damage was so great as it now is, and Mr. Heyworth Dunne has been able to work with that copy as well as the original. The result is a clear text with wonderfully few lacunæ considering the condition of the original and the shortcomings of both MSS. as here described ; and, to the credit of both editor and printer be it said, with fewer evident misprints than one is wont to find in such revivals. If the readers would understand

* كتاب الاوراق لابى بكر محمد بن يحيى الصولى المتوفى سنة ٣٣٥ قسم
اخبار الشعراء عنى بنشره ج - هيورث دن خريج مدرسة العلوم الشرقية
بلندن الطبعة الاولى سنة ١٩٣٢ طبع بنفقة الناشر ومكتبة اولاد الخانجي
مكتبة الصاوى بمصر -

Kitabu'l-Awraq. By Abi Bakr Muhammad ibn Yahya As-Sûlî (died 885 A.H.). The part dealing with Contemporary Poets. Edited by J. Heyworth Dunne of the School of Oriental Languages, London. Printed in Cairo at the expense of the author and of Maktabat Awlad Al-Khanji. London, Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, W.C.1. 1934.

all the implications of the title *Kitabu'l-Awraq* (which literally means The Book of Leaves, or Pages) let him read the article "The Science of Warâqat" which appears elsewhere in this number. It has almost the sense of "Bibliography" or "Literature" but with a particular relation to the work and life of scribes. It is noteworthy that the poets described in the present instalment were all of them clerks in government service.

Having read every word of the contents, we incline to think that the encomia which Professor Gibb of London and a Professor of the Royal Egyptian University heaped on this work of Sûlî, as mentioned in the Preface, were well merited, though poetry of the first order is lacking. Most of the poems here quoted are of the nature of occasional verses such as we find in European albums of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. There is an admixture of the bawdy and obscene as usual in such Arabic anthologies, and in the usual small proportion. But many of the poems have a neatness and a grace which again reminds us of eighteenth century Europe. We admire especially the poems of Ashja' here quoted, those of Abû Ja'far Ahmad ibn Yûsuf and those of Abû Muhammad Al-Qâsim ibn Yûsuf, of whom the author of the book (As-Sûlî) says that he was "more poetical in the art in which he delighted of writing elegies for animals than all the *Muhaddithin*, so much so that he is supreme therein, the chief of all who turn to it; and it is not meet that any word of his poetry should be forgotten because all of it is choice."* Of this last writer we have elegies for a black she-goat, a parrot, a ringdove and other creatures, besides poetical complaints of the attacks of plaguey insects, which are perfect models of their kind. If space permitted one would like to quote from almost every page of this book which abounds in quaint conceits, as well as intimate little stories. Of the latter we will only give the following: Abû Bakr (i.e. As-Sûlî) said: "It is reported that someone said to 'Abdullah ibn Ahmad (the poet under notice): Thou hast described thy father as brave and a fighter, whereas he was a mighty clerk. He said: I have not

* واشعر في فنه الذي من مرأى البهائم من جميع المحدثين حتى انه لرأس فيه متقدم جميع من نماء وما ينبغي ان يسقط شئ من شعره لأنه كله مختار.

described him as other than he was. I once went with him on the pilgrimage and wild Arabs fell upon us, and there was none in the caravan braver than he; he killed a rider and took another rider prisoner, but he kept it hid, and never mentioned it."

And, as an example of many memorable lines :

إذا كان كل الناس عندك جاهلا فمن ذا الذي يدري بانك عاقل

(If all mankind are fools in thine opinion : then who is there to know that thou art wise ?)

The work deserves and will, no doubt, receive eventually as full commendation as has been given to *Kitabu'l-Aghani*. Mr. Dunne is at present concerned only with bringing the text again to light ; and we are glad to know that the present book is but a foretaste, and that his purpose is to restore and publish in the same manner the three remaining fragments of As-Sûli's great work which are known to exist, one in the library of Al-Azhar, one at Istanbul and one at Leningrad. Here he has given us the minimum of annotation and we are grateful to him since our delight as reader, like his as editor, has been to make acquaintance with an unfamiliar text. Mr. Dunne has performed his task with skill and self-effacement, and we think that he has earned the gratitude of every Arabist.

M. P.

"THE PROPHET OF THE DESERT"*

"ISLAM and Muhammad its Prophet have suffered much by calumny and misrepresentation, which continue up to the present day, inspired largely by a historical back-ground, such as the exploits of Saladin, the fiasco of the Crusades, the death of General Gordon, the Moghul Empire, and Mustafa Kamal Pasha's smoking reply to the Treaty of Sèvres. So long as Islam is a living force in the material world, it seems hopeless to expect non-Muslim opinion in general to take a dispassionate view of the contribution of Islam and Muhammad to the solution of many social and political problems. It would, of course, be equally intelligent to misrepresent Jesus Christ on account of Belgian colonisation in the Congo, or Moses

* *The Prophet of the Desert*. By Khalid L. Gauba. Lahore, Times Publishing Co., Ltd. 1984.

for the Zionite activities of the League of Nations, or Buddha for the Sino-Japanese Wars. The difference, however, seems to lie in this, that whereas Christianity, Judaism and Buddhism have ceased to reckon in the material world, Islam is still a tremendous force and, accordingly, inspires the perfidy of the Balkans, the hate of the Jews, the apprehensions of the Hindus and the animosity of Russia."

Thus writes Mr. Khâlid Gauba in the Prologue to his "Prophet of the Desert," a book which, as we understand, has roused discussion and some adverse comment in the Panjab. He concludes his introductory remarks with the following long sentence :

"This book is, therefore, offered to the non-Muslim as much as to the Muslim, to the believer in God as to the agnostic, to the bishop as to the sinner, to the Capitalist as to the Socialist, to the Imperialist as to the Democrat, to the man who is regular in worship as much as to the man who never says his prayers. And, therefore, it is the Author's earnest hope that the reader, whatever his views of Life and Death, whether he expects to sit upon a cloud singing hymns or roast in the fires of Hell or be decomposed into a million atoms, electrons and alpha particles, or transmigrate through beast and insect to ultimate happiness, whether he wants to be eventually buried, incinerated or eaten by vultures, he will find within these pages, a stirring account of a common man, who found and divulged much happiness around him and to the generations that have succeeded him."

We can quite see what has caused some Muslims to condemn the book. It is the author's insistence throughout on the common manhood of our Prophet. All Muslims must admit that the Prophet was a man : that is an article of the Faith almost as essential as the doctrine of Divine Unity. But many would object to the term "a common man" as applied to him, and indeed in one sense it is quite inapplicable. But from the whole intention and tenour of Mr. Gauba's book it is clear that what he wishes to bring out is that the Prophet is a product of our common manhood and therefore capable of serving as an example to all men as no incarnation of the Deity or especially created sinless being could have been. The book has a certain roughness of expression, for which Mr. Gauba has prepared his readers by describing it as "a

plain book by a plain man for plain people," and it is not at all concerned with spiritual abstractions or theological subtleties. If the complete absence of a devotional tone will make the book somewhat distasteful to, perhaps, the majority of Muslim readers, it is precisely this secular quality (if we may call it so) which will recommend the book to the non-Muslim reader. And Mr. Gauba is sincere with all his bluntness. We have no doubt but that this book will serve the purpose, for which it was written, of giving people in India, who have hitherto shunned acquaintance with Islam as something dreadful, a kindlier feeling for Islam and all religion, and a truer view thereof.

M. P.

LAW AND JUSTICE IN MUSLIM INDIA.*

THE work before us won the Onauth Nauth Deb Prize (whatever that may be) for its author in 1932, but it has none of the usual characteristics of a prize thesis. It is the mature effort of a serious student of the subject to rehabilitate the Muslim rulers of India in public opinion as regards the public administration of justice, in respect of which they have been much maligned. Mr. Wahid Husain proves that there was a regular system of law-courts throughout the Muslim dominions in India founded and conducted upon principles far from primitive or unsound as judged by modern standards, and that the means of justice were accessible to all the people of the land. This system reached its highest perfection and efficiency under the Mughal dynasty. The author has described this system in detail with a wealth of documentary evidence sufficient to convince the doubters. It seems to be pretty widely believed that under the Muslim emperors Hindus and other non-Muslims were subjected, as a sort of outcastes, to the Muslim Sacred Law. Mr. Wahid Husain shows that such was not the case. He writes :

"It is clear that the body of laws which controlled the social life and regulated the legal relations of Indians (including Indian Muslims) consisted at least of three kinds of laws—the Indian Law, the Muslim Law and the

* Administration of Justice during the Muslim Rule in India. With a history of the Origin of Islamic Legal Institutions. By Wahed Husain, B. L. University of Calcutta. 1934.

lex loci or the municipal laws of the country which did not properly come within the scope of the Hindu or the Muhammedan law, but many of them consisted of the various local taxes and duties and customs. This kind of law was often imposed by the *farmans* and edicts of the emperors."

Of the working of the machinery of justice in the reign of Aurangzeb, the author gives us a clear account in the shape of a long quotation from Alexander Dow's *History of India*.

"In the administration of justice he was indefatigable, vigilant and exact. He sat almost every day in judgment and he chose men of virtue as well as remarkable for knowledge of the law for his assessors. When the cause appeared intricate it was left to the examination of the bench of judges in their common and usual court. They were to report upon any such causes as originated before the throne, and the Emperor, after weighing their reasons with caution, pronounced judgment and determined the suit."

"In the courts of the governors of provinces, and even often on the benches on which his deputies sat in judgment, he (the Emperor) kept spies upon their conduct. Though these were known to exist, their persons were not known. The princes, his sons, as well as other viceroys, were in constant terror; nor durst they exercise the least degree of oppression against the subject, as everything found its way to the ear of the Emperor. They were turned out of their offices upon the least well-founded complaints; and when they appeared in the presence, the nature of their crime was put in writing into their hands. Stripped of their state and honours, they were obliged to appear every day at court, as an example to others, and, after being punished for some time in this manner according to the degree of their crime, they were restored to favour; the most guilty were banished for life" (dismissed for ever).

"Capital punishments were almost totally unknown in the days of Aurangzib."

The greater part of the book is filled with a description of the actual functions and procedure, very clearly set forth. Particularly interesting is the chapter entitled *Qanun-i-Shahi and Jus Gentium* and the sections on the equal treatment of non-Muslims and the special favour shown to cultivators of the soil.

The author accepts the theory of modern and non-Muslim legal critics of Islam which favours complete separation of Law from the religious sphere and ridicules the notion of theocracy. Theocracy succeeded wonderfully in the past ; it has not been tried at all in modern times, nor do the conditions necessary for such an experiment seem to be existent anywhere on earth at present except, perhaps, in Russia. But Muslims cannot with impunity give up the ideal of it, for that would mean the death of hope for them. Mr. Wahid Husain is annoyed by particular and modern instances, by no means typical or brilliant, into forgetfulness of the bright examples in Islamic history. He, further, seems to us to confuse expediency with everlasting principle. Under the heading "Separation of Law, Religion and Politics", he writes :

"It should be borne in mind that in the primitive state of society law, religion and politics were regarded as same. and therefore inseparable. But with the progress of human thought, they have been separated and each of them is considered as a distinct branch of science, though inter-related. The theory of the "Divine Right" has long been exploded, and Theocracy does not find favour in any country except in Afghanistan and Arabia and in the realm of Schoolmen's brain. But it is now recognised that politics has in it the elements of deception, diplomacy and state-craft. It is, therefore, no more a part of religion than the thorn and thistle of the meadow are part and parcel of a celestial body. However, any proposal for preserving the purity and simplicity of religion from the shackles of law and politics, will be opposed by the priestly class with the threat of "the Divine displeasure." The consequences flowing from the combination of law, religion, and politics have been sad indeed. Religion has been made a hand-maid of politics, and diabolical murder has often been glorified into *ghaziism*. Further, if there occurs a difference of opinion on any political matter the partizans of one school of thought procure saleable *Fatwas* and damn their opponents to perdition in the name of religion. Thus religion has been dragged down from its high pedestal of truth to the low level of diplomacy ; and the wily leaders use the double-edged sword of religion and politics to serve their purpose. The history of the Khilafat Agitation in India and the expulsion of King Amanullah from Afghanistan are illustrations on the point."

The note of personal irritation and petulance in the above appears a little out of place in a work of this nature. The author is not consistent in his method of transliteration, and occasionally mixes up Persian and Arabic. For instance he has written :

“ The word Wakil (commonly known as Wakil).”

Whereas Wakil is the Arabic and therefore, in Islamic Law, the more correct pronunciation. In any case the parenthesis seems quite gratuitous as is the case also with his remark, when writing of the Qadi's court,

“ In Egypt such a court is called *Mehkemeh Sheraieh* in the Turkish fashion of pronouncing the Arabic term *Mahkum-i-Shari'iah*. ”

Such needless defects should have been avoided in a work which is of lasting value and has had the honour of official publication by a University. It is a valuable contribution to the history of Muslim India.

M. P.

THE PEDIGREE OF THE FATIMIDS.*

PRINCE Mamour has succeeded in making the old dispute over the origin of the Fâtimid dynasty flame again for us, the fact that he himself regards it as a controversy of to-day being largely instrumental in imparting life to it. We ourselves, following Ibn Khaldûn, had thought it settled centuries ago, as he decides it, in favour of their descent from Ismâ'il ibn Ja'far. It seems, however, that quite a number of renowned Orientalists still regard the case as doubtful or incline to the theory of imposture ; and this contumacy has roused our author's ire and made him write his treatise with a warmth and vigour which transfigure the dry bones of his historical research. He has succeeded, we think, in proving that Meymûn al-Kaddâh, the name which figures so prominently in the anti-Fâtimid pedigrees, was simply the *alias* adopted by Muhammad al-Maktûm, the son of Ismâ'il, for safety ; and thus the two pedigrees are really identical, ibn Deysân being put in by the opponents merely to denote abhorrent tenets, as one might say “ a son of Belial ” (Deysân being the reputed, legendary founder of the Dualists).

* *Polemics on the Origin of the Fatimi Caliphs*. By Prince P. H. Mamour. London, Luzac and Co. 1934.

But the author seems to us to go too far when he claims that this must have been perfectly well known to all the Sunnî and Shî'î divines who appended their signatures to the famous Baghdad repudiations of the Fâtimid claim, and that they were all therefore guilty of perjury and false witness. Surely it is imaginable that the assumed names, at the time, achieved their purpose of completely hiding the identity of their bearers and that the document was signed by many, or by all, in perfect good faith.

Nor does the fact that the repudiation was not made until after the Fâtimid Khilâfat had been running for a century seem to us a proof of *mala fides* in its organisers. The Fâtimid dynasty was not altogether hateful, even to the mass of those opposed to it, until the reign of Al-Hâkim bi amrillâh. It had produced good rulers, had established a reign of peace and justice, and its great success in wars against Byzantium had crowned it with a glory which the contemporary 'Abbâsid régime conspicuously lacked. Moreover, the spectacle of a Muslim dynasty ruling through Arab Ministers on Arab lines could not have been distasteful to the mass of Sunnis, whom the very fact that they called themselves Fâtimî rather than 'Alawî or Ismâ'îlî was admirably designed to please. It was the madness of Al-Hâkim which destroyed the reputation of the dynasty, a fact which the author has not at all brought out; the reader of this book would be led to suppose that Al-Hâkim was a perfectly sane ruler. Until just before he came to the throne the Fâtimid power had not threatened Baghdad. It was the menace to Baghdad that caused the first repudiation of their claim to be descended from the Prophet; and this and the subsequent repudiations would have had little effect upon the Muslims generally had it not been for the behaviour of Al-Hâkim, whose persecutions were the cause of a revulsion of feeling in favour of the 'Abbâsids as his atrocities in the territory of Jerusalem were the cause of the Crusades and other troubles for Islam.

Prince Mamour has established the pedigree of the dynasty as authentic descendants of the Prophet through Ismâ'il son of the Imâm Ja'far as-Sâdiq. But he is wrong in supposing that this pedigree gave them any right to the Khilâfat from the Sunnî point of view. On p. 13 of his Introduction we find: "It is indeed important to decide whether the Fatimis were in reality descended from Fatima since if they were, then the Abbasids of Baghdad

and the Omeyyads of Damascus and Cordova could not be considered Caliphs, "Successors" of the Prophet, the Fatimis having first right to that office by reason of their direct descent."

The truth is that the Sunnî theory absolutely excludes the idea of hereditary right to succession, and adheres to the Arab tradition of election by the elders of the man best qualified by age, popularity and experience in public affairs. Descent from the Prophet, while no bar to election, is no special qualification. It is true that this ideal has not been realised since the days of the rightly-guided Khalifahs, but it was recognised as the right ideal by the Omeyyads, as is shown by the will of Mu'awwiyah II. The 'Abbâsids deceived both parties by their propaganda, giving pious Sunnîs to understand that they were in favour of the old elective Khilâfat, and giving the direct descendants of the Prophet to understand that they were fighting their battle; whereas, when they won the day, they merely replaced the dynasty of the Omeyyad family with that of their own. But Sunnî Muslims have always been more ready than the Shî'a to accept the *fait accompli* as the will of God, and to accept what is given them, instead of their ideal, as the best that they deserve. There was the Prophet's saying that Qureysh should be the leaders so long as they did right. Banî Umeyyah were of Qureysh so were the 'Abbâsids; and the Sunnîs, even those who challenged the authenticity of the Fâtimid pedigree, were tolerant of the Fâtimid dynasty so long as its rulers governed well and did good service to Islam. When a ruler arose who did harm to Muslims, Jews and Christians, and brought disrepute to Islam, only then did they bethink themselves of trumpeting their disbelief in the pedigree. If it had not been for Al-Hâkim the Fâtimid dynasty would have been praised to-day by every Muslim.

This book is the result of wide reading and is of varied interest. On pp. 143-148 the author gives some examples of mistakes and inconsistencies culled from works by modern European authors of repute, of which the gem, perhaps, is "At the courts of pre-Islamic Caliphs....."

The book contains all the known versions of the Fâtimid genealogy and is provided with an index.

M. P.

THE ARAB QUESTION*.

It is seldom that a whole number of a Quarterly Review is found devoted to one article; but the importance of the article of Monsieur Louis Jovelet on the Evolution of the Arab Countries between the years 1931 and 1933 is such as to justify its exclusive occupation of a *Cahier* of *La Revue des Etudes Islamiques*. The term 'Arab countries,' as here used by the author, includes Syria and the 'Irâq but excludes Egypt; arbitrarily, as we think, for Egypt, though officially aloof, is in reality the heart and centre of quite two-thirds of all the "movements" here described, concerning which M. Jovelet has derived his information, as he readily admits, from the Press of the various countries and from the chronicle published serially in *Oriente Moderno*, Rome. It is his account of the activities of the various European Powers which chiefly interests us. He gives to Great Britain the palm for subtlety, with just a hint of the traditional French charge of perfidy, because of a success which has been largely accidental, and largely owing to what he would call the "objectivity" of the British, their comparative aloofness from the people of the land. The French are eager to make their subject people as French as possible and, though they are quite without the colour-prejudice, have been less successful in their Muslim policy than other races much less cordial.

The vision of a France entirely populated by Algerians and Senegalais, or of a coal-black President of the Republic with a blonde French lady as his wife would not at all dismay a French political theorist, provided that the flag of France still flew triumphant, provided that the French language and the French culture were still the glory of the world. It is when they come in contact with a people like the Arabs, who regard their own tradition, their own culture, as superior, and are loth to adopt French manners or to think of themselves as French, that the French become irritated and at heart hostile. But France must think of her military strength which now depends largely on North Africa, and concessions to the pride and prejudices of the Arabs have become inevitable. Intensive study of Arab problems is the order of the day and, also a tone of

* *L'évolution sociale et politique des Pays Arabs*. By Louis Jovelet. *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* Cahier IV 1933. Paris, Paul Geuthner, 13, rue Jacob.

impartiality, if not sympathy, through which, as through clear water, one perceives the constant wish that all the unifying Arab movements may be thoroughly confounded.

The Italians are intent upon rebuilding the old Roman Empire. Their ideal is the Roman, not the British, colony. They also are relatively free from colour-prejudice, but are even less successful than the French have been in winning Arab confidence. For them, too, the Arab problems have become of burning interest.

Now, as is natural, it is the countries which have no immediate territorial aims that are most popular among those Arab peoples who enjoy some freedom in the choice of markets and officials—Germany, Spain, Switzerland, Denmark and Sweden, for examples, and Japan. Soviet influence is, so far, nearly negligible in the countries under survey, though Soviet propagandists have been arrested in Syria and deported from Egypt. It is interesting to learn that these were of Armenian race. The Armenians, once the willing slaves of Czarist imperialism, have now become the missionaries of the Soviets.

Monsieur Jovelet is particularly interested in the conflicting nationalities which he sees about to rise within the Arab race. The Ottoman Empire was cut up ruthlessly ; but he thinks that when the pain is past and they get used to their new frontiers, each of the severed parts will form a nationality defiant of the other parts. He reminds us rather of a doctor watching the action of a poison which has been injected in a body. This particular poison is to generate in the Arab world the disease of nationalism of which Europe is visibly nearly dying. It is hoped that the patient will take it in the most malignant form ; then the experiment will be a success. The fact that its success would mean a set-back of 1350 years to human progress is forgotten, and all thoughts, of “the brotherhood of man, the federation of the world” are put aside.

M. P.

KABUL*.

THIS Kâbul Annual is not merely a special enlarged number of the magazine called “Kâbul,” as its title might

* *Annuaire de la Revue de Kabul* (سالنامه کابل) Published by the *Anjuman-i-Adabi* (Literary Club) of Kâbul. 1933-1934. In Persian.

suggest ; it is a profusely illustrated gazetteer of Afghanistan and a guide for the literate Afghans in world-politics. It contains a handsome coloured reproduction of a portrait of the young King Muhammad Zâhir Shâh (of quarter-length in full dress uniform), whose full-length portrait in a peaked cap and a long military overcoat adorns the very striking and attractive cover ; and it contains innumerable photographs of Afghan nobles, officials, ulama and litterati, scenes of interest and public works. The Persian letterpress is printed in beautifully clear Naskh type, even the smallest print being easily legible. The articles describing the political and economic situation in various countries of the world outside Afghanistan and those on some scientific discoveries are highly educative. Indeed the whole plan of this important yearly publication is excellent. The volume could not have been better designed for the special purpose which it has in view, of stimulating interest in world-events and world-conditions together with a sense of solidarity in a people newly set upon the path of modern progress. It informs the Afghans of their achievements, makes them acquainted with their leaders great and small, and at the same time, gives them a bird's eye view of the whole world to-day, thus placing their national aspirations in the right perspective. We congratulate the Literary Club of Kâbul on the production of this Annual which might well serve as a model to some Publicity Departments here in India.

M. P.

MR. PROBSTHAIN'S ORIENTAL CATALOGUE.*

WE have received No. 41 of Mr. Probsthain's noteworthy Oriental Catalogue (the second number devoted to "The World of Islam") which is devoted to the "Religion of Islam and Allied Literature." It contains the headings Islam, Mekka, Muhammad the Prophet, the Holy Qur'ân (editions in Arabic, editions in Arabic and English, translations, extracts from the Qur'ân, concordance and commentaries, study of the Qur'ân), Philosophy, Traditions, Muhammadan Law (Fiqh), Sciences, Muslim sects, Muhammadan Civilisation, Muslims Abroad) and besides

* *Probsthain's Oriental Catalogue* No. 41. The World of Islam Part 2. Religion of Islam and Allied Literature. Arthur Probsthain, Oriental Bookseller and Publisher, 41, Great Russel Street, London, W.C. 1 1934.

this grouping is furnished with an index of special subjects to facilitate the finding of the book required. Mr. Probsthain is himself an Orientalist and can command the help of learned men. The prices which he quotes are always moderate and fixed, which is a great advantage to the student purchaser, particularly those residing outside England. With the appearance of No. 42 (Part III of "The World of Islam"), which will be devoted to Islamic Language and Literature, texts and translations, his catalogue will be the fullest and the best arranged as well as the handiest catalogue in existence of books available upon Islamic subjects. We recommend it strongly to our readers.

M. P.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Muhammad the Prophet. By Maulana Muhammad Ali, M.A., LL.B. Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Isha'at-i-Islam, Lahore. Second Edition. In English. Price Rs. 3.

Early Caliphate. By Maulana Muhammad Ali, M.A., LL.B. Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Isha'at-i-Islam. Lahore. In English. Price Rs. 3 (As it were a sequel to the above work. Both are to be reviewed in our next issue.)

Kabir and the Bhagti Movement. By Mohan Singh, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt. Lahore, Atma Ram & Sons. 1934 (For future review).

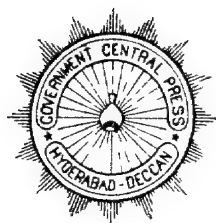
Muwazinah-i-Salib wa Hilal. By Nakhat (Maulvi Abdus-Sami Khan Sahib). Shahjahanpuri In Urdu. Price. Re. 1-8-0 (For future review).

The Aryan Path. Vol. V. No. 12 December 1934. A special number devoted entirely to the subject of Christianity from the Hindu theosophic point of view. In English.

Revue des Etudes Islamiques. Année 1933, Cahier IV. Paris. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner. 13 rue Jacob. In French.

Oriente Moderno. Roma. In Italian.

Man. The journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. London. In English.





A garden scene — Ibrahim Adil Shah II with attendants

"THE DEVIL'S DELUSION" OF IBN AL-ḤAUZĪ

*Account of the way wherein he deludes the believers
in "Shrines"*

THESE are people who assert that every spiritual being of the upper region has a shrine, i.e., one of the heavenly bodies for its shrine, whose relation to the spiritual being belonging to it is that of our bodies to our spirits, so that he (the spiritual being) is its ruler and controller. To the number of shrines belong all the celestial bodies, planets and fixed stars, and these have no access to the spiritual itself. So he approaches his shrine with all sorts of devotion and sacrifice.* Others among them say that every celestial shrine has one of the lower individuals in its likeness and of its substance; so they make figures and carve images and build them houses.

Yahya b. Bishr al-Nihawandī states that some maintain that the seven stars (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon) are the controllers of this world, and that they proceed by order of "the supreme company" (Surah xxxvii. 8, xxxviii. 69). They set up images of these in their likeness, and offered each of them the appropriate animal. To Saturn they assigned a huge body of lead, blind, to which a fine bull was offered, being brought to a chamber excavated under the image, with a balustrade of iron over the cavity. The bull would be beaten till it entered the chamber walking on the balustrade, through which its forelegs and hindlegs would sink; then fire would be kindled underneath and the animal be burned. The sacrificers would say: Holy art thou, O blind god, whose nature is to do evil, not to do good; we offer unto thee what resembles thee, and do thou accept it, and save us from thy mischief and the mischief of thy foul spirits. To Jupiter they offer a baby boy because they purchase a slave-girl to be violated by the sacristans of the seven images, and when she conceives they

*The translation is literal, but the meaning is obscure.

leave her till she is delivered, and they bring her carrying the child when he is eight days old, pricking him with bodkins and needles so that he cries in his mother's arms, and they say to the image: O good lord, who knowest no evil, we offer unto thee one that knows no evil and so is of nature like thine; so accept our offering and bestow on us thy good and the good of thy good spirits. To Mars they offer a man who is ruddy, spotted, with a head in which the white appears through the red; they bring him and put him in a vast tank, fettering him to stakes at the bottom of the tank, which they fill with oil till the man stands therein up to his neck. They mix with the oil drugs such as strengthen the nerves, but rot the flesh; when a year has passed during which he has been fed on such food as rots the flesh and the skin, they seize his head and wrench the nerves from his skin, and wind them round his head; they then bring him to the image which is in the form of Mars, and say: O evil god, author of troubles and disasters, we offer unto thee what resembles thee, do thou accept our offering and save us from thy mischief and the mischief of thy evil spirits. They suppose that life remains in the head seven days, and will tell them what good and evil will befall them that year.

To the Sun they offer the woman whose child they have slain for Jupiter, and they carry round a figure of the Sun, saying: Worthy art thou of praise and hymns, O luminous goddess. We offer unto thee what resembles thee, and do thou accept our offering, and bestow on us thy good and protect us from thy evil.

To Venus they offer a grizzled, dissolute old woman, whom they set before her, crying out all around: O dissolute goddess, we bring thee an offering, white like thyself, dissolute like thyself, humorous like thyself, accept her from us. They then bring firewood, which they place round the old woman, and to which they set fire till she is burned. They then fling the ashes in the face of the image.

To Mercury they offer a lad who is brown, able to count and write, and otherwise educated. They catch him by some wile, and do the like with all their victims. They beguile them, and give them *banj*, and draughts of drugs which destroy their intellects and render them dumb. They present the youth to the image of Mercury, and say: O ingenious god, we bring thee an ingenious individual, being guided by thy nature. Do thou accept from us. The lad is then sawn in two, and then quartered, and set on four pieces of wood round

the image, and these are then kindled so that as they burn the quarters are burned with them. The ashes are then flung in the idol's face.

To the Moon they offer a ruddy man with a large face, saying: O messenger of the gods, and lightest of celestial bodies!

Account of the way wherein he deludes the Idolators

The cause of every affliction wherewith the Devil has confused mankind is inclination to sense and aversion from what reason demands; and since sense finds satisfaction in likeness, the accursed Devil has persuaded many people to worship images, and stopped in their case once for all the operation of the intellect. Some he has satisfied that these only are gods; but, finding in others a little sagacity and knowing that they would not assent to this, he has persuaded them that the worship of these idols will bring them nearer the Creator so that they say *We only worship them that they bring us nearer to God* (Surah xxxix. 4).

Account of the commencement of his deluding the Idolators

The following tradition goes back to Hishâm b. Muhammad b. al-Sâ'ib al-Kalbî.¹ I was told, he said, by my father that idolatry commenced when Adam after his death had been put by the children of his son Seth in a cave in the Indian mountain whereon he had been made to descend. This mountain is called Naudh, and it is the most fertile mountain on earth. Hishâm proceeds: My father informed me after Abu Sâlih after Ibn 'Abbâs that the children of Seth used to come to the body of Adam in the cave, do it honour, and invoke mercy upon it. Then one of the children of Cain said: Ye children of Cain, see, the children of Seth have a shrine round which they rotate and which they glorify, whereas ye have nothing. So he carved a statue for them, he being the first to do this. My father further informed me that Wadd, Suwa', Yaghûth, Ya'ûq, and Nasr² were virtuous men, who all died in one month. Their relatives were distressed concerning them, and one of the children of Cain said: My friends, would you that I should make for you five images in their likeness? Only I cannot put spirits into them.—They said, Yes.—So he carved five images for them in the likeness of these persons, and the relatives would come one to the image of his brother, another to that of his uncle, another to that of

(1) *Kiṭāb al-Asnām*, ed. Zeki Pasha, p. 50.

(2) Names of pre-Islamic deities mentioned in the Qur'ān.

his cousin, pay it honour and circle round it; until the first generation had passed away. These images were made in the time of Jared b. Mahalalel b. Kenan b. Knosh b. Seth b. Adam. Then there came another generation which paid them greater honour than the former. After them came a third generation, who said: Our ancestors can only have paid honour to these images because they hoped for their intercession with God. So they worshipped them, and magnified them, and their infidelity waxed great. God Almighty sent unto them the blessed Idris, who called them *to repentance*, but they disbelieved him, and God *exalted him to a high place* (Surah xix. 58). According to the statement of al-Kalbî after Abu Sâlih after Ibn 'Abbâs their conduct increased in atrocity till Noah grew up, and was given a prophetic mission by God. He was 480 years old at the time, and for 120 years called them to the worship of God Almighty. But they disbelieved and disobeyed him. God then commanded him to build the ark, which he put together, finishing it when he was 600 years old. The people were drowned, and after that he lived 350 years longer. Between Adam and Noah there were 1200 years.¹ The flood tossed these images from land to land, ultimately flinging them on the soil of Jeddah. When the water sank they remained on the shore till the wind covered them over with sand.

Kalbî proceeds:² Now 'Amr b. Luhayy was a Kâhin, surnamed Abu Thumamah, and one of the Jinn was his familiar spirit. This being said to him: Haste thee and get thee away from Tihâmah with luck and safety, come to the shore of Jeddah, where thou shalt find images ready; bring them down to Tihâmah fearlessly, then call on the Arabs to worship them and they will assent. So he went to the river of Jeddah and unearthed them, carried them to Tihâmah, presented himself at the pilgrimage and called upon all the Arabs to worship them. 'Auf b. Udhrah b. Zaid al-Lât assented, and to him 'Amr gave Wadd, which he carried off to his home, Wadi al-Qura in Dumat al-Jandal; he named his son 'Abd Wadd, being the first person to bear that name. 'Auf made his son 'Amir priest of Wadd and his descendants continued to worship³ Wadd till God brought Islam.

Kalbî adds: I was told by Malik b. Hârithah that he had seen Wadd; my father, he says, used to send me to him with milk, saying give thy god a drink; I would drink it myself.

(1) In the *Kitab al-Asnam* 2200. (2) *Kitab al-Asnam*, p. 54.
(3) In *Kitab al-Asnam* "to be priests of."

Then, he says, I saw Khâlid b. al-Walid smash it to pieces. The Prophet after the Tabuk campaign had sent him to destroy it, but the Banu 'Abd Wadd and the Banu 'Amir interfered; so Khâlid fought with them and slew them, and knocked the image down and broke it up. On that day he slew one of the Banu 'Abd Wadd named Qatan b. Shuraih. His mother when he had been slain came forward and said

That thing, Love,* we see, persists not;
Fate destroys and wealth resists not;
Nor doth fate the chamois spare
Spite of mother's tender care.

Then she said:

O gatherer of entrails and of liver on this earth
Would that thy mother ne'er had born and ne'er
been given birth!

Then she threw herself upon him, sighed, and died.

Kalbî proceeds: I said to Malik b. Hârithah: Describe Wadd to me so that I might seem to be looking thereon.—He said: The statue of a man, as tall as any man that ever breathed. He wore two garments, one an under and the other an upper garment. He had a sword suspended from his neck and a bow over his shoulder, and in front of him a spear with a banner, and a quiver with arrows.

Kalbî proceeds: 'Amr b. Luhayy also obtained the assent of Mudar b. Nizâr, and gave the idol Suwa' to a man of Hudhail named al-Hârith b. Tamîm b. Sa'd b. Hudhail b. Mudrikah b. Alyâs b. Mudar. It was in a region called Ruhat in the valley of Nakhlah and was worshipped by the Mudarite neighbours. One of the Arabs said:

Thou seest them stationed round their prince, as
Hudhail takes station round Suwa';

Offerings from the treasures of every shepherd are
all day flung down at his side.

Madhhij also assented, and he presented Yaghuth to An'am b. 'Amr the Mudarite. The idol was set up on a cairn in Yemen, where Madhhij and their allies worshipped it.

Hamdân also assented and he presented Ya'ûq to Malik b. Marthad b. Jusham. It was set up in a village called Khaywân, and was worshipped by Hamdân and their Yemenite allies.

*The name Wadd means Love, for which a synonym is used here.

Himyar also assented and he presented Nasr to a man of Dhu Ru'ain named Ma'di Kariba. It was set up in a place of the land of Saba named Balkha', and was worshipped by Himyar and their neighbours. They continued to worship it till they were converted to Judaism by Dhu Nuwâs.

These idols continued to be worshipped till God sent Muhammad, who ordered them to be destroyed.

Ibn Hishâm¹ says: We were also told by Kalbî after Abu Sâlih after Ibn 'Abbâs that the Prophet said: I was given a view of Hell, and saw 'Amr b. Luhayy, a short man, reddish blue, dragging his entrails in the fire. I asked who it was. I was told: This is 'Amr b. Luhayy, the first to institute the *bahirah*, *wasilah*, *sa'ibah*, and *hâm*; he altered the religion of Ishmael and called on the Arabs to worship idols. I was told² by my father and others that when Ishmael came to dwell in Meccah, and children were born to him, who presently became so numerous that they filled Meccah and drove out the Amalekites who were there, Meccah became too small for them. Hostilities and wars broke out between them, and one party was driven out and spread about the country in search of a livelihood. What suggested to them the worship of images and stones was that every emigrant from Meccah would carry with him one of the stones of the sanctuary by way of veneration for it and to retain something of Meccah; wherever they took up their abode they would set up their stone and circle round it as they had done round the Ka'bah; this they did for luck, and retention of the sanctuary and love thereof. They kept up however the practice of revering the Ka'bah and Meccah, and making the greater and the lesser pilgrimage thither, following the footsteps of Abraham and Ishmael. Presently they took to worshipping whatever they fancied, forgot their old cult, and substituted another religion for that of Abraham and Ishmael, worshipped idols, and relapsed into the ways of the nations which had preceded them, restoring the cult of Noah's contemporaries. Still there were among them relics from the time of Abraham and Ishmael to which they adhered, such as reverence for the House, circling round it, performing the greater and the lesser pilgrimage, standing at 'Arafah and Muzdalifah, sacrificing camels, and crying out at the commencement of the pilgrimages. Nizar's cry on these occasions was *labbaika*, *O Allah*; *labbaika*, *labbaika*, *thou hast no associate save such as thou hast*; *thou art his master and master of what he owns*.

(1) *Surah*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 51. *K. al-Asnam*, p. 58.

(2) *K. al-Asnam*, p. 6.

The first person who altered the religion of Ishmael,¹ and instituted the *sa'ibah* and the *wasilah* was 'Amr b. Rabī'ah, this Rabī'ah being identical with Luhayya b. Hārithah father of Khuzā'ah. The mother of 'Amr b. Luhayy was Fuhairah daughter of Amir b. al-Hārith, al-Hārith being the person in charge of the Ka'bah. When 'Amr b. Luhayy reached maturity he disputed al-Hārith's claim to this office, fought against the tribe Jurhum b. Ishmael, defeated them, drove them from the Ka'bah and banished them from Meccah. He himself undertook to be doorkeeper of the House after them. Presently he fell seriously ill, and was told that in Balqa' in Syria there was a mineral spring, whither he might go to be cured. He went thither, bathed, and was cured. Finding the inhabitants worshipping images he asked what they were. They said: We ask them for rain and invoke their help against enemies. He requested the people to give him some, which they did; he brought them to Meccah and set them up round the Ka'bah, and the Arabs took to idolatry.

The oldest of these was Manāt,² which was set up on the coast near Mushallal by Qudaid between Meccah and Medīnah. It was revered by all the Arabs, by the Aus and the Khazraj and all the population of Medīnah and Meccah and their neighbours. They sacrificed to it and brought gifts.

Hishām continues:³ We were told by a Qurashite after Abu 'Ubaidah b. 'Abdallah b. Abi 'Ubaidah b. Muhammad b. 'Ammar b. Yasir as follows: The Aus, the Khazraj, and their followers among the people of Yathrib and elsewhere used to perform the pilgrimage and all the ceremonies except shaving their heads. Only, when they went away they would go to this image, shave their heads before it, and stay by it; they would regard their pilgrimage as incomplete otherwise. Manāt was the idol of Hudhail and Khuzā'ah. God however sent Muhammad, who destroyed it in the year wherein Meccah was taken.

Next⁴ they took to themselves al-Lât in Ta'if; this idol was later than Manāt, being a square stone. Its priests were of the tribe Thaqīf. They had erected an edifice over it, and it was revered by the Quraish and all the Arabs, who gave children such names as Zaid al-Lât and Taim al-Lât. It stood where now stands the left minaret of the mosque at

(1) *K. al-Asnam*, p. 8.

(2) *K. al-Asnam*, p. 13.

(3) *K. al-Asnam*, p. 14.

(4) *K. al-Asnam*, p. 16.

Ta'if. They continued these practices till Thaḳīf became Muslim, when the Prophet sent al-Mughirah b. Shu'bah, who destroyed it and burned it with fire.

Next they took to themselves al-'Uzza, which is more recent than al-Lât. The man who introduced it was Zâlim b. As'ad; it stood in Nakhlah Shamiyah¹ above Dhât 'Irq;² they built a house over it and they used to hear a sound proceeding from it.

Hishâm proceeds:³ I was informed by my father after Abu Sâlih after Ibn 'Abbâs that al-'Uzza was a female demon who came to three *samurah* trees in the vale of Nakhlah. When the Prophet took Meccah he sent Khâlid with orders to go to the vale of Nakhlah, where he would find three *samurahs*, and hew down the first. He did so, and when he came to the Prophet, the latter asked him whether he had seen anything. He said he had not. The Prophet then bade him hew down the second. He went and did so, and when he came back to the Prophet, the latter again asked him whether he had seen anything, and he said he had not. The Prophet then bade him cut down the third, and when he came to it, there was a female Jinni,⁴ pulling out her hair and putting her hands on her shoulder, gnashing her teeth. Behind her was Dubayyah the Sulamite, who was her priest. Khâlid said

I praise thee not, but blame thee,

For God, I see, doth shame thee.

Then he smote her and split her head, whereupon she turned into ashes. Then he cut down the tree and slew the priest Dubayyah. He then went and told the Prophet, who said: That was al-'Uzza, and no more shall the Arabs have an 'Uzza.

Hishâm proceeds:⁵ Now the Quraish had images both inside and around the Ka'bah, that which they most revered being Hubal. According to my informants he was of red agate, in the form of a man, with his right hand broken; he was found by the Quraish in that condition, and they made him a hand of gold. The first person who set him up was Khuzaimah b. Mudrikah b. Alyâs b. Mudar. He was inside the Ka'bah and in front of him were seven arrows: on one

(1) According to Yâqût, two wadis belonging to Hudhail two nights journey from Meccah.

(2) According to Hamdânî the boundary between Tihâmah, Najd and Hijâz.

(3) Ibid., p. 25.

(4) In *K. al-Asnam* "Ethiopian."

(5) p. 27.

of them was written *genuine* and on the other *supposititious*. When they were in doubt about the paternity of a child, they offered the idol a gift, and then tossed the arrows. If *genuine* came out, they affiliated him, if *supposititious*, they rejected him. When they disputed about anything or intended a journey or any operation, they came to the idol and obtained an augury from the arrows in his presence. He was the deity to whom Abu Sufyân said on the day of Uhud *Magnify, O Hubal*, i.e., magnify thy religion. The Prophet said to his companions: Will ye not reply to them? They asked what they should say. He bade them say: Allah is higher and more glorious.

They also had Isaf and Na'ilah. Hishâm says:¹ Kalb² narrated after Abu Sâlih after Ibn 'Abbâs that Isaf was a Jurhumite, Isaf b. Ya'la, whereas Na'ilah was the daughter of a Jurhumite named Zaid; he fell in love with her in Yemen; the two came on pilgrimage and entered the House; finding the people inattentive and the House empty, they misconducted themselves in the House, and were transformed *into stone*; the people finding them in this condition removed them from the House, and set them where they stood, where they were worshipped by Khuzâ'ah and Quraish, and later Arab pilgrims. Hishâm said:³ When they had been transformed into stones they were placed near the House that people might take warning from their fate. Only when they had been there long, and idols were worshipped, they were worshipped also. One of the two was close to the Ka'bah, and the other where Zamzam is. Then the Quraish removed the one that was close to the Ka'bah and put it by the other, and they used to slaughter and sacrifice to them.

One of the images was Dhu'l-Khulasah.⁴ It was of white flint, with the form of a crown engraved upon it; it was at Tabalah between Meccah and Medīnah,⁵ seven nights' distance from Meccah. The tribes Khath'am and Bahilah revered it and offered it gifts. The Prophet requested Jarîr to deliver him from it, and despatched him thither. He marched at the head of the tribe Ahmas, and was opposed by Khath'am and Bahilah; he overcame them and destroyed the edifice of Dhu'l-Khulasah, kindling fire therein. Dhu'l-Khulasah in our time serves as the threshold of the door of the mosque of Tabalah.

(1) Ibid., p. 9.

(2) The writer's father.

(3) Ibid., p. 29.

(4) Ibid., p. 34.

(5) The correct reading is Yemen.

Daus had an image called Dhu'l-Kaffain (man of two hands). When the tribe accepted Islam, the Prophet sent Tufail b. 'Amr to burn it.

The Banu'l-Hârith b. Yashkur had an image called Dhu'l-Shard.

Quda'an, Lakhm, Judham, Amilah, and Ghatafan had an image on the outskirts of Syria called al-Uqaisir.

Muzainah had an image called Nuhm, found in the name 'Abd Nuhm.

'Anazah had an image called Su'air.

Tay had an image called Fals.

The inhabitants* of every *wadi* in Meccah had an image in their dwelling which they worshipped; and when any of them intended a journey the last thing he did in his house was to rub himself thereon, and when he returned from his journey the first thing he did on entering his house was to rub himself thereon. Some took an edifice *for an idol*, and those who had neither edifice nor image would set up such stone as they approved, and circle round it; they called these *ansab*. When a man was travelling and alighted somewhere, he would take four stones, see which was the finest and make that his lord; the other three he would make a tripod for his pot. When he went away he would leave it. When he alighted in another place he did the like. When the Prophet got control of Meccah, he entered the sanctuary, where the images were standing round the Ka'bah; he proceeded to thrust the end of his bow into their eyes and faces, saying: The truth is come and falsehood is over. Truly falsehood must perish. Then he ordered them to be thrown on their faces, after which they were removed from the sanctuary and burned. It is recorded that Ibn 'Abbâs said: In the time of Yezdajird idols were still worshipped and some people apostatised from Islam.

I was told by Ismâ'il b. Ahmad a tradition which goes back to Mahdi b. Maimun, who said he had heard the following from Abu Raja al-'Utaridi. When the Prophet died and we heard thereof we joined Musailimah the Liar, and we joined Hell. We used in the time of paganism to worship a stone, and when we found a finer stone we would throw the first away and take the other. If we could find no stone we would take a handful of dust, fetch some sheep and milk them over it, and then circle round it. Another tradition reports that the same 'Utaridi said: We used to take sand, put it

*Ibid. p. 32.

together, and pour milk over it, and worship it. And we used to take a white stone and worship it for a time and then drop it. A tradition which goes back to al-Hajjâj b. Abi Zainab is as follows: I heard Abu 'Uthmân al-Hindî say: In pagan days we used to worship a stone and we heard a herald proclaim: O ye people of the dwellings, your lord has perished, so seek another. We went forth on every mount, wild or tame, and whilst we were thus searching, we heard a herald proclaim: We have found your lord or his like. So we proceeded, and there was a stone, and we slaughtered camels upon it.

The following tradition comes from 'Amr b. 'Anbasah: I was, he said, one of those who worshipped stones, and when the tribe alighted, having no gods, one of them would go out and bring four stones, and place three for his pot, and make of the finest a god to be worshipped. Then he might find one still finer before the tribe started off, when he would leave the first and take the other. The following tradition goes back to a Meccan sheikh: Sufyân b. 'Uyainah was asked how the Arabs came to worship stones and images. He said: The origin of their stone-worship is their saying The House is of stone, and wherever we set up a stone it will be in lieu of The House. Abu Ma'shar said: Many of the Indians used to believe in a Supreme Lord, and confess that God had angels; only they used to suppose Him to be a figure of the finest sort, and that the angels were fair bodies but that God and the angels were hidden away in heaven. Therefore they took to themselves images in what they supposed to be the form of God Almighty, and in that of the angels, worshipped them and made offerings to them, in virtue of what they supposed to be the resemblance. To some of them it was said: The angels, the stars, and the spheres, are the bodies nearest to God, so revere them and make offerings to them. Then they made images.

Many of the ancients built Houses for idols: one was a House on the top of a mountain in Isfahan, which contained idols, expelled by Gushtasp when he became a Mazdian; he turned it into a fire-temple. A second and a third were in India; a fourth in the city of Balkh, built by Manushihr. When Islam appeared, it was destroyed by the people of Balkh. A fifth was a House in San'a built by al-Dahhâk in the name of Venus; this was destroyed by 'Uthmân b. 'Affân. A sixth was built by King Qabus in the city of Ferghanah in the name of the Sun; this was destroyed by Mu'tasim.

Yahya b. Bashir b. 'Umar al-Nihawandî states that the Indian code was made by a Brahmin; he ordained images and erected the finest temple for them at Multân,¹ an Indian city. Therein he set their greatest image which is in form like the greatest Matter.² This city was taken in the days of al-Hajjâj and they wanted to wrench away the image. But there was said to them: If you will leave it, we will assign you a third of the money collected for it. So 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwân ordered it to be left, as the Indians made pilgrimages to it from two thousand leagues, and each pilgrim had to bring with him such money as he could afford, from a hundred to ten thousand dirhems, which were respectively the minimum and the maximum permitted. If a man did not bring this with him, his pilgrimage was invalid. He would throw the money into a vast chest that was there, and they would circle round the image. After they had gone the money would be divided, a third going to the Muslims, a third to the repair of the city, and a third to the priests and for the requirements of the temple.

Observation of the author. See how Satan has amused himself with these people and taken away their intellects, so that they carved with their hands what they worshipped. How well does the Divine Being find fault with their images, when He says: *Have they feet to walk with or hands to handle with or eyes to see with or ears to hear with* (Surah vii. 194). He is pointing to the worshippers, "You walk, handle, see, and hear, whereas the idols are unable to do any of these things, being lifeless matter, whereas you are alive; how then can the perfect worship the defective? Had they reflected they must have known that God makes things, being Himself unmade; combines, but is not combined; things are maintained by Him and not He by them. Surely it befits a man to worship Him who made him, not what he himself has made. As for their fancy that the images would intercede for them, that is a fancy unsupported by any quibble.

Account of the way wherein he deludes the fire-worshippers

The Devil has deluded many people and persuaded them to worship Fire; Fire, they say, is an element with which the world cannot dispense; hence the worship of the Sun found approval.

(1) The text has been emended. The image is described at length by Ibn Rustah, p. 135, 599.

(2) The word is likely to be corrupt. Ibn Rustah gives it four faces.

The historian Tabarî records how, when Cain killed Abel, and fled from his father Adam to Yemen, the Devil came to him and said: Abel's sacrifice was accepted and consumed by fire only because he served and worshipped Fire; so do thou set up a fire which shall be for thee and thy progeny. He (Cain) built the first Fire-temple, and was its first worshipper.

Jâhiz says: Zoroaster, the founder of Mazdism, came from Balkh, and pretended that revelation came to him on the mountain Silan, and called upon the inhabitants of those cold regions who only knew of cold. He threatened them with increase of cold; and he confessed that he had been sent to the mountains only. He prescribed to his followers ceremonial washing with urine and intercourse with their mothers, worship of fire and other ugly things. According to Zoroaster (says Jâhiz) God had existed alone, and when his solitude had lasted long, he meditated, and from his meditation sprang the Devil. When the Devil presented himself before him, he wished to slay him, but the Devil resisted; and when he saw his resistance, he bade him farewell for a period.

The author observes: The fire-worshippers have built many temples; the first designer of a fire-temple was Feridun, who appropriated a temple to it in Tarsus, and another in Bukhara; Bahman did the like in Sijistan; Abu Qubadh did the like in the neighbourhood of Bukhara; afterwards a number of fire-temples were erected. Zoroaster had made a fire which he asserted had come from heaven, which consumed their sacrifice. His method was to build a temple and set a mirror in the midst of it, and then to wrap the sacrifice in wood and throw sulphur thereon. When the sun was in the middle of the sky it faced a window which he had inserted in the temple, so that the sun's rays entering fell upon the mirror, which reflected them on the wood which took fire. And he told them not to extinguish that fire.

The author proceeds: Further the Devil persuaded some people to worship the moon and others the stars. Ibn Qutaibah says: Some people in pagan times worshipped Sirius, and were devoted to it; Abu Kabshah, whom the pagans made an ancestor of the Prophet, was its first worshipper. He said that this star goes right across the sky, whereas no other star does the like; so he worshipped it, differing from the Quraish. So when God sent the Prophet, and he called people to serve God and abandon the idols, they said This is the son of Abu Kabshah, meaning that he

resembled Abu Kabshah in disagreeing with them, just as the Israelites called Mary Sister of Aaron, meaning resembling Aaron in saintliness. There are two stars of this name, one the above (*Canis Major*), the other *Canis Minor*, which faces it; between the two is the Galaxy. *Canis Minor* belongs to the stretched out arm in the constellation of the Lion, whereas *Canis Major* is in Gemini.

The Devil persuaded others to worship the angels, saying they were God's daughters (God be exalted above such notions!). Others he persuaded to worship horses and oxen. The Samiri belonged to a community who worshipped oxen, and that was why he made the Calf. Commentators tell us that Pharaoh worshipped a buck. Among all these there was not one who exercised his thought or made use of his reason to ponder over what he was doing. We ask God to save us in this world and the next.

Account of the way wherein he deluded the Arab pagans

We have already recorded how he misled them to worship images; and his most serious confusion of them in that matter was their imitating their fathers without considering any evidence. As God says: *And when there was said to them Follow what God has revealed, they say: Nay, we will follow what our fathers were in. What, even if their fathers understood nothing and had no guidance!* (Surah ii. 165), i.e., will you still follow them?

Satan also confused a party of them who adopted the doctrines of the materialists, denied the Creator and rejected the Resurrection. These are the people of whom God says *There is only our present life; we die and we live; nothing but time destroys us* (Surah xlv. 23). Also others, who confessed to the Creator, but denied the prophets and the Resurrection. Also others who said that the angels were God's daughters. He inclined others to Judaism, and others to Mazdism. Such a person was Zurarah b. Jadis among the Banu Tamim, whose father was a chamberlain.

Among persons who confessed to the Creator, to the commencement and the return, and reward and punishment, was 'Abd al-Muttalib b. Hashim, and Zaid b. 'Amr b. Nufail, and Quss b. Sa'idah, and Amir b. al-Zarib. When 'Abd al-Muttalib saw a wrongdoer not overtaken by punishment, he used to say: By Allah assuredly beyond this dwelling there is a dwelling wherein the well-doer and the ill-doer will be

rewarded. Among these was Zuhair b. Abi Sulma, author of the verse

Put off, yet recorded in writing and hoarded

For day of Accounting, or straightway rewarded

who afterwards became a Muslim. Among these was al-Qalammas b. Umayyah al-Kinani, who used to harangue in the court of the Ka'bah, and the Arabs would not depart from their festivals without a homily from him. One day he said: Ye Arabs, obey me, and we will go right.—They asked what he meant. He said: Ye have separate deities, and I know that God does not approve of all this, and that God is the Lord of these deities, and desires to be worshipped alone.—Thereupon the Arabs left him, not listening to his counsels. Among them there were people who asserted that a man over whose grave his mount was tied and left till it perished would be raised mounted thereon, whereas one for whom that had not been done would be raised as a pedestrian. One of the persons who asserted this was 'Amr b. Zaid the Kalbite.

Most of these continued in polytheism, and only a few adhered to monotheism and rejected the idols; of these few were Quss b. Sa'idah and Zaid. The pagans kept on introducing innovations, in numbers, such as "intercalation," which meant sanctifying a profane month and profaning one that was sacred. For the Arabs had adhered to the article of the Abrahamic creed which was the sanctification of four months. When, however, they wanted to profane Muharram for the purpose of war, they would postpone the sanctification till Safar, and so on, so that the year got into confusion. When they went on pilgrimage they would shout: Obedience to Thee, Thou hast no partner except such partner as Thou hast, Thou controllest him and what he controls. Another of their innovations was giving the inheritance to the male to the exclusion of the female; another that when one of them died, his nearest relative had the right to marry his wife. Another was *bahirah*, i.e., if a camel bore five times successively, the fifth time a female, they would slit its ear, and it was unlawful for the women. Another the *sa'ibah*, i.e., a camel allowed to go free, being neither ridden nor milked. Another the *wasilah*, i.e., an ewe, which bore seven times, and whether the seventh was male or female, they would say "it has joined (*wasalat*) its brother," and would not be slaughtered, and was to be used by men only to the exclusion of women; but when it died, both men and women shared

therein. Another the *ham*, i.e., a male which had sired ten times, after which they would say "he has protected (*hama*) his loins," and it would be let loose for their idols, and not employed in carrying. They went on to say that God Almighty had prescribed all this: and this is the import of His words (Surah v. 102) *God has ordained neither bahirah nor sa'ibah nor wasilah nor ham; only the unbelievers father lies upon God.* And again God refutes them in respect of their rendering these creatures sacrosanct or profane saying (Surah vi. 140) *exclusively for our males and forbidden to our wives* by His question (vi. 144) *Did He render the two males unlawful or the two females?* The meaning is: If He has rendered the two males unlawful, then all males are unlawful; and if He have rendered the two females, so, then all females are so. And if he have rendered that which the wombs of the females contain unlawful, which may be either male or female, then every embryo is unlawful.

Further the Devil persuaded them to kill their children, so that one of them would kill his daughter and feed his dog. And among the delusions which the Devil put into their minds was their saying (vi. 149) *Had God so willed, we should not have been polytheists*, i.e., "had He not approved of our polytheism, He would have intervened to prevent it." They fastened on God's will, and neglected the command; God's will embraces all things that come to pass, but His command does not embrace all that He wills. No one has a right to fasten on the will after the command has come down. Many indeed are the foolish doctrines which they invented, which it would be waste of time to record, and which do not require the trouble of refutation.

Account of the way wherein he deludes the deniers of prophecy

The Devil has confused the minds of the Brahmins, Indians, and others, persuading them to deny prophecy, in order that he might block the path which would bring them to God. The Indians differ among themselves, some being materialists, others dualists, some followers of the systems of the Brahmins, while some of them believe in the prophethood of Adam and Abraham. Abu Muhammad al-Naubakhtî records in his *Book of Opinions and Cults* that certain Indian Brahmins acknowledge the Creator, the Apostles, Paradise and Hell-fire, stating that their Apostle was an angel who came to them in human form, without any Book, but having four hands and twelve heads, those of a man, a lion, a horse, an elephant, a pig, and other animals. He bade them revere

fire, and forbade slaughter of all kinds, save what was for the fire, and further forbade lying and wine-drinking; on the other hand he permitted sexual promiscuity, and bade them worship kine. If an apostate came back, they would shave his head, beard, eyebrows and eyelashes, after which he would go and prostrate himself before the kine, uttering certain gibberish which it would be waste of time to record.

The Devil put into the minds of the Brahmins six fallacies

The first was rejection of the idea that some among them might have access to information which was hidden from others. So they would say: (xxiii. 24) *This is only a human being like yourselves*, meaning "and how can he have had access to what is hidden from you?" The reply to this fallacy is that if they were to consult their intellects, these would have admitted the possibility of the choice of some individual to possess certain qualities whereby he excelled his fellows, and which would render him fit to receive revelation: since not every one is suited for this. It is a matter of common knowledge that God Almighty has compounded the constitutions differently, and has brought into existence drugs which counteract bodily mischief that occurs; if then He has supplied herbs and stones with virtues for the cure of bodies created to perish here and to endure in the next world, there is no improbability about His privileging some individual of his creatures with surpassing wisdom and to be His missionary, in order to cure such as are corrupted in the world by immorality and misconduct. It is well known that our opponents do not deny that certain persons may be privileged with wisdom enabling them to allay the outbursts of evil natures by exhortation: how then can they object to the Creator bestowing on certain individuals messages, talents, and counsels wherewith to cure the world, improve men's characters, and maintain their government? The Almighty has referred to this in His saying (x. 2) *Is it a wonder to men that We have inspired one of them saying Warn mankind?*

Second fallacy. They say: Why did He not send an angel, since angels are nearer to Him, and are less likely to be the object of doubts? Human beings like to lord it over their fellows, and this fact engenders doubt.—The answer to this is in three ways. One is that it is in the power of angels to overturn mountains and rocks, so that they could not produce a miracle which would attest their veracity: for a miracle is a violation of custom, and this is the custom of the angels. A clear miracle is one that is wrought by the hand of a weak

human being, proving his veracity. A second, that men incline more to their own kind, whence it is proper that there should be sent to them one of their own kind, that they might not feel aversion, but understand him; further, enabling one of the same kind to perform what the others were unable to perform is a proof of his veracity. A third, that it is not in human power to see an angel, only God Almighty strengthens the prophets with the power of perceiving the angels which He accords them. On this account God Almighty says (vi.9) *And had We made him an angel We should have made him human*, i.e., so that they might look on him and associate freely with him and understand him; then He adds *and We should have obscured for them what they obscure*, i.e., We should have confused for them what they confuse for themselves, so that they would doubt, not knowing whether he was an angel or a human being.

Third fallacy: they say: We see that the things claimed by the prophets such as knowledge of mysteries, miracles, and revelations communicated to them, are of a sort displayed also by wizards and sorcerers, so that no evidence remains whereby we can distinguish between the sound and the unsound. Our reply to this is that God Almighty has set forth the evidences, and then spread about the fallacies, charging the intellect to distinguish; and a sorcerer cannot revive a corpse nor produce a snake from a staff; and the wizard sometimes proves right, but other times wrong, unlike prophecy which admits no error.

Fourth fallacy: they say: The prophets must produce either what agrees with the reason or what disagrees with it. If they produce what disagrees with it, it will not be accepted; if they produce what agrees with it, then the reason unaided can do the like.—The answer is: It is certain that many men are unable to deal with worldly matters, and in consequence require someone to supplement them, such as a physician or a Sultan; still more must this be the case with what concerns God and the future world.

Fifth fallacy. They assert that the Codes have produced matters which the reason disapproves: so how can they be sound? Such a matter is the infliction of pain on living beings.—The answer is that the reason dislikes the infliction of pain by animals on one another; but since the Creator has decreed that such infliction should take place, the reason cannot object. This may be explained as follows: The reason knows the wisdom of the Creator, and that it admits of no flaw nor deficiency; this knowledge therefore enforces on the

reason assent to what is hidden from it. If any branch (legislative detail) is obscure to us, we are not at liberty to charge the root (principle of jurisprudence) with futility. Further, the wisdom of this institution is apparent. We are aware that the animate is superior to the inanimate, and that the rational is superior to the irrational, by virtue of the understanding, sagacity, and faculties of speculation and cognizance which have been given to it; there is nothing surprising in the strong taking hold of the weak, or that of which the importance is great doing so to that of which the importance is small; the dumb animal was only created for the benefit of the noble animal, and were the former not slaughtered it would increase to such an extent that pasturage would become scarce, and such animals would die, giving annoyance to the noble animal by their carrion, their existence having been unprofitable. As for the pain inflicted in slaughtering, it is concealed, and some say not felt at all, since what is sensitive to pain is the membrane covering the brain, which contains the sensory organs; and for this reason if that membrane suffers any disaster such as epilepsy or lethargy, the man feels no pain. If the veins of the neck are severed rapidly, the bodily pain does not reach the place of sensation; hence the Prophet said *When any one of you slaughters an animal, let him sharpen his knife, and make things easy for his victim.*

Sixth fallacy. They say: Probably the givers of the Codes got hold of some properties of stones or wood.—The reply to this is that whosoever utters it ought to be ashamed of doing so. There is not a plant nor a stone whose properties have not been made manifest, and their secrets revealed. If one of them had got hold of something and manifested its property, those who were acquainted with such properties would have objected, saying "This is not your operation, it is merely a property of such and such an object."* Further the miracles are not of one species, but vary from the issuing of a camel from a rock to a staff turning into a snake, or a stone giving forth fountains, or the Qur'ân, revealed not much less than six hundred years ago, perceived by the ears, and pondered by the thoughts, challenging the world to rival it, of which however not one Surah has been approached by anyone. Where then do "properties" and sorcery and charlatanry come in?

*The object dealt with is that the supposed miracles were natural operations, but of a sort only known to the Prophet who wrought them. The answer is that all the secrets of nature are matters of common knowledge!

Abu'l-Wafa 'Alī b. 'Aqīl says: The hearts of the heretics were vexed at the spread of the word of truth and the establishment of the Codes among mankind and their obedience to their ordinances; this was the case with such as Ibn al-Rawandī¹ and those like him like Abu'l-'Ala;² then in addition to that they found that their own doctrines had no vogue nor influence, on the contrary the mosques were crowded, and the call to prayer filled men's ears with reverence for the Prophet and confession to the truth of his message, and expenditure of goods and lives on the pilgrimage involving the facing of danger, the endurance of journeys, and separation from wife and children. So some of them began to throw doubts on the transmitters of tradition, vitiate the chains of authorities, and invent biographies and reports; and some recorded things resembling the miracles about the properties of stones, violations of natural order found in certain countries, and revelations of mysteries said to have been made by many wizards and astrologers. Such things they strenuously affirmed, as that Satih³ told that a certain thing that was concealed from him was a grain of wheat in the penis of an ass, and that al-Aswad in his sermons could foretell some thing that was to occur. And here in our time there are conjurers who talk to the *jinni* who is inside the madman and to whom the *jinni* reveals what has been and what shall be, with other rubbish of the same sort. Now one who sees such things through want of intelligence and inability to see the purpose of the heretics may say: Was not the procedure connected with the prophethoods similar to this? Is not the saying of the wizard "a grain of wheat in the penis of an ass" when the thing had been concealed with the utmost secrecy greater than (Surah iii. 43) "I will announce unto you what ye eat and what ye store in your houses?" So can this any more make an impression on the mind, when this horoscope warns against riding on a particular day? And has anyone except the Prophet failed to notice this?

Now their object in all this is clear, and their intention obvious. They say (in effect) Come, let us rove over the countries, the individuals, the stars and the properties of things, and in all their number we are sure to come across by accident one of these miracles. Everyone will believe in them and in consequence deny that what the prophets wrought was violation of natural order. Then some *sūfi* pretended that

(1) See Nyberg's edition of the *Intisar*. Cairo 1925.

(2) Al-Ma'arri.

(3) Pre-Islamic wizard.

someone threw a vessel into the Tigris which became filled with gold, so such marvels came to count as ordinary "honours" paid by nature to the *sûfis*, ordinary forecasts in the case of astrologers, ordinary properties in the case of naturalists, ordinary spells in the case of wizards and diviners. So what force remains to the words of 'Isa "I will announce unto you what ye eat and what ye store in your houses?" And what violation is there therein of order, seeing that the order of nature is merely the continuance of what exists and frequently occurs?—Now if a wise and pious man point out what is wrong in this, the *sûfi* asks: Do you deny the "honours" of the saints? The believers in properties ask: Do you deny the existence of the magnet which attracts iron or the ostrich which swallows fire? And you are unwilling to deny what has not happened on account of what has happened. Woe to him who speaks the truth with them! The *Bâtinis* are on one side and the astrologers on another and the holders of offices neither bind nor loose save by their word. Praise be to Him who guards this community and exalts its word so that all other communities are under its control. This is how God means to preserve the prophetic office and suppress the dealers in absurdities.

Among the Indians are Brahmins, people whom the Devil has persuaded to curry divine favour by burning themselves. A trench is dug for a man, and people gather together, and the man comes all anointed with *khuluq* and perfume, lyres are played, and drums and cymbals beaten, and they say: Blessed is this soul which is flying to paradise; and the man says: May this sacrifice be accepted! May my reward be paradise! Then he throws himself into the trench and is burned. If he runs away they ostracize him and outlaw him till he returns. For some of them stones are heated, and the man attaches himself to the stone till it penetrates his body and his entrails come out and he dies. Some of them stand close to a fire till the fat of the body liquefies and they fall; some cut off portions of the shin or thigh and fling them into the fire, while the people are proclaiming their sanctity and admiring them and praying for such rank till the man dies. Some stand in coudung up to the shin, and set it on fire, wherein they are burned; some adore water, declaring that it is the life of everything, and prostrate themselves before it. For some a trench is dug near water, then the man falls into the trench, until he is ablaze, when he plunges into the water, afterwards returning to the trench till he dies. If he dies when he is between the two his family lament, saying that he

has forfeited paradise, whereas if he die in one of the two they testify that paradise is his. Some of them torture themselves with hunger and thirst, till the man is unable first to walk, then to sit down, then loses the power of speech, then his senses, then the power of motion, after which he becomes numb. Some wander about the land till they die; some drown themselves in a river, some have no connection with women, and wear no clothes but a loincloth. They have a high mountain, beneath which is a tree, by which there is a man holding in his hand a book out of which he reads the words: Blessed is he who ascends this mountain, rips open his belly and takes out his entrails with his hand. Some of them take large stones and smash their bodies therewith till they die, the people saying: Blessed art thou. They have two rivers, and on their feast-day some of their devotees go out, and there are men there who take the clothes which the devotees are wearing, rip them open and cut them into halves, one of which they throw into one river and the other into the other, asserting that the two will find their way to paradise. Some go out into the open country accompanied by a number of persons who bless him and congratulate him on his intention; when he is in the uninhabited country, he sits down, and birds of prey gather from every quarter, when the man strips himself of his clothes, and stretches himself out, while the people are looking on, and the birds pounce upon him and devour him. When the birds have scattered, the company approach and take the man's bones which they burn and from which they hope to obtain a blessing; these are only selections from a lengthy series of operations mentioned by Abu Muhammad al-Naubakhtî, which it would be waste of time to transcribe. The strange thing is that the Indians are people from whom philosophy and philosophical subtleties are derived, and subtle operations learned. Praise be to Him who hath blinded their hearts so that the Devil thus leads them by the nose. He further states that among them there are people who assert that paradise is of thirty-two stages and that the residence of the people of paradise in the lowest stage is 433620 years; and each stage is the double of that which is lower. Similarly Hell is thirty-two stages, of which sixteen are forms of torture with cold, whereas the other sixteen are forms of torture by burning.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(To be continued)

THE ARAB CHAUNT

ARABIA lay entombed in night ;
A beam from Heaven revealed
Islam, a sword of living light,
Islam, the spirit's shield.

A prophet in our midst arose,
Whose voice to God appealed :
" Allah ! Thy grace high gifts bestows,
Let Islam be our shield " !

We woke. Beyond the desert sand
The wide World was our field.
The sword of Faith was in our hand,
With Islam for our shield.

And when we marched across the world,
That sword of faith to wield,
Islam the flag of peace unfurled
High o'er its blazoned shield.

We dared—and rose to heights unknown
Of power which ne'er would yield
Save to the will of God alone,
While Islam was its shield.

We fought for faith in love, not hate,
And Faith this vision revealed :
Mankind—one nation good and great,
With Islam for its shield.

Our pact of love and brotherhood
With faith and honour sealed,
True Champions of Right we stood,
With Islam for our shield.

Years rolled, time saw our glories fade ;
We sank 'neath grace repealed.
Our power with righteous will decayed
Though Islam was our shield.

We sank, 'and sank—to rise again
Till Fate to us shall yield
The skill to wipe each rusty stain
Off Islam's dented shield!

To God alone all glory, power;
To Him alone we've kneeled.
'Tis ours to scorn misfortune's hour
While Islam is our shield.

Proud of our past, in freedom strong,
No power shall see us—yield.
We fear no proud oppressor's wrong
While Islam is our shield!

NIZAMAT JUNG.

TWO MINIATURES FROM BĪJAPŪR

DURING the last ten years a large number of books have been compiled on Indian painting, but still the subject is far from having been studied comprehensively and new discoveries are leading to fresh hypotheses for investigation. But one fact remains unalterable that in the sixteenth century art in the East, whether in Persia or India or even Japan, was freed from archaistic tendencies and painters sought for fresh motives and clear methods of expression. Again, their reverence for the beauty of nature was enhanced and this gave their work a realistic touch which is not obvious in Persian or Indian miniatures of the earlier centuries. This change was mainly due to the master minds being tired of classical stores of knowledge; but about this time took place great political changes which resulted in the dispersal of artists to distant provinces and foreign lands where the emigrants, in order to please their new patrons, had to adapt themselves to local conditions. The fusion of styles and methods created a new genre which was characterised by delicacy and grace on the one hand and by vigour and a sense of reality on the other. The latter features were the result of a deeper study of nature in the new environment. The work of the school of Bihzād at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp in the sixteenth century shows the grace of Shiraz combined with the power of Herat; and similarly at the court of Akbar in the miniatures of 'Abduṣ Ṣamad and Mīr Sayyid 'Alī we notice the beauty of the norms and technique of Persia happily attuned to a love of realism which these artists learned in India.

There is also considerable evidence that in the sixteenth century Chinese drawings on silk were much esteemed in Persia and artists vied with one another in copying the fine brushwork of the painters of the Celestial Empire. Although the overnice attitudes of the Far East did not appeal to the imagination of Indian artists yet the delicacy of fine brushwork evoked their admiration and this feature is clearly

traceable in the miniatures of India of the sixteenth century and afterwards.

Like the Great Mughals the kings of the Deccan were enthusiastic patrons of art and their courts had a galaxy of calligraphists, illuminators and painters hailing from different climes, particularly Persia. Some of these monarchs indulged in the art of painting and the most notable of them was Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II, king of Bījapûr¹ who, according to the author of the *Basâtîn's Salâtîn*, was so proficient in Calligraphy, Drawing and Painting that he 'excelled even masters of these arts.'² There may be considerable exaggeration in this remark but there is no doubt but that his interest in Art had almost become a craze and around him had assembled some of the most eminent men of his age.³ Recently the Hyderabad Museum has acquired a MS.⁴ which shows the high watermark reached in the arts of calligraphy and painting in the reign of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh at whose instance the book was probably written and illustrated. The MS. contains 81 folios (9.25×5.25 in.) with an illuminated 'unwân and two illustrations which occur in the middle of the text. Each page has eleven lines of writing of which the first and the eleventh are Persian verse and the middle nine lines, i.e., 2nd to 10th are Persian prose. The verse is written in bold characters on a gold sprinkled surface, and for further distinction from the prose the former is enclosed by marginal lines forming panels. Of the nine lines of prose the first and ninth are in red ink (vermilion⁵) and the middle (i.e., the fifth) in gold. The titles are inscribed in blue (lapis lazuli?). The Persian verse contains the lyric poems of Ḥâfiz and some contemporary Persian poets whom the patronage and generosity of the Bījapûr kings had attracted to their court. The prose contains the recipes of Indian dishes, tonics and perfumes and is styled *Ni'mat Nâma*, the Book of Dainties. The book begins thus:

(1) He was the contemporary of Akbar and Jahângîr and ruled from 1580-1627 A.D.

(2) *Basâtîn* (Hyderabad Lithograph), p. 275.

(3) The renowned historians Muhammad Qâsim Firishta and Mîr Rafî'u'd Dîn Shirâzi (the author of the *Tazkiratu'l Mulûk*) flourished at his Court. Mulla Zâhûrî was the poet-laureate. The king was also very fond of Music and his skill in this art won him the popular title of *Jagat Gurû* (Master of the world).

(4) It has been purchased from the scion of an old family residing at Bîr in His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions.

(5) Prepared from *shanjarf*, cinnabar.

حمدی شیرین تراز قند و ثنای چون فی شکر شیرین
و دلبند منعمی را رواست الخ

The style of writing is *Thulth* of the most elegant type and the MS. seems to be the work of a Persian calligraphist. The book has been considerably used but the greatest damage has been done by the green colour prepared from copper sulphate (*zangâr*) which has destroyed the paper.

Apart from the magnificent calligraphy of the MS. its chief importance lies in the two miniatures, one of which is reproduced as the frontispiece of the *journal*. The picture is evidently the work of a Persian painter, for it has the subtle charm of the technique and feeling of the Persian art; but at the same time it shows a characterisation in the depiction of individual figures, a mature tonality in the mixing of colours, and an idea of light and shade, and depth and volume, such as we do not ordinarily find in Persian miniatures and, which features the Persian artists must have learnt in India for they are clearly traceable in the contemporary paintings executed by the court painters of Akbar and Jahângîr. To elucidate these remarks, I must describe the miniature in detail. At the top and bottom the picture has a hemistich which joined together form the Persian couplet—

استاد کاینات که این کارخانه ساخت

*

*

مقصود عشق بود که نورس بهانه ساخت

TRANSLATION

*"The Master of creation Who built this workshop,
His object was love so He made youth a symbol."*

The intricate design of this writing both in form and meaning gives a good set-off to the general scheme of the painting.

*Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh II was very fond of this word and it has been used in a variety of sense during his reign. The word was inscribed on the royal seal of Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh; it was also the name of the town which he built near Bijapûr. *Nauras* is also the title of the book on Music attributed to this king and it is also the heading of the introduction to this book written by Zahûrî. The coins of the king were also called *nauras* and there was a festival styled, *'Id-i-nauras*. For further information regarding this word the readers should consult *Basâtinu's Salâtin* (Hyderabad Lithograph) pp. 249-50.

The picture represents Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh sitting in a garden where some dainty dishes are being offered to him. There are six figures, including that of the king who is in the middle, sitting on an embroidered carpet with the back resting on a bolster. Two attendants, one of them being male and the other female, hold dishes and the male attendant in an attitude of respect is offering it to the king. There is a *chaurî*-bearer at the back of the king and two attendants are squatting in front, the head of one of these is destroyed. There are a celadon jar (*martabân*) and another vessel with a lid containing apparently electuaries and tonics, and two drums and a goblet. There are also a black pitcher and a spittoon on the right side of the picture, between the *chaurî*-bearer and the two squatting figures. In the background are trees with fine bunches of flowers and birds perching on them as well as flying in the air.

The head of the king is much damaged and the features were either never painted or have been completely rubbed away. The pose of the body is conventional, the right hand holds the pearls of the drooping necklace while the left rests on the girdle the end of which is spread in front. The figure has robust limbs and in their depiction the painter has shown the sense of representing in round. The dress is most interesting and shows the apparel which the Deccan kings used to wear. The head-gear (*pagrî*) is different from that of Akbar and Jahângîr and is rather conical at the top.* The shape was apparently evolved in the western part of the Deccan by a combination of the Islamic *dastâr* and the Hindu *pagrî*. The jacket (*sînâband*) is also Hindu in design and the long coat (*angrakha*) is the same as we notice in the frescoes of Ajanta. The girdles although Persian in origin their trails show the distinct influence of the trails of an Indian *dhoti* (loin-cloth). The bolster on which the king is reclining is of red brocade but to the artist the chief interest lies in the shading by which the creases at the two ends of the bolster have been shown.

The attendant to the right of the king, who is offering a dish, has been painted with great skill and imagination. The pose has all the grace and suppleness of Persian norms; but it betrays no overniceness and is very realistic. The

*Cf. *Indian Painting* by Percy Brown, Plate XLII; *Catalogue of the Indian Collection*, Boston Museum, Part VI, Plate XXXIII, and *Muselman Painting* by E. Blochet, English ed., Plate CLXXIX.

head of this figure has also been painted with consummate skill and the features show not only fine brushwork but bear a life-like expression. The figure of the other attendant, who is a lady, shows great smartness in the style of head-gear which is placed awry. The head of this figure is unfortunately damaged and does not admit of a close examination of the beauty of features.

The figure of the *chauri*-bearer is also cleverly drawn and the stretched out hand, in which the *chauri* is held, shows considerable movement. The hair of the *chauri* reminds one of Chinese brushwork and as observed above Persian artists of the 16th and 17th centuries under the influence of the paintings of the Far East have shown great fondness for such subtleties of art. The scarf, the girdle and the staff of this figure show much artistic imagination.

The two sitting figures in the foreground have been much damaged but what remains of them shows a realistic effect in the choice of pose and the delineation of features. Of the two drums one is a *dholak* and the other a *mirdhang* both still in use in India. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II was an expert in the art of Music and even professionals took lessons from him. The floral designs on the blue carpet are identical with the patterns to be noticed in the foreground of Ajanta frescoes, but as the latter at that time were concealed under a thick pall of oblivion, the designs must have been copied from Persian prototypes in which also they have been found.

The charm of the picture however lies in its beautiful background which, for its exquisite drawing and mellow colouring, shows a distinct advance upon the backgrounds of Bihzâd's school or of those painted by the court-painters of Akbar and Jahângîr. The love of painting a cypress or a plane-tree or a flowering shrub in all the glory of either their foliage or blossoming is very prominent in the works of Persia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,* and similarly the works of 'Abdu's Şamad, Farrukh Beg, Basâwan, Manşûr, Bichhitr, Abu'l Hasan, belonging to the court of

**Muselman Painting* by Blochet, Plates CX, CXVI, CLXI and CXCH; *The Islamic Book* by Arnold and Grohmann, Plates LIII, LXXXIV, LXXXV, *Painting in Islam* by Arnold, Plates XLIII-XLIV; *Bihzad and his Paintings in the Zafar-Namah MS.*, Plates I-II; *The Poems of Nizami* by Binyon, Plates V-VII and X-XI; and *Persian Painting* by Basil Gray, Plates VI, IX and X.

Akbar and Jahângîr, show an evident delight in depicting trees, flowers and birds,¹ but the thick, forest-like effect giving a depth to the picture and showing the massed beauty of luxuriant Indian vegetation brightened up by the crimson rays of the setting sun, is to be found only in later Hindu works specially of the Punjab hills.² The artist has displayed a highly refined taste in the blending of colours and the execution of detail and the warm tones and fine brushwork show what wonders a Persian artist could achieve when placed by circumstances in the land of perpetual sunshine, luxuriant trees and beautiful birds. The slim red trunks with the mass of dark green foliage and clusters of golden flowers have produced a marvellous setting, which is further enlivened by the crimson effect of the sun and the beautiful plumage of birds.

The high standard which is shown in the picture however was not maintained in the Deccan for long, because the menace of the Mughal conquest increased in magnitude as time went on and moreover the various kingdoms of the Deccan were engaged in internecine wars, thus enfeebling their genius and resources for creative works. Consequently the paintings of the Deccan after the middle of the seventeenth century lack originality and vividness; and they are not only crude and flat but in the majority of cases reproduced from stencils.³ I give here (Plate facing this page) a retinue-scene taken from a MS. prepared during the reign of 'Alî Âdil Shâh II, who ruled in Bîjapûr from 1657-72 A.D.⁴ He was a great patron of indigenous literature and art and tried to revive them. His efforts in the domain of literature were crowned with a fair amount of success and the works of poets like Nuşratî and Hâshimî, which are in the Dakhnî language,

(1) Compare *The Lights of Canopus* by Wilkinson, Plates XIII, XXIV, XXXI and XXXII; *Indian Painting* by Brown, Plates X, XIV-XV, XIX, XXIII, XXXVIII, XXXIX and XLIX; *Romance of Amir Hamzah* by Stanley Clarke, Plates I, IV-V, IX and XII and *Thirty Mogul Paintings of the School of Jahângîr* by S. Clarke, Plates V, VI and XX.

(2) See *Asiatic Art* by Binyon, Plate LXII (2) and *Studies in Indian Paintings* by Mehta, Plate XXIV.

(3) Recently Nawab Sâlâr Jang Bahadur, the premier noble of Hyderabad, has acquired a vast stock of these stencils from an old family of artists at Bidar, which proves how art degenerated into artifice in later days.

(4) The MS. belongs to Sir Akbar Hydari, Nawab Hydar Nawaz Jang Bahadur, Finance Member of Hyderabad whose collection of miniatures and paintings of the Deccan is absolutely unique.



An ancient procession Mr. Abdul Shah II riding on a big horse

are marked with considerable force and grace.* In painting, his patronage, apparently owing to dearth of local genius, did not much succeed and as we notice in this picture there is no characterisation in the treatment of individual figures, neither any play of fancy, or breadth of vision nor any vigour of technique. The heads are all stereotyped, even of the king does not differ from those of the attendants. Further, there is a total lack of expression and the whole group looks like an array of clay figurines. The horse is indeed well drawn but it might have been prepared from a stencil. Again, there is crudeness in the drawing of human figures which continued in the Deccan in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, showing that the Deccan art of painting did not revive after the overthrow of its five kingdoms in the seventeenth century.

*Professor Abdul Haq, the learned Editor of *Urdû*, has written a series of articles on the life and works of Nusratî, and readers interested in the early history of the Urdû language must not miss them. *Urdû* 1933-34.

G. YAZDANI.

A TRACT OF AVICENNA

Translated by 'Umar Khayyâm

DURING my recent stay at Ahmedabad, I was able to lay my hand on an MS. collection of Arabic and Persian tracts in the library of the Durgah of Pir Muhammad Shâh,¹ comprising ten treatises by different authors including a small Persian tract by 'Umar Khayyâm. Happily we are in possession of one more literary relic of Khayyâm—a translation in Persian of Avicenna's Arabic Khutbah or Address, of which no mention has hitherto been made by any scholar writing about 'Umar and his works; nor does it find a place in the supplement to the recent erudite dissertation on Khayyâm in Urdu.²

The first treatise in this collection is of Avicenna, followed by the original text of his Arabic Khutbah and the Persian translation thereof by Khayyâm, which, compared with the original, does not seem to be a literal translation, but an explanatory paraphrase. The Arabic text, being full of philosophical terms, and on account of the scientific treatment of its subject-matter, is quite incomprehensible to the general reader, and 'Umar was the best qualified person to render it into Persian.

In the prologue the translator gives in Arabic the reason for his rendering into Persian the Khutbah of the renowned philosopher of Islam. He says:—

“In the year 472 a party of my friends at Isfahân requested me to translate the Khutbah composed by *Ash-*

(1) *Fan* 14, No. 45. This library, attached to the shrine of the family Saint of the Sunni Bohras of Gujrât, contains a fine collection of Arabic and Persian MSS. and printed books.

(2) *Khayyam*, by Sayyid Sulaimân Nadvi, Ma'ârif Press, A'zamgarh, 1934. This work throws a flood of light on moot questions relating to the life and works of the savant. The learned author has appended, by way of supplement, a collection of Arabic and Persian treatises of 'Umar reproduced from a printed collection *Jamî'u'l-Badây'i* and other MSS.

Shaikhu'r-Raïs Abu 'Alî b. Sînâ (may his secret be sanctified). I responded to their request and say that. .”

Then follows the Persian translation, the original whereof we propose to reproduce in Appendix I. The original text of the Arabic Khutbah is also given in Appendix II, for comparison.

The Khutbah or sermon is a sort of Address or Invocation to God, dilating upon the arguments regarding His existence, unity, grandeur, eternity and omnipotence. It is replete with philosophical speculations and metaphysical observations. Here is another specimen of 'Umar's Persian prose which bears a similarity in style and the peculiarity of its diction to that of his already printed Persian treatises.

That Khayyâm had profound reverence and deep veneration for his predecessor Avicenna, is evident from his own writings where he mentions the latter as his teacher and master;¹ and although Avicenna had passed away (in 428 A.H.) long before Khayyâm was born, yet it can easily be concluded that the latter perused diligently his works and took him as a guide and preceptor in his philosophical pursuits. Therefore it was in the fitness of things that Khayyâm's friends approached him for translation of Avicenna's sermon.

As to Khayyâm's presence at Isfahân in the year 472, it is a well-established fact that he was employed, with other astronomers, in connection with the construction of the observatory founded at Isfahân by Malik Shâh the Seljûq ruler, the erection of the said observatory having been commenced in 467 and completed in 471 A.H., as we are told by the Arab historian.²

According to the latest researches the date of Khayyâm's birth has been placed in the year 440-41, and in the year 472 his age was 31-32, when he rendered the Khutbah. Therefore it does not seem impossible, nay improbable, that he obliged his friends by acceding to their wishes.

As to the genuineness of the present MS. fortunately we are in a position to decide, as the MS. at the end of the book

مبدأ ومعاد states the transcription to have been completed

(1) الكون والتكليف in *ẖami'u'l-Badaye'i*, Cairo, p. 170; رساله وجود Brit. Mus. MS.

(2) Ibn Athîr, vol. 11, p. 34.

at the end of the month of Rajab, 705 A.H. The gentleman in possession of this MS. gives his name as follows on the margin in red ink:—

من عواری الزمان عندی وانا العبد الراجی عبدالقادر الارذوباری

Although the name of the scribe or copyist does not occur therein, yet in the circumstances there is no reason to doubt its authenticity.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE ARABIC TEXT OF IBN SINA

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Holy is God, the Dominant Lord and Subduer, whom the eyes cannot perceive, nor the intellect conceive. He is not a (1) SUBSTANCE, susceptible of receiving contraries, nor an Accident, to be preceded by the existence of a SUBSTANCE. He cannot be defined by (2) QUALITY, to resemble anything; nor by (3) QUANTITY, to be measured and divided. He is not to be qualified by a (4) RELATION, to conceal it in His all-comprehensive existence; nor to (5) SPACE, to be encompassed and enclosed. He is not terminable by (6) TIME, so as to be carried from one period to another; nor has He (7) POSITION, acquiring different figures by limits and extremities. Nor is he defined by (8) CONDITION (POSSESSION or HABIT), brought to bear upon Him; nor by (9) PASSION, so as to change His active existence (in PASSIVITY). Action is not to be attributed to (10) ACTION, except Creation (by Order).¹ He is beyond the location of TIME transcendently. TIME—from the (creation) of the remotest spaces (i.e., highest heaven) down to the (creation) of the lowest elements (i.e., the Earth)—owes its existence to Him, and by Motion becomes “before” or “after,” owing to which the existence of a body is constantly changing. The Duration (or Eternity) is the receptacle of the time of the

(1) Nos. 1 to 10 are the Ten Categories of Aristotle (*vide* al-Khwārizmī's *Mafatihul-'Ulum*, pp. 86-88.

(2) According to Muslim thinkers Creation is of two kinds:

(i) *Ibda*; or creation by Order, just as God ordered to ‘be’ and it ‘became.’ (ii) *Ihdâth*, or Creation by Evolution, the first Cause having been created by God. Tr.

body, and its creators (i.e., angels) are in relation to the variation of its periods. SPACE came into being after TIME, surrounded by the First Causes of Time (i.e., heaven) in limitation. He is One who is indivisible in number and limit. He is One who has no parallel nor contrary. He is One in Essence, Attributes, Word and Number. He is the Subduer who makes Non-Existence to acquire Existence. The Dominant, neither by way of potentiality, nor by way of actuality or perfection. The Powerful with infinite power in strength; whereas Number and Time are imposed upon the subject (to His power). His judgment has provided for every object the causes of its action. His mercy has guided everything to attain its perfection. The Divine Essence from whom every being receives its existence, and all beings are arranged according to His predestined and defined arrangement. It is not in the nature of Plurality to exist jointly, nor is it in the power of a body can bring forth a creator from itself, for every creator (by Order) (i.e., angel) is a Necessary Existent through His Existence and His Existence is possible in the limit of His own Self, from which the Spiritual Substances, non-spatial and non-periodical, are made manifest. These (Spiritual Substances) were made free from Matter and devoid of energy and aptitude. God shone over them so that they became illuminated, and He irradiated them so that they became resplendent. He then infused into their forms His own similitude and made them to display His actions. Thus each of them had, from the very beginning, the existence of an angel through whom He brought the heavens into being. Through their agency He created (by Order) divine bodies, comprising most of the luminous bodies, whose figures (constellations) are excellent in their motion which is circular, and their colours are most beautiful, that is bright and shining. Their constellations are the best because of having no contraries, as well as being immune from change and corruption. Above the heavens there are two spheres: One of the Equinox and the other of the Zodiac. If the heavens were without stars, there would not have been change of Time, efficacious for the growth of animals and plants. Similarly had there been all stars without heaven, the lights would have vanished and with them the causes of existence and annihilation. Had not the (Zodiacal) Sphere been "inclined" towards the Sphere of Equinox, the seasons would have been equal and the state of surroundings and environments would have been monotonous. Thou Holy (God) the possessor of

infinite power, whose bounty has left nothing out of it while granting existence! It is impossible that an infinite being can exist jointly, as it can only exist separately and not in company with others. So Thou didst create (by Order) the Primal Matter possessing infinite power in Passivity, inasmuch as Thou possessest power in Activity. Thou didst know that Generation and Corruption are effected by means, which are contracting and expanding, susceptible of receiving (impression) and controlling corruption. Hence Thou createdst Heat expanding in its essence, Cold contracting in its qualities, Moisture for producing and moulding of bodies, Dryness for preserving the bodies from being decomposed. From these (humours) Thou createdst the primal elements, and the hottest of them hast stationed on the higher space i.e., the heavens) which, were it Cold, would have been heated by the heavenly motion and no being had remained but perished, on account of the Heat spread over all the elements in potentiality and space. Thou createdst the higher (heavenly) elements (i.e., Fire, Air, Water) naturally transparent, otherwise no luminous ray could have passed through them. Thou didst create the Earth dust-coloured, otherwise the light, which is the cause of the Instinctive Heat, active in creating physical forms, would not have paused over it (but would have passed through). So Thou createdst from the Earth, Minerals, Vegetables, and Animals of different kinds, which became generator and corruptor, begetter and begotten. The principal object in this (process) was the creation of Man, from whose residues Thou createdst all beings, so that no being may be deprived of its elements and one being may not be weakened by another negative (being). Thou didst create Man possessing an intelligent Soul, which, if purified through knowledge and good deeds, becomes like the Substances of the First Causes (i.e., angels). Whenever the temperament of Man is equable and without contraries, it becomes like the 'Seven strong Heavens'; and whenever it is devoid of the receiving forms (i.e., Matter), it resembles the First Causes (i.e., angels). Thou Sustainer and Lord of our lords! We desire Thee, pray and fast for Thee. Thou art the First Origin. From Thee we ask for succour and warning to guarding us against our negligence, and guide us in our doubts, as Thou art the perfecter and originator of these (doubts). Praise be to God who alone is deserving of it! And His blessings be upon His messenger Muhammad, best of all His creatures, and on all his companions.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF KHAYYAM'S PERSIAN RENDERING

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

In the year 472 (A.H.) a party of my friends at Isfahân requested me to translate the Khutbah composed by Ash-Shaikh ur-Ra'îs Abu 'Alî b. Sînâ, (may his secret be sanctified). I responded to their request and I say:—

Thou Holy, the Subduer and the Dominant Lord, from whom all things emanate, and to whom they return and terminate. He is not (1) Substance, changeable by admitting of a Contrary.¹ [It must be known that every Substance, like angels and heavenly bodies, does not admit of a Contrary, unlike the forms of the Substance, which do admit of Contraries. This is a Rhetorical assertion,² useful in judging an affirmative proposition. God is not a Substance and not liable to occupy any position which other objects may do in common. He does not belong to any *genus*, because there is no plurality in His Self; neither intellectually, so as to make the limit of His essence plural by Him, like the limit of whiteness in colour, and quality; nor (physically) in the composition of parts, like that of a body in matter and form. The names and meanings attributed to God and other things, like 'Existent' and 'Necessary,' are adjectives and relative concomitants which do not constitute plurality, like so many relative and negative names; and were the causes of the divine essence plural, there would have been an infinite host of adjectives for every being, which is impossible.]³ He is not Accident to be preceded by Substance. He is neither to be defined by (2) Quantity to be measured and divided, nor by (3) Quality to resemble anything. Nor is He to be qualified by (4) Relation. [God Himself is the real Correlative, because everything has its inception from and termination in Him. He is related to all things in such a relation as does not constitute plurality. Hence this great man (Avicenna)

(1) Things are styled contraries, some as having such things in possession, and some as being recipient of such things. (See Aristotle's *Metaphysics* translated by Rev. John H. M'Mahon, p. 130.

(2) In Rhetorics the mind of the hearer comprehends a thing by an assertion which is held reliable without any argument. (See Khwârizm's *Mafatihul-'Ulum*, pp. 90-91, Cairo. ed.

(3) The comments of Khayyâm have been given in parenthesis so as to differentiate them from the text. A slight difference will be found here and there in Khayyâm's version while interpreting the sense of the original.

says that He is not relative and nothing is related to Him.] He is not to be qualified by (5) Space, to be confined thereby, nor by (6) Time, to be carried from one period to another. He is not to be qualified by (7) Position, so as to assume different shapes and to have limits. He is not to be defined by (8) Possession, so as to possess anything. [This word "Jiddat" or possession, technically denotes possessing things, like dress, arms, shoes, rings, etc., which is included in all or some of the Substances and movable with their motion. Nothing could be an exception to such possession, and no other interpretations of it would be acceptable.] (9) Passion is not to be attributed to God, but (10) Action, i.e., Creation (by Order).^{*} [It is to be remembered that the righteous creed is this, that all things are created by God, either by Order, i.e., creation without time, or by Evolution, i.e., creation within time.] Here, by the former is meant direct emanation from God without the agency of motion. He is beyond the location of time and motion. Time owes its existence to Him and is coherent with physical objects, from the heaven of heavens down to the centre of the earth. Time is the quantity of motion of the highest heaven and is measured by being prior or subsequent. [The transformation or generation and corruption of these *corpora infima* is due to the heavenly motion. Duration (or Eternity) is the receptacle of Time which encompasses the whole of it.] The relation of the Duration (or Eternity) with the angels is in Time, [parts of Time and periods, as they are eternal and unchangeable]. Space follows Time (in sequence), [the heaven being its place, as there exists nothing beyond heaven, Vacuum or Plenum either]. He is One who is immeasurable and indivisible, unparallelled and admitting of no Contrary. He is One in Essence, Attributes, Word and Number. He is the Subduer who strengthens Non-Existence by Existence. He is The Dominant who brings potentiality into actuality and makes possibility necessity. His power is infinite in strength, rigidity and intensity, [which preserves some of the living beings up to infinite time and some to live up to a certain period], as number and period are for those subject to His power. His judgment has arranged all beings in the most excellent organization. His mercy has guided all beings

^{*}Nos. 1 to 10 are the *Meqalat al-'Ashar* or Ten Aristotelian Categories. (See Khwârizmî's *Mafatihul-'Ulum*, pp. 86-88 Cairo.)

towards the attainment of their perfection. [It is impossible to bring into being infinite objects in number at a time (jointly), likewise it is impossible that a body could be brought into existence directly without the divine agency, because body is composed of matter and form], and in the divine essence there is no plurality. So a Plurality cannot proceed indirectly from a Unity, except the angels who are possible of existence in the limit of their own essence. [Therefore they are all plural because intellectually they are diametrically opposite from each other, but they are all simple (uncompound) in their existence and individual in essence, coming out of the creation by God.] The existence of the Spiritual Substances is non-spatial and non-periodical, as they are simply forms without any connection or intercourse with matter, and are meaningless [yet all of them are simple and eternal and have become sublime by the divine intercourse]. God infused the similitude of His Necessary Existence into their nature, which is made manifest by His actions. Thus each of them, with their Necessary Existence, acquired from God, had the agency of the angels. So the heavens were brought into being with godly and luminous bodies, whose figures (constellations) are the best in their motion which is circular, and display beautiful colours which are bright and shining. Their figures are the most excellent of figures and have no parallel nor contrary. [Be it known that any heavenly body, that makes a lateral motion, belongs to a specific kind in which no other body, beside it, could reside or be generated and corrupted.] On the highest heaven there are two spheres; one of the Equinox and the other of the Zodiac; and had there been all stars without heavens, the intensity of light would have destroyed the causes of Generation and Corruption. And had the Zodiacal Sphere been not "inclined" towards the Equinoctial Sphere, the state of the whole Cosmos would have been monotonous, without any formation or organization. Thou Holy God, since the potentiality is infinite, Thy bounty has left nothing in bringing it into actuality. It is impossible for an infinite thing to exist at a time, except individually. So Thou createdst (by Order) the Primal Matter possessing infinite power inasmuch as Thou possessest power in activity. Thou hast power over the reception (of impression) by which a producer gives shape to an object and by which it composes the same. So Thou createdst Heat growing (i.e., expanding), Cold contracting, Moisture receiving (i.e., moulding) and Dryness composing. And from these four Humours Thou

createdst (Four) Elements: the Fire, the Air, the Water and the Earth. The hottest of them Thou hast installed on the higher (plane), because if there were Cold it would be heated by the motion of the heaven and everything would have perished in potentiality and space, on account of the excessive heat on the receptacle of elements. These three higher elements Thou hast created colourless (i.e., transparent) otherwise the ray could not have passed through them. [It must be known that this is a Hypothetical Proposition, because a ray is untransferable and impenetrable through any object, save when an illumined body is in contact with the light-receiving body and between them there is some colourless (i.e., transparent) object, or when the illuminated body receives the light into it. Human intellect cannot fathom the reason of this proposition.] Thou hast given colour to the Earth between white and black, so as to make it the recipient of light and so become hot by the Instinctive Heat which is the cause of bringing the physical forms into being. Thou didst create so many compound elements from Minerals, Vegetables, Animals and Human beings, [and Thou didst assign a stage to each of them in sublimity and degradation]. The object of creating these elements was the creation of Man and from his residue Thou createdst other things, so that no being should perish from any negative (being), and all beings may have their due share. [It is to be borne in mind that God hath no need or object in creating anything, as need would imply imperfection of its subject, whereas need itself is benefited by His divine essence, nay all beings are necessary existence in relation to His divine essence. Any one being is no better than any other in its existence, but they are all of one quality according to their organization, integrity, excellence and perfection, as nothing could be better than themselves in their species, except in the continuum of the System of Cosmogony, in which anything the least in touch with God is more sublime, contrary to the Eschatological System in which the Primal Matter is more sublime inasmuch as it is in touch with the deity. Thus it is obvious that all the beings, in their species, are equal and the differentiation of sublimity or degradation does not affect them; so to say that one is not superior to the other.] Thou hast given to men an Intelligent Soul which, if purified by knowledge and good deeds, becomes like angels [and gains the highest reward]. When the temperament of mankind is equable and receives no contrary, it becomes like the heavenly bodies [in receiving the Intelligent Soul]; and when it is

immune from matter, it becomes like angels [in the perception of Intellectuals and in simplicity (uncompoundedness) which makes the human life immortal]. O Thou our Lord, the Creator and Lord and Creator of the First Cause, we desire Thee, we adore Thee, we demand from Thee and rely upon Thee, as the beginning of everything has emanated from Thee and everything is to return unto Thee.

APPENDIX I.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

قال الشيخ الفاضل والحكيم الكامل ابو الفتح عمر ابن الخيام لقد استدعى منى
جماعته من الاخوان باصفهان فى سنة اثنين وسبعين واربعمائة ترجمته الخطبة التى
انشأها الشيخ الرئيس ابو على بن سينا قدس سره فاجتبهم الى ذلك واقول .
پاکا پادشاها . دادار و ایزد کامگار . خداوندی که آغاز همه چیزها ازوست .
وبازگشت و انجام همه چیزها بدوست . و ایزد جل جلاله جوهر نیست که بپذیرفتن
اضداد متغیر گردد . بیايد دانست که نه هر جوهری ضد پذیر باشد (p. 2) چون
ملایک و چون اجرام سماوی . بل چون صور که صور جوهرند و اضداد پذیرند .
ولكن این سخن خطایست ، [On the margin ای مفید للتصديق الخبر الحازم]
که این بزرگ میگوید . و ایزد جل جلاله جوهر نیست که نشاید وضعی ویرا و
دیگر چیزها را بود باشتراك . وی زیر هیچ جنس نبود زیرا که در ذات او تکرر
نیست . نه باعتبار عقلی که حد ذات او بدو متکرر شود . چون حد بیاض بلونیه
و کیفیه . و نه نیز بترکیب اجزا چون جسم بماده و صورة . و این اسماء و معانی که
بر ایزد اطلاق کنند و بر غیر او چون موجود و واجب اوصاف نیست لوازم اعتباری
که تکرر بدو حاصل نشود چون اکثر اسماء اضافی و سلبی که اگر سبب ذات
متکرر شدی لازم آمدی که هر موجودی را اوصاف بسیار بودی نامتناهی
و این محال باشد . و عرض نیست که وجود جوهر پیش از وجود وی باشد . و بکم
اش وصف نکنند که تقدیر پذیر شود . و اور اجزا باشد و نه بکیف تا مانده
شود . نه بمضاف که ایزد را بوی وصف نشاید کرد . مضاف حقیقی است . زیرا که
همه چیزها را آغاز و انجام ازوست . و وی را همه چیزها اضافتست . آن اضافت
که بسبب وی (p. 8) تکرر لازم نیاید . و این بزرگ چنین میگوید که او از
مقوله مضاف نیست و آنکه بدو اضافت نباشد . و بکجائی اش وصف نکنند تا
محاط باشد . و بکیتیش باز نبنند تا از مدتی به مدتی انتقال کنند . و نه بنهاد و
وضع تاهئیت مختلف بروی در آید . و حدودش باشد و نه به جده که چیزی بروی
شامل گردد . و این مقوله جده بنزدیک خواص صناعت چون جامه پوشیدن
و سلاح و نمل و خاتم داشتن بود که بر کل جوهری یا بر بعضی ازوی شامل گردد
و بحركة آن جوهر منتقل گردد . و اگر بمقوله جده چیزی خواهند که عام ازین

باشد و تکلیف نکنند آن نباید زیر قن رو با فعالیتش وصف نکند الا ابداع کردن
 بیاید دانست که مذهب حق آنست که همه ایجادها از خداست اگر با ابداع
 باشد آن ایجاد یا باحادث و ابداع ایجاد کردنی باشد که ابتداء زمانی ندارد.
 واحداث ایجاد کردنی باشد که ابتداء زمانی دارد. و لکن این ابداع بدین فعل
 که اینجا گفته است ابداع خواسته است که فیضان او از ذات باری تعالی بود
 بی واسطه حرکت. و حرکت و زمان را بدور راه نیست بلکه زمان از وی بوجود
 آمده است. و اندر جسمانیات باشد از فلک اعلی تا مرکز عالم. و زمان مقدار
 [p.4] حرکت اعلی است. و تقدیر کردن آن حرکت بتقدم و تاخرو بودن این
 اجسام سفلی در تغییر و کون و فساد از جهت حرکات سمویات است. و دهر چون
 ظرفیست زمان را. و گوئی بر جمله زمان محیط است. و نسبت دهر نسبت
 ملائکه کنند بزمان و اجزاء زمان و زمانیات که ایشان سرمدی اند و متغیر
 نشوند هرگز. و جای پس از زمان پدید آمده است که حد نهنده اوفلک است.
 و بیرون از فلک هیچ موجود نیست نه خلا و نه ملا. یکی از آن روی که تقدیر
 و اجز پذیرد. و یکی از آن رو که نظیر و ضد ندارد. و یکی بذات و نعت و کلمه
 و عدد. کا مگار نیست که عدم را بوجود قوی کند. داداری است که قوه را
 بفعل آرد. ممکن را واجب گرداند. قوتش نامتناهی است از روی احکام و اتقان
 و شدة. و بعضی از موجودات را نگاه دارد و بمذتی نامتناهی. و بعضی که احتمال
 بقاء نامتناهی نکند عده اشخاص نامتناهی بعدد کند. حکمش همه موجودات
 را بر نیکوترین نظامی گردانیده. و رحمتش را نموده است همه موجودات
 را سوی یافتن کمال خویش. ممکن نبود که چیزها نامتناهی بعدد موجود گرداند.
 [p.5] یکبار همچنین ممکن نگردد که جسم بی واسطه از ذات ایزد
 حاصل الوجود گردد. زیرا که جسم مرکبست از ماده و صورت و در ذات ایزد جل
 و عز هیچ تکثر نیست. و چیزی که متکثر باشد از واحد موجود نیاید بی واسطه.
 اما ملایکه که واجب الوجود گشته اند بوجود ایزد ایشان ممکن الوجود اند در
 حد نفس خویش. پس همه متکثر باشند زیرا که بحسب اعتبار عقل ایشان را دوری
 باشد متقابل و لکن در وجود بسیط اند. و احدی الذات فایض با بداع از ذات
 باری عز وجل. وجود جواهر روحانی که در زمان و مکان در نیاید صورتها
 محض اند که با ماده مخالطة و علاقه ندارند و هیچ معنی در ایشان نیست
 بلکه همه بسیط اند و سرمدی. و بمطالعه ایزد شریف گشته اند. ایزد مثال

واجب الوجود را در ذات ایشان نهاد با فعال او ظاهر. پس هر یکی را بوجوب وجود که از ایزد یافته بود واسطه وجود ملکی کشت و افلاک پدید آمد. اجسامی خدا پرست و نورانی که اشکال شایسته فاضلترین اشکال است مدور. و از ایشان نیکوترین الوان است منور. و صوره شایسته بهترین صوره است که نه نظیر دارد و نه ضد. و بیاید دانست که هر جسمی سماوی که حرکت [p. 6] وضعی کند اونوعی دیگر است و از نوع او جز شخص او نتواند بود. و کون و فساد نپذیرد. و بالاترین افلاک فلک معدل النهار است و فلک البروج که معدل فلک استوا است و تعویج. و اگر همه ستاره بودی و فلک نبودی بسیاری روشنی علقه کون و فساد این عالم را تباه کردی. و اگر فلک بروج از معدل النهار میل نداشتی احوال همه عالم یکسان بودی و ترتیب و نظام نبودی. پاکا. خدا یا. که همچنانکه قوه نامتناهی است جودت دردادن وجود هیچ باقی نگذارد. و ممتنع بود که نامتناهی بیکبار موجود گردد مگر پراکنده. پس هیولی را ابداع کردی که او را قوه پذیرفتن نامتناهی است چون قوه تودر دادن. و خداوند اتقادی که بدان منقاد شود فاعل کون را بجیزی که بدان عاصی شود فاعل کون را. پس گرمی را نماسازنده آفرید و سردی را گرد آورنده رطوبت اتقیاد را و ویوست عصیان را. و ازین چهار رکن ازلین بیافریدی. چون آتش و هوا و آب و زمین و گرم ترین را برجایگاه برترین فرود [p. 7] آوردی از بهر آنکه اگر سردی آنجا بودی گرم گشتی بمرکز فلک. و هیچ کاشی نماندی که نه تباه شدی از جهت غلبه گرمی بزرگ عناصر هم بقوت و هم بجایگاه. و این سه عنصر بالائی را بی رنگ آفریدی و اگر نه شعاع را راه نبودی تا در ایشان بگذشتی. بیاید دانستن که این سخن مجازی است از بهر آنکه شعاع را انتقال کردن و در چیزی گذشتن نبود. و لکن چون جسم روشن در برابر جسمی روشنی پذیر باشد که میان ایشان جسمی بی رنگ باشد یا جسم روشن بدین مستعدی روشنی پذیرفتن شود. و ایزد تعالی روشنی در وی بیافرید و لمیت این سخن عقل بشری در نتواند یافتن. و زمین را رنگی دادی میان سپیدی و سیاهی تا روشنی پذیر باشد. و چون روشن شد گرم گردد. و گرمی عزیزی که این گرمی سبب وجود صورتها طبعی است عناصر بسیار مرکبات بیافریدی از جماد و معادن و نبات و حیوان و مردم. و هر یکی را در شرف و خست مرتبتی دادی محدود. و غرض در آفرینش این

ارکاب مردم بود . و از فضائل او دیگر چیزها بیافریدی تا هیچ چیز از هیچ چیز پذیرنده نماند نشود . و همه موجودات بحق خویش رسند . بیاید دانستن [p. 8] که ایزد عز و علا را در هیچ چیز غرض نباشد که غرض از عجز و نقصان صاحب غرض باشد و خیر آن غرض با ذات او گردد . بلکه همه موجودات واجب الوجود اند باضافه باوجود ایزد تعالی . و هیچ موجود از دیگری اولیتر نیست بوجود بلکه بر همه صفتی اند از نظام و اقیان و نیکوئی و تمامی که از انب بهتر نشاید که آن نوع بود . و لکن در سلسله نظام مبدائی که هر چه میان او و میان ایزد جل جلاله واسطه کمتر است او شریفتر است . و در سلسله نظام معادی هر چند در میان او و میان هیولی واسطه بیشتر است آن شریفتر است . پس پدید آمد که همه موجودات در تمامی نیکوئی در نوع خویش یکی اند . و تفاوت در شرف و خست افتاده است . نه آید آنکه یکی اولیتر است بوجود از دیگری . و مردم را روان گویا دادی که اگر آنرا پاکیزه گرداند بعلم حق و عمل خیره مانند ملئکه و ثواب عظیم یابد . و چون مزاج نوع انسانی معتدل بود واضداد نداشت مانند اجرام سماوی گشت در پذیرفتن نفس ناطقه . و چون از ماده مفارقت یافت مانند ملئکه گشت در ادراک معقولات . و در بساطت تابقاء جاویدی او را [p. 9] لازم آمد . خداوند ما و آفریدگار ما و خداوند و آفریدگار مبادی تا ترا خواهیم و ترا پرستیم و از تو خواهیم و توکل به تو کنیم که آغاز همه چیزها از توست و باز گشتن همه چیزها بتوست . والسلام علی سیدالانام محمد و آله البررة الکرام .

APPENDIX II.

هذه خطبة من انشاء الشيخ الرئيس ابى على بن سينا

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

سبحان الملك الجبار - الاله القهار لا تدركه الابصار - ولا تمثله الافكار -
 لا جوهر فتقبل الاضداد متغير - ولا عرض فسبق وجود الجوهر - لا يوصف بكيف
 فيشابه ويضاهى - ولا بكم فيقدر ويحصى - ولا بمضاف فيواري في وجوده الحاوى
 ولا بأين يحاط به يحوى ولا ينتهى بمنتهى قتنقل من من مدة أخرى - ولا بوضع
 مختلف عليه الميعات ويكشفه الحدود واليهابات - ولا بمجدة فيشتمل شامل -
 ولا بانفعال فيغير وجوده عامل - ولا بفعل الا ابداعا - وير تقع من محل الزمان
 ارتقايا - الزمان عنه في الامكنة الا على - وناحية الجوهر الادنى - وفي عند
 اشتغال الحركة على متقدم ومتأخر - ووجود الجسم في تبدل وتغير - والدهر
 وعام زمانه - ونسبة مبدعاته الى اختلاف احيائه - والمكان بل الزمان وجودا
 ولجده - او ايل علل الزمان تحديدا واحدا لا يتقسم تعديدا - ولا حدا واحدا
 لا يقارن نظيرا - ولا ضدا واحدا ذاتا ونعتا وكلمة وعددا - قهار للعدم بالوجود
 والتحصيل - جبار لما بالقوة وبالفعل والتكيل - ذى قوة غير متناهية شدة
 وفي المقوى عليه عدة ومدة - وحكمه هيأت لكل شئ اسباب فعاله - ورحمته تهدي
 كل شئ الى خصائص كماله - ذات يفيض عنه وجود كل موجود - وترتب
 الموجودات عنه بترتيب مقدر محدود - وليس في طباع الكثرة ان يكون
 (يوجد) معا - ولا في قوة الجسم ان يظهر عنه مبدعا - كل مبدع واجب الوجود
 بوجوده - ووجوده ممكن في حد نفسه - ويظهر عنه وجود جواهر روحانية
 لامكانية ولا زمانية - صور عارية عن المواد - خالية عن القوة والا استعداد
 تجلى لها فاشرفت - وطالعا فتلا لأت - والقي في هوياتها مثاله - فأظهر عنها امثاله
 فكان لكل واحد بما له من الاول وجود ملك - وبما تحقق (تحقق؟) من ذاته وجود فلك
 وابدع بتوسطهن اجساما ربانية يشتمل اكثرها عن اجسام نورانية - اشكالها
 افضل الاشكال وهو المستدير - والوانها احسن الوان وهو المستنير - وصورها افضل
 الصور لبرأتها عن الاضداد - وامنها من التغير والفساد - بين فلك فلكي معدل
 النهار والبروج فلك الاستواء والتعويج - فلوكن افلاكا بلا نيرات دون النجوم لما
 اختلف الاوقات الفاعلة لنشوا الحيووات والنبات - ولوكن نيرات بلا افلاك

لأزهر اثبات الاضواء وعلل الكون والفناء. ولولم يكن الفلك المائل عن معدل النهار لأستوت الفصول وتشابهت احوال النواحي والأقطار - سبحانه سبكانك كنت ذا قوة غير متناهية - وجود لا يبقى في اعطاء الوجود من باقيه - وكان تمتعا وجود ما لا يتناهي ان يوجد معا - وان يوجد الا مقترقا لا مجتمعا - فابدعت الهيولى الاولى ذات قوة غير متناهية في الانفعال كأنك ذو قوة غير متناهية في الفعل وعلمت ان الكون والفساد - لا يكون الا بجمع ومبدد وذى اقياد - والكون والا ستقصاء على المفسد - خلقت الحرارة مبددة لذاتها - والبرودة جامعة في صفاتها - والرطوبة لينقاد بها الاجسام للتخليق والتشكيل - واليبوسة لتمامها لها على ما افدت من التقويم والتعديل - خلقت منها العناصر الاولى - واسكنت مخفيها المكان الاعلى - ولواسكتها العنصر البارد يسخن بحركته الفلك - ولما بقي كأن الأهلك - لاستيلا الحرارة على سائر الاركان بالقوة والمكان - وخلقت العناصر العلى ذات اشفاف بالطباع والا لا تمتنع عن النفوذ فيها ساطع الشعاع خلقت الارض ذات لون عبراء - والا لما وقف عليها الضياء الذى هوعلة الحرارة الفريدة الفاعلة للتصور الطبيعة - خلقت منها جمادا ونباتا وحيوانا اشتاتا - فتكون وفاسد ومتولد ومتوالد - والغرض المقدم فيها خلقه الانسان - وخلقت من فضائله سائر الاكوان - لئلا يفوت عناصر حقه - ولا يقصر من قابل فسخره - وخلقت الانسان ذات نفس ناطقة - ان زكاها بالعلم والعمل - فقد شابه لها جواهر اوائل العلل - واذا اعتدل مزاجه - وعدم الاضداد - فشاكل به السبع الشداد - واذا فارق صور القوايل فشاكل بها العلل الاوائل - ربنا ورب سادتنا - اياك مزوم ولك نصلى ونصوم - وعليك المولى وانت المبداء الاول - نسالك التوفيق والعصمة والتبينه عن الغفلة - وافاضة الهداية - وكشف الشبهة - انك وفى ذلك ومبدآه واوله - والحمد لله عليه ومستحقه - والصلوة على نبيه محمد خير خلقه وصحابه اجمعين -

THE HOUSE OF ALTUNTASH KHWĀRAZM SHAH PART II

1. Hârûn, 2. Isma'îl, 3. Shâh Malik their enemy
and successor

BEFORE speaking of Hârûn and his brother Isma'îl, called Khândân, at greater length, let me briefly dismiss the other two sons of Altuntash Khwârazmshâh i.e., Rashîd and Sati. Rashîd is mentioned in the *Târikh-i Bayhaqî* only twice: once (p. 621) when the news of the massacre of the murderers of Hârûn at the hands of Isma'îl and the allegiance of the Kingdom of Khwârazm to him is reported to Mas'ûd on the 5th of Sha'bân, 427 A. H., Rashîd was imprisoned in Ghaznî; and, again, (p. 622), when he was sent in fetters to Lahore to be imprisoned there, after the departure of Majdûd for Lahore on the 4th of Zî'l-Qa'da of the same year. As for Sati, called also Sati Tamyîz by Abu'l-Fazl Bayhaqî (page 437), and wrongly mentioned as Rasti (pp. 404, 408), his disappointment at the selection of Hârûn for the Deputyship of Khwârazm has already been mentioned, while it has also been related how Ahmad Hasan suggested to Mas'ûd to give him a Khil'at in order to appease his father and how Mas'ûd gave him the Khil'at. In the Bibliotheca Indica edition (p. 498) a little space is left after the news of the reduction of Benares by Mas'ûd's forces, and then these words follow (p. 499), "And that youth was buried. The Amîr was very sad as he was a very cultured, brave, tall, handsome and able man, with only the defect of drinking for which he gave his life. And the worst was that mischief-mongers wrote confidential letters to his brother Hârûn Khwârazmshâh* that it was by the connivance of the Amîr that his brother was thrown off the terrace and killed, and that the same would be done with every one of Khwârazmshâh's sons." Now the hiatus left in this edition

*It must be noticed that it is not correct to call Hârûn Khwârazmshâh as it was the title of Amîr Sa'id, son of Mas'ûd to whom Hârûn was Deputy (see p. 439) and was snatched by Hârûn afterwards when he had his name inserted in the Khutbah.

is supplied by the Tehran edition and runs thus: "The incidents which took place in the meantime: Sati, son of Altuntash Khwârazmshâh came one day intoxicated to the roof for recreation. Accidentally, he fell off the roof and died." To return to Hârûn. He was a Rafi'î on his mother's side. His father had married the daughter of Rafi'î Ibn Sayyâr, the Amîr of Khurâsân before Ya'qûb ibn Leyth, while he was with Mahmûd in Harât before he got Khwârazmshâhi. He stayed in Khwârazm in absolute loyalty to Mas'ûd till Ahmad Hasan Maymandî died in Safar,¹ 424 A.H. and Ahmad 'Abd al-Samad² was appointed Minister in his place in Jumâda I of the same year. When Ahmad left Khwârazm he left³ Bu Nasr Barghash in his stead, informing Mas'ûd that Hârûn was very wise and self-controlled and would remain the same in his absence. 'Abd al-Jabbâr, son of Ahmad 'Abd al-Samad, was given his father's place in Khwârazm. Hârûn became powerful until it was reported⁴ by Suri from Khwârazm that he was supporting the Turkmâns in their atrocities on the borders of Marv, Sarakhs, Badghis and Baward and had settled with 'Alî Tigin to go himself stealthily from Khwârazm to Marv, and 'Alî Tigin to Tirmiz and Balkh and meet each other. In the meantime 'Alî Tigin died⁵ in 426 A.H. and was succeeded by his sons. Hârûn joined hands with them and it was decided that they should join him in Marv via Andakhud, when they had plundered Chaghaniyan and Tirmiz. They plundered Chaghaniyan, but when their general Avkar was killed in the siege of the Fortress of Tirmiz, and they also heard of the death of Hârûn, they fled from Tirmiz and thence to Samarqand via Darrah-i-Ahani. In the month of Rajab,⁶ Hârûn's murder and the retreat of his forces from Marv to Khwârazm was reported to Mas'ûd. He was immensely pleased with the news and commended Ahmad 'Abd al-Samad as the murder was devised by him.

Abd al-Jabbâr,⁷ the Secretary of Khwârazm, had acquired supremacy in the kingdom on account of his father being the Minister, and rendered Hârûn and his people helpless. Hârûn was miserable, became restless, was led away by mischief-makers and convinced that his brother Sati was

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- (1) p. 451.
 - (2) p. 462.
 - (3) p. 461.
 - (4) p. 553.
 - (5) p. 576-7.
 - (6) p. 578.
 - (7) pp. 854-67.

intentionally thrown off the roof. Khurâsân was invaded by the first Turkmâns, as the Seljuqs had not yet come; and, moreover, an astrologer had told Hârûn that he would be Amîr of Khurâsân. He believed him, started flouting the orders of 'Abd al-Jabbâr, objecting to his actions and in the Court of Justice interrupting his conversation until things came to such a pass that one day, in the Court of Justice, he shouted to 'Abd al-Jabbâr and silenced him. 'Abd al-Jabbâr went back enraged; they embraced each other, after all, and a "Wolf-friendship" was again brought about. 'Abd al-Jabbâr used to complain but his father could not help him because Mas'ûd did not hear anything against Hârûn and used to quarrel with the Minister, and Hârûn had captured the road so as not to let anyone write anything contrary to his interest and had bribed the Reporter who wrote as dictated by him. His activities were hidden until he had about 2000 pages ready, with an umbrella and the black ensign, and attained the despotism of kings, rendering 'Abd al-Jabbâr inert. His people and contingents began to pour in from all sides, his envoys were sent to 'Alî Tigin and other nobles; he revolted, and the Turkmâns and Seljuqs became one with him as it was the custom that every year they used to come from Nûr Bukhâra to Andarghaz and stay there long. Things went so far that Hârûn kept watch over 'Abd al-Jabbâr who had spies upon Hârûn and wanted to escape and hide himself but found it very difficult. At length, on Wednesday, the 1st Rajab 425 A.H., he left his house with one trustworthy servant, at dead of night, without the knowledge of anyone, and went to the house of Bu Sa'îd Sahl with whom he had arranged and who hid him in an underground, cold room dug secretly in the summer for this purpose. The following day Hârûn was informed of the flight of 'Abd al-Jabbâr at night. Worried and embarrassed, he despatched horsemen on all sides, but they came back without having found any trace. It was announced in the town that the occupant of the house in which he was found would be cut in two. The search was made, no trace was found, Bu Sa'îd was accused, his house, land, property—all were confiscated, and everyone connected with him was uprooted. The news was reported to Mas'ûd who was upset and, above all, angry with the Minister that Khwârazm went because of his son. The Minister knew that his son had had his house and property looted, but he could not say a word. Long afterwards the Amîr came to understand that Hârûn would turn a rebel as a letter came that Bu Nasr Barghashi had been given the Ministry by Hârûn on Thursday, Sha'bân the 27th or 28th 425 A.H. It was

followed by another about the reading of the Khutbah in his name on Friday, Ramadân the 23rd, striking out the Amîr's name and inserting his own. Spies were appointed, and messengers used to come from Ahmad with the details of Hârûn's activities. Mas'ûd was utterly bewildered, as Khurâsân was rebellious and it seemed impossible to retain Khwârazm. He consulted the Minister and Bu Nasr Mushkan in private and sent letters to the army in Khwârazm to put an end to Hârûn; but all in vain.

Tughril, Dâ'ûd, Yinalis and the Seljuqs came to the territories of Khwârazm to reinforce Hârûn with immense forces, tents, camels, horses and sheep, Hârûn gave them pastures, select spots in Rubat,* Masnah and Shirah Khan (Sic), fodder and presents, and said, "You take rest as I am going to Khurâsân and making preparations for it. When I set out, you leave your luggage safe here and go with my vanguard." They settled there safely and gladly, as, when 'Alî Tigin died they began to detest his sons and could not go to Nûr Bukhâra and its neighbourhood. There was an old prejudice, malice and blood feud between these Seljuqs and Yinalis and Shâh Malik, and Malik Shâh had appointed spies. When he heard that they had settled down there, he set out from his territory of Jund for the desert, attacked them unawares with a great force early in the morning, and, in Zî'l-Hijja 425 A.H., three days after the 'id, surrounded them tightly, killed seven or eight thousand of their horsemen and took away a vast amount of gold, horses, and captives. The fugitives crossed the Jayhun from Kazkhwarah on ice as it was winter, and went to Rubat-i-Namak with their horses unsaddled. Adjoining the Rubat there stood a big village inhabited by a large population. The news reached them, the youths arose in arms and said that they would go and kill them, relieving the Muslims of them. There was an old man of ninety highly respected by the people who said, "O young men! Don't kill the vanquished who come to you for refuge as they themselves are killed, having no wives, sons, people or cattle."

When this news reached Hârûn, he was very sad. But he did not show his feelings. He sent a man secretly to the Seljuqs and asked them to come along with other people as he still held fast to his pact with them. The message gave them heart, they came back to the baggage from the Rubat, their sons, retinue, armaments and cattle increased in

*p. 439.

numbers; they started making preparations. Hârûn sent an envoy to Shâh Malik with this message: "You came and destroyed people who have been connected with me and have been my troops. Had they taken the initiative in these activities, you, too, would have retaliated. Now you must see me so that we may come to an agreement with each other and the ill-feeling and enmity subsisting between you and the Seljuqs may be removed by our efforts, as am going on an important expedition and would take Khurâsân." Shâh Malik replied: "Very well! I shall be on this bank of the river Jayhun; you, too, come to that side of the river in order to exchange envoys and negotiate. When an agreement is reached, I will come to the centre of the river in a small boat, and you too, come in the same way. We shall see each other and I will give you a huge force of my own to help you in your pending expedition. Then I will return to Jund, provided you say nothing to me about making peace with the Seljuqs as the two parties are at daggers drawn and thirsty for each other's blood and I shall kill them and see what comes out." Hârûn was comforted by this reply and made preparations for going to the meeting with a large force well prepared, nearly 30000 cavalry and infantry, many pages and a large retinue. He alighted opposite Shâh Malik by the Jayhun on the 26th or 27th of Zî'l-Hijja. When Shâh Malik saw all the men and armaments, he was awed and said to his confidants: "We have a great task before us; we have aroused our enemies. The best thing is to bring about 'Wolf-friendship' and return lest something might happen. Fortunately this Jayhun is between us." All agreed; and envoys were exchanged, agreement reached; the chiefs came to middle of the Jayhun, saw each other and hurried back. Shâh Malik, without the knowledge of Hârûn, set out, at dead of night, for the desert of Jund and his kingdom. When Hârûn came to know it, he remarked, "This is a great enemy; he came to Khwârazm, defeated the Seljuqs, met us, brought about peace, and except in winter, when this desert has snow, could not come here from Jund. I am going to Khurâsân and have a huge task before me and when I leave this place my heart will not be worried about it."

On his return to Khwârazm he was all the more busy making preparations for the march. People began to pour in from all sides, Kajar, Chaghraq, and Jinhaj tribes. He supplied the Seljuqs with ponies and armaments and ordered them to stay at Dar-i-Khan, the border of Khwârazm, waiting for his arrival 5 or 6 manzils from Khwârazm, when three or

four thousand of their horsemen should move on to Marv in the vanguard and he would come behind them.

These tidings used to reach Mas'ûd from scouts and spies, and he used to consult the Minister and Bu Nasr Mushkan and devise means. The Minister said: "Had it ever crossed any mind that this would accrue from this wretched person? All the sons of Altuntash have turned out filthy and this mean, wretched one the worst of all. But none who took the wrong way and defied his master ever throve. You will see what will happen to this ungrateful person. I have devised a trick and written in code to Bu Sahl Sahlî, in whose house my son is hiding, to spare no money in order to procure men to kill this wretch. They have tried hard in this matter and written to me that they have won over eight of his nearest pages such as armour-bearers, umbrella-bearer, and ensign-bearer to kill him the day he goes out of the town as they can kill him only on the road because of perfect arrangements of Shakar Khâdim in the town. I hope to God this thing will come off. When this dog is killed affairs will be different altogether; his army will disperse and never reassemble." The Amîr said "This is a very good scheme. This old man must be helped and encouraged on our behalf so that Hârûn's task may be completed like that of Hasanak within four or five months."

When Hârûn completed his work and the time of his departure came near, his camp was taken, together with other requisites, and pitched 3 farsangs outside the town. He set out from the town at an ominous moment on Saturday, the 2nd of Jumâda II, 426 A.H., with all his retinue, and rode on, thinking of the capture of Khurâsân. But Fate was laughing at him, knowing that within two days he would be dead. These pages were joined by other pages of the household. Near to his camp, he stopped, Shakar Khâdim was busy getting down, and the pages of the household and valiant footmen were left behind. Then those pages of the household swarmed upon him with sword, dagger and iron-edged mace, threw Hârûn down and, while he was still alive, ran for their lives. The retinue of the pages and Shakar Khâdim arrived all bewildered, took Hârûn up, shouted that he was alive, put him in an elephant-litter and set out for the town. Great tumult and disorder followed, everyone busy with himself, until they reached the town, the strong eating the weak and plundering. All the arrangements were broken, Hârûn was brought to the town; horsemen were sent after the murderers, and after three days' illness, Hârûn breathed his last on Thursday. ,

When the news spread in the town a great disturbance arose, Shakar Khâdim rode his horse, put forward Hârûn's brother Isma'îl called Khândân with all the pages and left the town. On Friday, 20th of Jumâda II, there was a great hubhub in the town and 'Abd al-Jabbâr came out of hiding in order to go to the palace. He stopped at the parade-ground, clarion and trumpet were sounded; his people were coming from all sides where they had been hiding. Shakar dashed back from the outskirts of the town with 500 well-armed pages and went up to 'Abd al-Jabbâr. Had 'Abd al-Jabbâr been kind to him peace might have been established. But he was not. Rather he called Shakar evil names. Shakar ordered the pages to attack and a shower of arrows upon the elephant followed from right and left until he fell off and died. No-one dared to help him. A rope was tied to his feet by idlers and he was dragged round the town. Isma'îl Khândân and the Altuntashîs again gained power and the partisans of 'Abd al-Jabbâr were killed, beaten and annihilated. Men were sent with the tidings to Isma'îl asking him to come to the town. Overjoyed at the news he made presents to the messengers, gave alms and returned to the city. On Saturday, the 7th of Jumâda II, in the morning, Shakar, the pages and the townsmen went to receive him. He came into the city and lodged in the palace. The city was captured, people were appointed in their places, and they were busy all day until dead of night, settling affairs with Isma'îl, making the pact, and giving the "money of allegiance." On the 9th he sat on the throne, giving audience; the army and the nobles came, recognised him as the Amîr, offered money and retired.

When this was reported to Mas'ûd he conveyed his sympathies to the Minister for his supreme mishap and the many who were killed. The Minister proposed to send an envoy to him and write letters with the royal signature to Alptigin Hâjib and other commanders of Mahmûd's time to advise the youngster Isma'îl, if possible. He promised to write himself to Bu Sa'îd Sahlî and Bu'l-Qâsim Iskafî to do what they could. The letters were written in two days, the envoy went and came back with the news that all the State affairs were in the hands of Shakar Khâdim while Isma'îl was busy eating and shooting and none cared for him. Alptigin and others replied humbly and with excuses that nothing but the sword could set the territory right, as all order was upset and Hârûn had ruined it. Mas'ûd was disappointed with Khwârazm as he had so many expeditions in Khurâsân, Rayy and Hindustân.

The Seljuqs were very anxious on the death of Hârûn: they could neither go to Bukhâra, as 'Alî Tigin was dead and his sons were in power there, nor to Khwârazm for the fear of Shâh Malik. So they decided to go to Khurâsân. Only 700 of them crossed the Jayhun, were joined by others later on, plundered Amuy and stayed in Marv and Nasa. When Shâh Malik came to know of this, he sent an envoy to Isma'îl with the message:—

“Hârûn strengthened the Seljuqs who were my enemies and whom I defeated, routed, ruined and rendered homeless, and he aimed at the Sultan of this kingdom making them the vanguard. But God did not like it, and he suffered what he suffered. Now the Seljuqs have gone to Khurâsân, and if I had any pact with Hârûn it is over and to-day there is the sword between me and you. I am coming to capture Khwârazm and rout you ungrateful folk. Be ready! When I finish with you I shall go to Khurâsân and exterminate my Seljuq enemies one and all, in my service and allegiance to the Sultan, as I know that the master will not grudge me this kingdom when I shall have performed such a service and turned the enemy out of his territory.”

This wind was blown in his head by Ahmad 'Abd al-Samad with the result that Isma'îl and Shakar fell and he took the vengeance of his son and people. However, Shâh Malik, too, fell a victim, as was mentioned in the reign of Maudûd* (i.e., the last portion of Bayhaqî's history). Isma'îl and Shakar realised that the Minister Ahmad was responsible for it; they sent back the envoy of Shâh Malik with harsh words and said, “We are ready. Come whenever possible. It was Hârûn's own fault when he looked at you with such a huge force, and you a weakling, and did not whet the Seljuqs, who were his sword, to rout you; so that to-day you see such a dream.”

After a while the Minister Bu Nasr Barghashî was captured and Bu'l-Qâsim Iskafî was given his position on the 1st of Muharram 428 A.H., with the excuse that Barghashî was in favour of Mas'ûd. Ahmad 'Abd al-Samad used to give him the help of Shâh Malik, with advice, an envoy and royal letters, until, when the Seljuqs dominated and put Subashî to flight, the Amîr held a private meeting with the Minister and said, “The tyranny of the Seljuqs is past bounds, and the kingdom of Khwârazm should be given to Shâh Malik so that he may take the bait, overthrow these ungrateful and capture

*Died in 440 A.H. *Kamîl* of Ibn al Asir, vol. IX. p. 182.

Khwârazm, as by his coming we should be relieved of the worry both of the Khwârazmîs and the Seljuqs." The Minister approved of this plan. Letters-patent were written to Shâh Malik with a fitting Khil'at, and Hasan Tabani, one of the secretaries of subordinate rank and a clever old man, who had been on commissions, was appointed with a few horsemen and went with the letters-patent, Khil'at and other letters. A long time was taken up by the exchange of envoys between Shâh Malik and the Khwârazmîs, as Shâh Malik argued that Amîr Mas'ûd was a rightful Amîr according to the Caliph's order and, as he had given the kingdom to Shâh Malik they should evacuate it. The Khwârazmîs replied, on the other hand, that they did not recognise anybody; the kingdom was theirs and it must be snatched from them by force.

Shâh Malik with a mighty force met with in a desert called Asib Isma'il, Shakar Khâdim and the Altuntashîs, on the 6th of Jumada II, 432 A.H. The battle lasted for three days and nights: many were killed on either side, and Hasan Tabani, who was with Shâh Malik, related to Abu'l-Fazl Bayhaqî afterwards that he had been in several battles with Mahmûd, Marv (where he subdued the Khânîs), Harât, Simjuris, Tughril, and others, but he did not remember such a combat as took place between those two factions. In the end, the day was Shâh Malik's; he defeated the Khwârazmîs on the third day at noon prayer-time. They doubled back to the city and took the fortress, but did not fight there as, had they done so, it would have made things difficult task for Shâh Malik. He stopped at the Rubat and defeated them there, stayed for a fortnight burying the dead, curing the injured and exchanging envoys. The Khwârazmîs sought peace and paid some money. Shâh Malik replied that the kingdom of Khwârazm, according to the Caliph's order, belonged to him. By a happy chance another well-armed reinforcement reached Shâh Malik. The Khwârazmîs heard of it and began to lose heart. Shâh Malik was present while they wished him to retire. By a strange coincidence Isma'il, Shakar and the Altuntashîs were frightened of the royal forces, which gave rise to two factions among them. Isma'il and Shakar thought that they would be caught by the hostile party and handed over to Shâh Malik as had been prearranged by Mas'ûd and his Minister Ahmad., and they fled on Monday, the 22nd Rajab, with other Altuntashîs from Khwârazm in order to go to their friends the Seljuqs. That very day Shâh Malik sent a detachment to

pursue them: it went as far as the frontiers, did not find them and came back. Shâh Malik stayed outside the town for twenty-one days until the town returned to normal conditions, and the people arrived for homage and refuge. When sure that the affair was settled, he went into the town and ascended the throne on Thursday, 15th Sha'bân; offerings were made, the town was decorated and the terror subsided. The following day, Friday, he went to the Cathedral Mosque with a cavalry, infantry and a large retinue, and the Khutbah was read in the names of the Caliph, Sultan Mas'ûd and himself, when, strange to say, the Sultân was already murdered in Qalah-i-Kiri (or Kubra')

The Seljuqs did not long put faith in Isma'îl, Shakar and the Altuntashîs. They kept them well for some time, and in the end imprisoned them, God alone knows for what reasons. All the Altuntashîs were insulted and routed as is related in the time of Amîr Maudûd (i.e., the lost portion of the book) in connection with what happened to Khwârazm and Shâh Malik till Shâh Malik, in his faithfulness to the Mahmûdid house, fell into the hands of the Seljuqs, perished, and his women and children fell into the hands of the revolutionaries.

S. M. SIDDIQ.

(Concluded)

NIZÂMU'L-MULK ASAF JAH I

*Nizâmu'l-Mulk posted to Mâlhwâ: Foundation of a
Principality in the Deccan*

BEFORE the accession of Rafi-ud-Darajât, Nizâmu'l-Mulk was offered the sûbedârî of Patna, which he refused to accept because he was led to expect the price of the Government of Mâlhwâ for his neutrality in the struggle between Farrukhsiyâr and the Sayyid brothers. But the presence of Nizâmu'l-Mulk in the capital, after the death of Farrukhsiyâr, was a source of constant anxiety and danger for the Sayyids. Either they had to secure his confidence or to send him away somewhere. They had already won over Muhammad Amîn Khân I'timâd-ud-Dowlah, by confirming him in the office of Second Bakhshî. Sarbuland Khân had been conciliated by the offer of the government of Kabul. For Nizâmu'l-Mulk nothing had yet been done. His influence over the Tûrânî soldiery was considerable. He could, by the force of his personality, impel them to action whenever he liked. That is why the Sayyid brothers thought of sending him away. The Amîru'l-Umarâ even proposed to employ violence against him and assassinate him if he refused to quit the capital. But better counsels prevailed, and a compromise was effected between the Sayyid brothers and Nizâmu'l-Mulk probably through the intercession of Muhammad Amîn Khân. Nizâmu'l-Mulk agreed to proceed to Mâlhwâ, on condition that he should not be recalled from the office on any flimsy pretext.

Nizâmu'l-Mulk left Delhi on 15 March 1719, with his family and whatever property he could carry with him. Many disbanded soldiers who were looking for employment, as well as many of those who did not desire to live under the régime of the Sayyids, including more than a thousand rank-holders and jâgirdars, accompanied him. After reaching Mâlhwâ Nizâmu'l-Mulk set to work to consolidate his position

there, anticipating intelligently the near future when he would be compelled to come out openly against the Sayyids who had usurped all power in the State. He at once began raising troops and collecting artillery and munitions of war. He gave 500 horses with accoutrements and arms to Muhammad Ghiyâs Khân to train and turn his Mughal fraternity into regular cavalry. He borrowed large sums of money from the merchants and bankers of Mâlhwâ and lent them freely to Sheykh Muhammad Shâh, Abu'l-Kheyr Khân, Ismâ'il Khân, Qizilbâsh Khân and other musketeers in order to enable them to better organise their troops. (*Khâfi Khân*, vol. 2, p. 848).

Causes of friction between Nizâmu'l-Mulk and the Sayyids were not long in coming. After he left Delhi, his enemies, envious of his influence, had dinned into the ears of Qutbu'l-Mulk and the Amîru'l Umarâ that Nizâmu'l-Mulk was in secret correspondence with Râjâ Jai Singh Sawâi of Jaipur, and that he was one of those who prompted the rising of Nekusi-yâr at Agra. Moreover the Amîru'l-Umarâ suspected ill-will on the part of Nizâmu'l-Mulk on account of his favouring Marhamat Khân, son of Amîr Khân, Qiledâr of Mandû, whom the former regarded as his enemy. When the Amîru'l-Umarâ, on his way to Delhi, passed through Mâlhwâ, Marhamat Khân, making an excuse of illness, abstained from presenting himself and offering homage to his authority. Being faithful to the salt of the Emperor and ill-disposed toward the Sayyids, he purposely avoided meeting him. The Amîru'l-Umarâ never forgot nor forgave this affront. (*Ibid*, p. 800).

By his haughty and overbearing attitude towards Nizâmu'l-Mulk, the Amîru'l-Umarâ precipitated a clash which was destined to overthrow the authority of the Sayyids. He tried to win over Khwâjam Qulî Khân, a Tûrânî chief of some influence, and to estrange him from Nizâmu'l-Mulk by appointing him Qiledâr of Mandû, in place of Marhamat Khân. He accordingly sent orders to Nizâmu'l-Mulk to bring this arrangement into effect at once. But Marhamat Khân refused to obey the orders of the Amîru'l-Umarâ, knowing full well that the sympathy of Nizâmu'l-Mulk was on his side. The Amîru'l-Umarâ again wrote to Nizâmu'l-Mulk to turn out Marhamat Khân from the fortress of Mandû by force. After a good deal of negotiation between Nizâmu'l-Mulk and Marhamat Khân, the latter agreed to

quit the fort. Muhammad Ghiyâs Khân played an important rôle in bringing about this arrangement and in persuading Marhamat Khân to join the personal service of Nizâmu'l-Mulk. The latter being in great need of capable men, welcomed him in his service. Marhamat Khân also thought that Nizâmu'l-Mulk was the only man who could save him from the fury of the Amîru'l-Umarâ.

A few days after Khwâjam Qulî Khân took charge of the fortress, Nizâmu'l-Mulk was informed that Jagrûp Singh, brother of Jairûp Singh, Zemindâr of Amjada division, in the Sarkar of Mandû, had killed his brother who was a faithful ally of the Mughal Government and served as a barrier in the way of the Mahrâtts crossing the Narbada. His son Lâl Singh, a young man of tender years, came to Nizâmu'l-Mulk, and asked for justice. Muhammad Ghiyâs Khân was forthwith directed to march against Jagrûp Singh who had, in the meantime, forcibly appropriated all the property and effects of his brother. A few days later Nizâmu'l-Mulk himself reached the spot 'quick as a falcon,' and did not even allow him time to take to flight.

Nizâmu'l-Mulk, soon afterwards, employed Marhamat Khân to expel Jai Chand, son of Chatrasâl Bundela who had seized the Mughal fortress of Râmagarh in the vicinity of Sironj and Bhilsa. Marhamat Khân invested the fortress with his Afghan and Rohela soldiers and succeeded in capturing it. In view of this service, Nizâmu'l-Mulk wrote to the Amîru'l-Umarâ as well as to the Chief Minister, to grant pardon to Marhamat Khân and reinstate him in his former office. Instead of appreciating his services and granting him pardon, however, the two brothers gave an altogether false interpretation to this letter and took it as a challenge to their authority. (*Târîkh-i-Muzaffarî*).

Meanwhile, Nizâmu'l-Mulk had received warning by secret letters from Muhammad Amîn Khân, who wrote to him repeatedly, that the Sayyid brothers entertained evil designs against him and that, after quelling the rebellion of Girdhar Bahâdur at Allahâbâd, they proposed marching towards Mâlwa, in order to destroy him. Muhammad Amîn Khân also forwarded to Nizâmu'l-Mulk, a letter bearing the seal of the Emperor and another from Maryam Makânî, mother of the Emperor. They both complained of the tyranny of the Sayyid brothers, saying that "the constraint was so strict

that he (the Emperor) had not even the liberty to go to Friday prayers and to fulfil other religious duties, that they (the Sayyid brothers) in their scheming proposed, after settling the affairs of Girdhar, to get rid of our most faithful friend (Nizâmu'l-Mulk) and thus acquire absolute authority in the State. He (the Emperor) had complete confidence in Nizâmu'l-Mulk, and was sure he would not fail to have regard for the favours bestowed upon his ancestors and that his prudence would never be forgetful of effecting his (the Emperor's) emancipation." (*Khâfi Khân*, vol. 2, p. 851).

The official news-reporters of Mâlwa, evidently being creatures of the Chief Minister and the Amîru'l-Umarâ, started sending alarming reports to the capital as to the intentions of Nizâmu'l-Mulk. It was reported to the Amîru'l-Umarâ that Nizâmu'l-Mulk was levying fresh forces and collecting artillery far in excess of his requirements and that he had made new acquisitions of land in the district of Chanderi after punishing the malcontents of that part of the country. But, as the Amîru'l-Umarâ had his hands full with the affair of Girdhar Bahâdur at Allahâbâd, he waited for more favourable conditions in Northern India before dealing with Nizâmu'l-Mulk.

Having made an arrangement with Girdhar Bahâdur on 3 May 1720, the Amîru'l-Umarâ turned his attention towards Mâlwa. He directed Dilâwar 'Alî Khân, his Bakhshî, to march towards Bûndi in order to chastise Salim Singh, the Zemindâr of Bûndi, who was a partisan of Râjâ Jai Singh Sawâi of Jaipur. Dilâwar Khân was dispatched in the direction of Bûndi at the head of six thousand horse and was instructed to bring about an agreement with Mahârâo Bhîm Singh Hâdâ, promising him the rank of 7000 personal 7000 horse and the title of Mahârâjâ with 'Mâhi Marâtib' (Fish standard, a privilege enjoyed only by Mahârâjâ Ajit Singh in the whole of Râjputâna) if he joined Dilâwar 'Alî Khân against Nizâmu'l-Mulk. After duly chastising the Zemindâr of Bûndi, Dilâwar 'Alî Khân succeeded in winning over Bhîm Singh Hâdâ to his side and concluded a treaty on the aforesaid conditions. Having achieved this, he waited in the territory of Bhîm Singh Hâdâ for further instructions from the Amîru'l-Umarâ. Bhîm Singh Hâdâ brought with him Râjâ Gaj Singh Narwai to fight for the cause of the Amîru'l-Umarâ. Now the combined forces under the command of Dilâwar 'Alî Khân numbered fifteen thousand, ready to act according to the orders of the Amîru'l-Umarâ.

The Amîru'l-Umarâ now thought that the time had come when he should wait no longer to destroy Nizâmu'l-Mulk. First he wrote to him charging him with breach of faith and ordering him to remove Marhamat Khân from his service and to dismiss the extra troops which he had levied without permission, and for which he had no occasion. Nizâmu'l-Mulk replied to all the charges brought against him, saying that he could not, in good conscience, remove a man of the moral calibre of Marhamat Khân from his service, and that he had raised fresh troops in order to protect his provinces from the ravages of the Mahrâtât. This reply could not satisfy the Amîru'l-Umarâ, who this time, sent a royal firmân to Nizâmu'l-Mulk, ordering him to resign the subedârî of Mâlhwâ, as the Amîru'l-Umarâ wished to hold that súbâ for himself, for better arranging the affairs of the Deccan. Nizâmu'l-Mulk was given the choice of selecting for himself any one of the súbâs of Agra, Allahâbâd, Multân or Burhânpur. This arrangement ill suited the interests of Nizâmu'l-Mulk, who was clever and watchful enough to realise that the Amîru'l-Umarâ was now absolutely bent upon destroying him. He employed the interval in making preparations for the imminent contest and also sent a reply to the Amîru'l-Umarâ saying that he objected to immediate resignation from the governorship of Mâlhwâ, as the payments of Rabî harvest were falling due, which were the only source of meeting the expenses of the army which he had raised to check the inroads of the Mahrâtât freebooters. He also reminded the Amîru'l-Umarâ of the agreement between himself and the Sayyid brothers, before he set out for Mâlhwâ. He also stated in this letter that if he had entertained any evil designs against the brothers, he could very easily have joined their opponents at Agra who desired him to espouse the cause of Nekûsiyâr and to overthrow their government. He addressed the following couplet to the Amîru'l-Umarâ: "I swear by faith that I am not a faithless one: I swear by you that I am not like you." (*Siyar*, vol. 2, p. 425).

Meanwhile Nizâmu'l-Mulk received intelligence that the mace-bearers were being sent to enforce his return to the capital and that Dilâwar 'Alî Khân had been directed to proceed against him. He knew that if he desired safety there was no time to be lost. He had to decide quickly and act effectively. Knowing well the obstacles athwart his path, he resolved to engage upon his enterprise in the Deccan.

When first apprised of the intentions of the Sayyid brothers, Nizâmu'l-Mulk had sent his son Mughal 'Alî Khân to Râjâ Jai Singh Sawâî of Jaipur, inviting him to form a concerted plan of action against them. But his son did not bring a reassuring reply from the Râjâ. He now consulted his friends as to their future plans, in view of the menacing situation created by the advance of Dilâwar 'Alî Khân's forces on the frontier of Mâlhwâ and the firmân of recall ordering him to evacuate the territory. He had formed the design of reconquering the Deccan from the Mahrâtts, ever since he had been summoned to the Presence, leaving the viceroyalty of the Deccan to the Amîru'l-Umarâ. Now, there was no alternative open to him except to proceed to the Deccan and seek safety there. He knew the country and its resources and had spent his youth in bringing this part of the country under the suzerainty of the Mughal Sovereign. He finally decided to cross the Narbada, and try his luck there. This resolve was also prompted by the fact that Rânî Râjasbâî, Chandrasen Jâdav and Mubâriz Khân, Nâzim of Hyderâbâd had eagerly implored his aid, promising him their wholehearted co-operation to oust the agents of the Sayyid brothers from the Deccan. Mubâriz Khân, being dissatisfied with the methods and policy of 'Âlam 'Alî Khân, the deputy of the Amîru'l-Umarâ, sent one of his confidants, Muhammad 'Alî, to Mâlhwâ to persuade Nizâmu'l-Mulk to march on the Deccan. (*Futûhât-i-Âsafî*).

In spite of heavy rains, Nizâmu'l-Mulk resolved to cross the Narbada. He set out for Ujjain and, pretending to proceed towards the North, made three marches in the direction of Agra and then abruptly turned southward. He left Mandeswar on 23 April 1720, attended by Marhamat Khân, Abdu'l-Rahîm Khân, Ri'âyat Khân, Qâdir Dâd Khân Rôshanai, Mutawassil Khân, grandson of Sa'du'llâh Khân, Inâyat Khân and others. Nizâmu'l-Mulk was at the head of six thousand horse when he crossed the Narbada at the ford of Akbarpur.* (*Khâfi Khân*, vol. 2, p. 860).

After fording the river, Nizâmu'l-Mulk was joined by Rustam Beg Khân, Faujdar of Bijâgarh or Kanrgâon, and Fateh Singh, Zemindâr of Mankrai. Here he also received the envoy of 'Osmân Khân from the fort of Asîr, proposing

*According to *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, the number of horses was fourteen thousand and according to *Siyar-ul-Mut'akherin*, twelve thousand.

to surrender that fortress. Nizâmu'l-Mulk first turned his attention towards Asîrgarh, which was considered to be one of the most important strongholds in the region. It commanded the highroad between the Deccan and Northern India and had, by its impregnable position, defied the arms of no less a man than Akbar the Great, who was compelled to have resort to gold when the sword failed him. Nizâmu'l-Mulk also, according to the prevailing practice of statecraft, tried to capture this fortress by bribery, considering it to be impossible to reduce it by assault. Moreover, he did not want to lay siege and weaken his force for the possession of this stronghold. He dispatched one of his men, Khusrau, in advance towards Asîrgarh, in order to negotiate and come to terms with 'Osmân Khân and others. Khusrau happened to know several influential people in the garrison. He offered, on behalf of Nizâmu'l-Mulk, to pay the garrison two years' arrears of pay which were withheld by Anwaru'l-lâh Khân, Nâzim of Burhânpur, besides other rich rewards. 'Osmân Khân, Islamu'llâh, Chajjûmal and Mian Râm were all won over by the diplomacy of Khusrau. After concluding terms of surrender, Khusrau went back to Nizâmu'l-Mulk, who again sent him, along with Hâfizu'llâh Khân, son of Nizâmu'l-Mulk's uncle Hâmid Khân (Mu'izzud-Daulah Salâbat Jang) to confirm the agreement, so that there might be no room for doubt. They went to the garrison and reassured their leaders concerning their rewards and safety, and then came back to Nizâmu'l-Mulk. They had promised 'Osmân Khân the command of the fortress which he had insisted on making one of the conditions of surrender. At first Tâlib Khân, the actual commander of the fortress refused to give in, but later acquiesced, finding himself unable to make payment to the garrison, who were actually starving. Marhamat Khân with Sayyid Habîb called on him and succeeded in persuading him to give up the fortress without needless shedding of blood. As before agreed, Marhamat Khân obtained the keys of the fortress on 20 May 1720, and entered it at the appointed time with his forces. (*Khâfi Khân*, vol. 2, p. 865).

Nizâmu'l-Mulk visited the fortress and there left his sons, Ghâziu'd-dîn Khân and Mîr Ahmed Khân Nâsir Jang, and the spare baggage. From thence he proceeded towards Burhânpur, taking with him five big guns and other materials of war collected in the fortress of Asîrgarh. The City of

Burhânpur yielded to him without offering any resistance. It is said that Muhammad Anwaru'llâh Khân, Diwan of Burhânpur who at this time was officiating as Nâzim, for Muhammad Anwar Khân (Qutb'ud-Daulah), resolved to test his strength with Nizâmu'l-Mulk. He posted his men at the gates and on the fortifications of the city to offer resistance. But in the meantime, he was informed that Ghiyâs Khân, Governor of the Province of Berâr, reputed for his valour and statesmanship, had joined Nizâmu'l-Mulk, to whom he was nearly related, and had brought with him an efficient body of troops, which served as vanguard at Lâl Bagh. This dispirited him and he yielded without any resistance whatever. After this Nizâmu'l-Mulk, through Syed Zeynu'd-dîn, Kotwâl issued orders to prevent scenes of plunder and destruction which generally follow on such occasions. When the nobility of Burhânpur came out of the fortifications to receive him, he is reported to have addressed them thus: "The only object of my exertions is to free the Emperor from the tyranny of the selfish people who have placed such strict constraints upon his liberty that he cannot even go to Friday prayers, not to speak of his liberty in other matters." (*Hadîqatu'l-'Âlam*, p. 98).

At Burhânpur Nizâmu'l-Mulk was joined by the men of Sambhâji, son of Râjarâm, who had quarrelled with Râjâ Sâhû and whose mother Râjasbâi had overthrown the ascendancy of Târâbâi and had her son crowned at Panhâlâ, as the rightful heir of Râjarâm. She had invoked the help of Nizâmu'l-Mulk, when the latter was in Mâlhwâ, offering her support if he cared to come to the Deccan. (*Futûhât-i-Âsafî*).

When 'Âlam 'Alî Khân received intelligence of Nizâmu'l-Mulk's march towards the Deccan, he directed Muhammad Anwar Khân (Qutbu'd-Daulah) who was on leave at Aurangâbâd, to proceed to Burhânpur and keep him engaged till he himself arrived with his large army. Râo Rambha Nimbalkar accompanied Muhammad Anwar Khân with his Mahrâtta contingents. This Mahrâtta chief was one of those who had joined the side of the Emperor Aurang-zîb, deserting his own people, and had held high positions for his services to the Imperial cause. After the treaty was signed between the Amîru'l-Umarâ and Râjâ Sâhû, the latter desired that Râo Rambha Nimbalkar should be imprisoned. He was still in prison when news came that

Nizâmu'l-Mulk had crossed the Narbada river. Muhammad Anwar Khân advised 'Âlam 'Alî Khân to release him and send him to Burhânpur with his contingent. (*M'âthiru'l-Umarâ*, vol. 3, p. 806).

When Muhammad Anwar Khân and Râo Ramba Nimbalkar reached the neighbourhood of Burhânpur they were apprised of the fact that Ghiyâs Khân, Governor of Berâr, was waiting for them at Lâl Bâgh in order to intercept their march by sending his troops across the river Tapti. They, however, managed to evade the troops of Ghiyâs Khân in the darkness of the rainy nights and entered the town of Burhânpur. Râo Rambha Nimbalkar who had suffered indignity at the hands of 'Âlam 'Alî Khân took revenge by opening secret communications with Ghiyâs Khân, and finally joined Nizâmu'l-Mulk. Muhammad Anwar Khân, who from the very beginning was half-hearted in his opposition also joined him. Most of his officials, namely, Abdu'l-Rashîd, Zafarmand Khân, Sheykh Muhammad Sâdiq had become partisans of Nizâmu'l-Mulk. So, although he did not like to desert the cause of the Sayyids, he was compelled to do so by the force of circumstances which were beyond his control. (*Târikh-i-Muzaffarî*).

Nizâmu'l-Mulk did not advance further south. He waited at Burhânpur for the pursuing force of Dilâwar 'Alî Khân and collected large provisions and materials of war. In the meantime, he had driven away several Mahrâtta chiefs, adherents of Râjâ Sâhû, who had come out to collect their chauth and sardeshmukî in the vicinity of Burhânpur. He compelled them to leave their military stations and return to Satârâ, the capital of Râjâ Sâhû. The latter felt offended at this, and started making preparations against Nizâmu'l-Mulk.

Nizâmu'l-Mulk was at Buhrânpur when the mother of Safiu'd-dîn 'Alî Khân, half-brother of the Chief Minister and the Amîru'l-Umarâ, unaware of the recent happenings, passed through this city on her way to Delhi, travelling with the family and children of Safiu'd-dîn 'Alî Khân. She was greatly perturbed to find herself in this situation. She sent her agent, named, Muhammad 'Alî, to Nizâmu'l-Mulk, proposing to give up all the jewellery and money she was carrying with her, provided he allowed her to proceed on her way with honour and safety. Nizâmu'l-Mulk considered it

beneath his dignity to take advantage of a woman's helplessness. He showed great consideration towards Muhammad 'Alî, her messenger, conferred on him a robe of honour and sent him back with some baskets of fruit for the children. The lady was allowed to continue her journey without any interference whatever. Nizâmu'l-Mulk ordered one of his officers to escort her up to the river Narbada with a force of two hundred horsemen.* (*Khâfi Khân*, vol. 2, p. 874. *Târikh-i-Muzaffari*).

Meanwhile, Dilâwar 'Alî Khân was receiving pressing letters from the Amîru'l-Umarâ, asking him to keep in touch with the movements of 'Âlam 'Alî Khân in order to overwhelm the forces of Nizâmu'l-Mulk by concerted attacks from two directions. But Nizâmu'l-Mulk was far too clever a general to let the two armies unite against him and expose himself to their joint action. He manœuvred to deal with them separately, one by one. On hearing of Dilâwar 'Alî Khân's march on Buhrânpur, at the head of seventeen thousand well-armed men, he left his spare baggage in the fortress of Asîrgarh and advanced northwards, sending forward his artillery under the command of Ghiyâs Khân and Sheykh Muhammad Shâh Fârûqî. He himself, along with 'Ivaz Khân and others encamped in the vicinity of Ratanpur which was within the territory of the estate of Makrai, some sixteen or seventeen miles from Burhânpur. The camp of Dilâwar 'Alî Khân was not more than four miles from this place. Nizâmu'l-Mulk sent a message of peace to Dilâwar 'Alî Khân, proposing to come to some agreement without needless effusion of blood. The latter, sharing the characteristics of the Bârha Sayyids, namely, overweening pride and ignorance, refused to listen to any conciliatory advice and chose to try conclusions at the point of the sword. (*Khâfi Khân*, vol. 2, p. 784).

It would in truth have been much wiser of Dilâwar 'Alî Khân not to precipitate a battle but to mark time as long as he could with negotiations, in order to allow the army of 'Âlam 'Alî Khân to come up. But, being of a passionate nature, he failed to form a cool judgment of the situation. On the other hand, Nizâmu'l-Mulk was an intelligent student of human nature and a very clever strategist. He knew

*According to *Siyaru'l-Mu'takherin*, Nizâmûl-Mulk gave strict instructions to his officers not to lose sight of her until they had seen her safe in the camp of Dilâwar 'Alî Khân. (Vol. 2, p. 427).

full well that Dilâwar 'Alî Khân, like others of his tribe, lacked constructive statesmanship, that he was injudicious and of rash temper. He also knew that his suggestion of an amicable arrangement would sting him to fury. And it did. Dilâwar 'Alî Khân, with extreme contempt of the enemy, hurled his army impetuously at Nizâmu'l-Mulk's forces. The latter had already planned an order of battle, placing his best men of the light and heavy cavalry in the rear as reserve, and sending the rest of the force out to meet Dilâwar 'Alî Khân's charge, prepared to take advantage of the latter's foolish optimism and rashness. He placed Ghîyas Khân, the two brothers Sheykh Muhammad Shâh and Sheykh Nûru'llâh Fârûqî, and other veterans in the vanguard. Muhammad 'Ivaz Khân, Nâzim of Berâr, Syed Jamâlu'llâh Khân, son of Anwar Khân, and Hakim Muhammad Murtazâ were in the right centre. The left centre was under the command of Marhamat Khân, who had some war-elephants with him. Abdu'l-Rahîm Khân, uncle of Nizâmu'l-Mulk, was posted in the advance-guard of the centre (Iltmish). Muhammad Mutawassil Khân, grandson of Sa'dullah Khân, Ismâ'il Khân Khaishgî, Sa'du'd-dîn Khân, Mîr Ahsan Khân Bakhshî, Kâmyâb Khân and Dârâb Khân, son of Jân Nisâr Khân, were in the centre. Rî'âyat Khân brother of Muhammad Amîn Khân was left at Burhânpur to organise the garrison, while Rustam Beg Khân was serving as rear-guard to Nizâmu'l-Mulk's army. Fathullah Khân Khosrî and Râo Rambha Nimbalkar, at the head of five hundred men, were posted in such a manner as to be able to annoy the enemy by their skirmishes. When Dilâwar 'Alî Khân heard of Nizâmu'l-Mulk's preparations, he is reported to have given expression to certain phrases of silly haughtiness, according to his wont when he was drunk, as he usually was. He expected great things from his picked army of mail-clad Râjputs, who had come with Râjâ Bhîm Singh and Gaj Singh, the Afghan troops of Dôst Muhammad Khân who had joined him in Mâlwa and the contingents of Farhat Khân and Nâhir Khân. He also counted too much on the valour of Bâbar Khân and Shamsher Khân, cousins of the Sayyid brothers who were well-equipped with soldiers, each of whom considered himself to be equal to ten men. (*Khâfî Khân*, vol. 2, p. 877).

Dilâwar 'Alî Khân advanced with his whole army, numbering about eighteen thousand horse, without suspecting an ambushade. While he was leading his men to disaster,

Ghiyâs Khân skilfully simulated retreat. Elated and triumphant he gave chase till he was drawn on to broken ground in the neighbourhood of the village of Hasanpur, about thirty miles north of Burhânpur in the sarkâr of Handia. Here he was obliged to divide his compact ranks. When he came near the concealed reserves of Nizâmu'l-Mulk, he was met by a discharge of musketry, cannon and rockets. This created panic in his forces. Many fell dead on the field, while others fled in terror to seek safety. Dôst Muhammad Khân and his men retreated in dismay. Dilâwar 'Alî Khân was struck by a musket-ball and killed. Râjâ Bhîm Singh and Jag Singh fought with great valour and were slain. This victory speaks highly for Nizâmu'l-Mulk's generalship. Military strategy dictated that the best way to achieve victory over such a powerful enemy was by ambush. He took full advantage of Dilâwar 'Alî Khân's impetuosity and by his cool-headed tactics managed to secure complete victory over his formidable foe. (*Târîkh-i-Muzaffarî*).

Khâfi Khân does not mention any ambushade. According to him the action between Dilâwar 'Alî Khân and Nizâmu'l-Mulk took place in a direct manner. In the beginning 'Ivaz Khân's wing was repulsed by the Bârha contingent. His elephant turned round and caused considerable disorder among his troops. Although wounded, he did not lose his head and continued to conduct the campaign calmly. Qâdir Dâd Khân, Azîz Beg Khân and 'Azmat Khân kept the field in spite of heavy odds. The fortune of the day varied from one side to the other, but the entire aspect of the situation was changed when fresh forces under the command of Mutawassil Khân joined the retreating army of 'Ivaz Khân. Sher Khân and Bâbar Khân who were leading the vanguard of Dilâwar 'Alî Khân were slain. Dilâwar 'Alî Khân himself sitting on an elephant led the assault. Many Bârha Sayyids and Afghans were killed and Dilâwar 'Alî Khân received a bullet in the chest which proved fatal. Dôst Muhammad Khân took to flight but Râjâ Bhîm Singh and Râjâ Gaj Singh, considering it to be a dishonour for their race to leave the field of battle, dismounted from their elephants and sacrificed their lives. Nearly five thousand men on the side of Dilâwar 'Alî Khân lost their lives in the battle of Hasanpur. (*Khâfi Khân*, vol. 2, p. 880).

On Nizâmu'l-Mulk's side there were very few casualties. A few men of lesser fame like Tabrîz Khân, Badakhshî Khân

and Diler Khân *alias* Abdullah Beg, one of the associates of 'Ivaz Khân, fell on the field of battle. Not a single officer of high rank lost his life. 'Ivaz Khân and Muhammad Ghiyâs Khân received wounds. Both these veterans were honoured with presents of elephants and horses and their rank increased. Nizâmu'l-Mulk ordered his surgeons to attend to the wounded. The burial ceremonies of the Muslims who had fallen on the battlefield were duly performed. Râjâ Inder Singh was asked to make the necessary arrangements for burning the corpses of the Râjputs. (*Hadîqatu'l-'Âlam*, p. 100).

After the defeat and death of Dilâwar 'Alî Khân Nizâmu'l-Mulk went to Burhânpur and waited for the movements of 'Âlam 'Alî Khân. Munawwar Khân, fief-holder of Murtazâpur and grandson of Sheykh Nizâm Deccanî joined him there with his contingent. The horsemen who had lost their horses were advanced Rs. 150 each, in order to procure new ones. Those who had lost small ponies were given Rs. 100 in compensation. Nizâmu'l-Mulk stopped at Burhânpur for some time to refresh his soldiery and collect war materials for the impending operations against 'Âlam 'Alî Khân, who was already on his way to Burhânpur. 'Âlam 'Alî Khân came to know of the catastrophe through those Bârha soldiers who had escaped from the battle and had joined his troops. 'Âlam 'Alî Khân had reached Fardâpur, midway between Aurangâbâd and Burhânpur, early in May 1720, at the head of 30,000 horse including 12,000 Mahrâtts. He dispatched his vanguard in the direction of Burhânpur under the command of Mutahawwar Khân. This was done against the advice of experienced Mahrâtta generals who wanted him to return to Aurangâbâd or to go to Ahmednagar and wait for the arrival of the Amîru'l-Umarâ's fresh forces from the North. But 'Âlam 'Alî Khân, in his youthful pride, disdaining retreat and considering prudence to be a confession of timidity, scorned their advice. The Mahrâtta chiefs knew that they had to reckon with a general of valour and experience who had been brought up in the traditions of Aurangzib and against whom much caution was required.

When Nizâmu'l-Mulk heard of the advance of 'Âlam 'Alî Khân, he sent him the coffins of Dilâwar 'Alî Khân and Sayyid Sher Khân, along with a message of conciliation, asking him not to precipitate a contest which would cost many

precious Muslim lives. But 'Âlam 'Alî Khân was determined to try his strength. He advanced from the pass of Fardâpur in the direction of Burhânpur and reached Hartala in the neighbourhood of the river Pûrna. Nizâmu'l-Mulk also marched from Burhânpur towards Berâr, in order to avoid the mire which would have occasioned much delay. The river Pûrna which flows some thirty-four miles south-west of Burhânpur was in a swollen condition. As it was impossible to cross it near Burhânpur, Nizâmu'l-Mulk, in accordance with the advice of 'Ivaz Khân, proceeded up the stream in the direction of Malkâpur in Berâr. After about eight marches 'Ivaz Khân obtained information from the landholders of that part of the country that there was a spot where the river was easily fordable. Nizâmu'l-Mulk crossed the river at the village of Bâlâpur on 20 July 1720. This was looked upon as favourable omen, because it was not so easy to extricate the army from the mire and the swollen river in the rainy season. The Tûrânî soldiery and the other troops of Nizâmu'l-Mulk were inspirited and considered it all to be on account of the latter's spiritual influence. Not a single life was lost, nor any property destroyed in fording the river. Nizâmu'l-Mulk, after crossing the river, waited for one day in order to allow the rear of his army, the artillery, and the baggage to cross safely. Next day he ordered them to select a favourable position at Singâon in the sûba of Burhânpur. (*Khâfi Khân*, vol. 2, p. 887).

The Mahrâtts of 'Âlam 'Alî Khân were directed to ravage the place where Nizâmu'l-Mulk took up his position. Their skirmishes, combined with incessant heavy rains, caused great scarcity and discomfort to the latter's army. If a camel or cow was sent out to graze, it never returned. Prices rose so high in Nizâmu'l-Mulk's camp that his men and animals had to undergo great distress. The roads had become muddy and sticky. It was hardly possible to move about. Nizâmu'l-Mulk was far too clever a general to risk the safety of his men by engaging in a general action until he was on firm ground. He bided his time till the rains abated. Then he ranged his forces in a ruined village not far from Bâlâpur. Up till now he had allowed the Mahrâtts to perpetrate their depredations, but now the time had come to check their inroads. Therefore, Nizâmu'l-Mulk dispatched a column under the command of 'Ivaz Khân, Muhammad Ghiyâs Khân and Râo Rambha Nimbalkar to chastise the Mahrâtts.

The latter were routed and rich spoil fell into the hands of Nizâmu'l-Mulk's men. For three days Nizâmu'l-Mulk gave rest to his army in order to refresh them after the fatigue of the march. He utilised the time in making preparations for a general action. Then he ordered his men to march five or six miles' distance in order to be in a position to procure sufficient fodder and grain. The roads were in a wretched state and the bullocks had grown so weak that several large guns were buried on the way, being too heavy and cumbersome for rapid movement. He chose an advantageous position for disposing his troops and erecting his batteries. He drew up his army in the following manner:

Muhammad Ghiyâs Khân, Muhammad Shâh, Dârôgha of the artillery, Sheykh Nûru'llâh, Yalbruz Khân Agharî, Anwar Khân and others were placed in the advance-guard. 'Ivaz Khân, Jamâlu'llâh Khân and other veterans were appointed on the right, opposing the wing of the Mahrâtta generals of 'Âlam 'Alî Khân. Marhamat Khân, 'Abdu'l-Rahîm Khân, Muhammad Mutawassil Khân, Qâdir Dâd Khân, Dârâb Khân, Kâmyâb Khân, Ikhtisâs Khân (grandson of Khân-i-'Âlam Deccanî) who came all the way from Aurangâbâd to join Nizâmu'l-Mulk. Mutahawwir Khân with a body of Afghan and Persian troops formed the advance-guard of the centre (*Itimish*). Râo Rambha Nimbalkar and Ambûjî, Desmukh of the Pargana of Sanesar, had taken charge of the rear-guard (*chandawal*) and the base camp (*bungah*). Nizâmu'l-Mulk placed himself in the centre (*qûl*) in order to be the better able to conduct and give the lead to the wings.

The disposition of 'Âlam 'Alî Khân's forces was as follows:

Tahawwar Khân Afghan, Amîr Khân, Muhammad Ashraf Khân Bakhshî, Mitthe Khân, Muhammadi Beg, Rafâhat Talab Khân, and Rahmatu'llâh Khân, Dârôgha of artillery, were placed in the vanguard. Ghâlib Khân, son of Rustam Khân Deccanî, Apâjî Pandit, and Mirzâ 'Alî Khân were given charge of the right wing and 'Omar Khân Pannî, nephew of Dâ'ûd Khân Pannî, Amîn Khân, Turk-tâz Khân Tûrânî and Fidâi Khân were placed on the left wing of the army. The Mahrâtta contingents under Santâjî, Nemâjî Sindhiâ, Khandojî Dâbhade, Shankrajî Malhar

and Kanoji were also placed on the left wing. The Mahrâtta soldiers numbered eight thousand. (*Jangnâma*).*

In accordance with directions received from the Amîr-u'l-Umarâ, 'Âlam 'Alî Khân had done his utmost to strengthen his position by buying over as many local leaders of troops and muster-masters as he possibly could. He granted them high ranks and tried to propitiate them by generous gifts. One of them was Muhammadî Beg, who had been Deputy Faujdâr of Gulshanâbâd during the first viceroyalty of Nizâmu'l-Mulk. He was dismissed from service and twice imprisoned by the latter, on account of his maladministration and relations with the Mahrâtta freebooters, with whom he used to share the money exacted from the helpless peasantry. Being inexperienced himself, 'Âlam 'Alî Khân used to follow the advice of Shankrajî, a creature and confidant of the Amîr-u'l-Umarâ, who had been entrusted with the entire civil administration of the six sûbas of the Deccan. It was mainly through the influence of Shankrajî that Muhammadî Beg, Latîf Khân Banwar, Sayyid Walî Muhammad and Muhammad Ashraf were raised to the rank of five thousand, and received rewards of elephants, horses, etc. This must have created heart-burning among those who felt envious of these newly-risen men. This also accounts for the half-hearted attitude of certain nobles of 'Âlam-'Alî Khân during the battle with Nizâmu'l-Mulk. Men like Turktâz Khân Tûrânî, Fidâi Khân and Umar Khân, nephew of Dâ'ûd Khân Pannî, whose blood was still crying for vengeance, besides many others joined 'Âlam 'Alî Khân simply because they could not do otherwise: the exigencies of the situation having left them no other alternative. In fact, 'Âlam 'Alî Khân himself, after the commencement of the engagement,

*The author of this poem is Ghazanfar Huseyn, who was contemporary with the events recorded in it. This work is written in the Deccanî dialect of Urdu and is a sort of elegy, lamenting the martyrdom of Sayyid 'Âlam 'Alî Khân, in the bloom of his youth. The latter is described to be in his twentieth year at the time of his death. Being a handsome young man, with many good qualities, his fate aroused the sympathy of the poet, which found expression in the lines of this poem, at once musical and pathetic. The author, evidently, was a staunch partisan of the Bârha Sayyids as against Nizâmu'l-Mulk. The poem was first published by William Irvine in the *Indian Antiquary* (Jan. and March 1904). But a more complete version, with critical notes, has since been edited by Maulvi Abdul Haq and published by the *Anjuman-i-Taraqqi Urdu*, Aurangabad.

valour and patience, holding his men together against heavy odds. 'Ivaz Khân, Marhamat Khân and Qâdir Dâd Khân came up just in time to stop the rout of their troops. Then the general action began. Great valour was shown on both sides. Mutawassil Khân, son of Hifzu'llâh Khân, who was brought up by Ghaziu'd-dîn Khân Fîrûz Jang, desired to try conclusions personally with 'Âlam 'Alî Khân. He managed to drive his elephant close to that of his opponent. But no sooner had he approached the elephant of 'Âlam 'Alî Khân than he was attacked by ten Bârha veterans riding on their elephants, who fell upon him fiercely and wounded him. By chance, Qâdir Dâd Khân saw this and dashed forth to save the life of Mutawassil Khân. Recklessly he flung himself into the close fight that was going on between the young Mutawassil Khân on one side and the Bârha veterans on the other, and succeeded in extricating himself skilfully, with the young man, out of the dangerous situation. Mutawassil Khân was covered with wounds from head to foot.

The veterans of Nizâmu'l-Mulk's army succeeded in preserving order in their ranks. Muhammad 'Alî Khân, author of the *Târikh-i-Muzaffarî* observes that Nizâmu'l-Mulk, in accordance with the maxim that 'war is a trick, a stratagem,' feigned retreat in face of the assaulting columns of 'Âlam 'Alî Khân. On this occasion he adopted the same tactics which had stood him in good stead against Dilâwar 'Alî Khân. It was mainly due to the able leadership of Nizâmu'l-Mulk and the skilled mobility of his columns that the enemy was lured towards the body of troops, kept in reserve, and consisting mainly of European and Turkish (ahl-i-farang wa rûm) marksmen, highly proficient in aiming guns. The forces of 'Âlam 'Alî Khân were drawn within shot range, and a heavy cannonade produced confusion in their ranks. Ghâlib Khân, Ghiyâsuddîn Khân, Shamsheer Khân, Muhammad Ashraf Khân, Khwâja Rahmatu'llâh Khân, Mitthe Khân, Muhammadî Beg, Sayyid Walî, Syed 'Âlam Bârha, Apâjî Pandit and others fell on the battlefield. 'Âlam 'Alî Khân himself was severely wounded but continued to attack fiercely, regarding retreat as a disgrace. At length his elephant turned tail, but he turned round in his seat in order not to show his back to the enemy. He is reported to have exclaimed on this occasion: "It is the elephant that has turned to flee, not I." (*Khâfi Khân*, vol. 2, p. 895). Already disabled and wounded, 'Âlam 'Alî Khân was slain by the

sword of Ikhtisâs Khân.* Nearly eight thousand men fell on the battlefield. Many Mahrâtâs also were killed, while the remaining contingents took to flight. Shankrajî was found wounded and taken prisoner. Turktâz Khân Tûrânî, 'Uman Khân, Amîn Khân, Fidâi Khân with their men joined the service of Nizâmu'l-Mulk.

On the side of Nizâmu'l-Mulk only Sayyid Suleymân and Nûru'llâh Fârûqî were killed, among important persons. Almost all his generals were wounded. 'Ivâz Khân, Qâdir Dâd Khân, Muhammad Ghiyâs Khân, Muhammad Shâh Fârûqî, Kâmyâb Khân and Mutawassil Khân had all received body-wounds. After the termination of the battle, drums of victory were beaten by the order of Nizâmu'l-Mulk. The latter also ordered that the elephants, artillery and other effects of the defeated army should be appropriated by persons, appointed for that work. This victory established the undisputed supremacy of Nizâmu'l-Mulk in the whole of the Deccan. Mubâriz Khân, Governor of Hyderâbâd, also joined Nizâmu'l-Mulk at Aurangâbâd, with six or seven thousand horse, and offered his allegiance. (*Khâfi Khân*, vol. p. 897).

'Âlam 'Alî Khân's family had taken refuge with the Qîledâr of Daulatâbâd. After his victory, Nizâmu'l-Mulk directed his secretary, Munshî Râm Singh, to write to him, saying: "You have proved your fidelity and merit by giving shelter to the members of 'Âlam 'Alî Khân's family. For this

*Âlam 'Alî Khân's bravery is described in the following lines of *Jangnama*.

"His whole body was pierced like a sieve,
 Whatever arrow struck, he drew out and returned it,
 From wound after wound he twisted and turned,
 The lofty lord was a little weakened,
 Coming to his senses, he used his sword,
 With great force, with greatest skill.
 His friends had left him, all had fled,
 None was on the right hand, none on the left,
 With both hands he wielded his sword.
 He reminded of the scene of Karbala,
 There came a bullet and hit him,
 It was not a ball, it was fate itself,
 He said: "Is there no one to give me a little water?
 Where is the water-carrier, call him to me."
 Nine were gashes of spear and sabre,
 He paid not heed to these hurts,
 This was one man, they a crowd of thousands,
 In the combat his head was severed from its case."

(*Jangnama; Indian Antiquary*, 1904).

you will be rewarded, whatever you desire. You should console 'Ālam 'Alī Khān's people. Whatever happened was in accordance with the will of God. If these people have any desire to live in the Deccan, they may choose any part thereof, and it will be given to them as Jāgīr. But if they want to proceed to Bārha, they will be provided with every facility."

The Qiledār wrote back to say that they desired to go to Bārha. Thereupon Nizāmu'l-Mulk sent an escort of two hundred men to accompany them. They were also advanced ten thousand rupees in cash for the expenses of the journey. (*Ma'āthir-i-Nizāmī*).

When apprised of the news of the defeat and death of Dilāwar 'Alī Khān, the Sayyid brothers (Qutbu'l-Mulk and the Amīru'l-Umarā), had felt apprehensive for the position of 'Ālam 'Alī Khān in the Deccan. They thought of conciliating Nizāmu'l-Mulk by forwarding him an Imperial patent, appointing him the Viceroy of the Deccan. Nizāmu'l-Mulk, being a past master in diplomacy, showed all the customary deference in addressing the Emperor and the Amīru'l-Umarā, explaining to them his position and also justifying his march into the Deccan, in view of the increasing inroads of the Mahrāttās and to protect Amīru'l-Umarā's family.

The Sayyid brothers were still more distressed by the tragic news of the death of 'Ālam 'Alī Khān. It meant the complete frustration of all their designs in the Deccan. They did not know what to do. At length it was decided that the Amīru'l-Umarā should hasten to the Deccan and take the Emperor also with him in order to give an appearance of legitimacy to his cause. Qutbu'l-Mulk was to proceed to Delhi to maintain his authority in Northern India. Muhammad Amīn Khān (I'timādu'd-Daulah), at the head of his Mughal soldiery, also accompanied the Amīru'l-Umarā in his march to the Deccan. He was too dangerous a man to be left behind. As there was no love lost between the Amīru'l-Umarā and Muhammad Amīn Khān, each tried to checkmate the other. The latter engineered a plot, with the help of Sa'ādat Khān, otherwise known as Mīr Muhammad Amīn, who later became Nawāb of Oudh, and Mīr Haidar Qulī Khān Kashgharī, a Chaghtāi Turk in the service of Muhammad Amīn Khān, in order to get rid of the Amīru'l-Umarā. The secret was shared only by Nawāb Qudsiah

Begam, mother of the Emperor. When the Royal army was encamped at Tora, about seventy miles from Agra, the conspirators decided to put their design into action. Mîr Haidar Qulî Khân was asked to draw up a petition complaining of the harsh treatment of Muhammad Amîn Khân. He was to present the petition personally to the Amîru'l-Umarâ. When the latter was coming out of the Imperial quarters in his palanquin, Mîr Haidar Qulî Khân approached him and gave him his petition. He, not knowing of the plot against his life, started reading it. While he was doing so, he was stabbed with a dagger, by Mîr Haidar Qulî Khân. The latter was cut to pieces by the escort of the Amîru'l-Umarâ. On hearing this, the Mughal soldiery assembled under the command of Muhammad Amîn Khân and started killing the partisans of the Amîru'l-Umarâ. At length the latter had to surrender and the victory of the Emperor was proclaimed. The Emperor appointed Muhammad Amîn Khân I'timâd-ud-Daulah his Chief Minister, and honoured him with the additional titles of Wazîru'l-Mumâlik Zafar Jung. His rank was raised to 8000 *zât*, 8000 horse. (*Ibid*, p. 911).

When Qutbu'l-Mulk received intelligence of the death of his brother, he was perturbed beyond description, for he knew well that his own life was in danger. He forthwith set about enlisting fresh troops, with the help of the Bârha Sayyids. He also raised Muhammad Ibrâhîm to the Imperial throne, in order to use him for his designs against Muhammad Amîn Khân and the Emperor. After receiving the news of the latter's march towards Delhi, Qutbu'l-Mulk set out in the direction of Farîdâbâd, from whence he proceeded to Hasanpur, where he encamped. Muhammad Shâh also pitched his tents some six miles from the place. The battle was joined on 13 November 1720. After a most sanguinary struggle, fought with terrific fury, the army of Qutbu'l-Mulk was completely routed. Many were slain on both sides. Qutbu'l-Mulk was taken prisoner and confined in the fort of Delhi. Later he was given poison at the instigation of the Emperor. Thus the latter obtained freedom from the galling tutelage of the Sayyid brothers and took the reins of government into his own hands. Muhammad Ibrâhîm, who had been constrained by Qutbu'l-Mulk to declare himself King, was pardoned.

Nizâmu'l-Mulk, after his victory, proceeded to organise the administration and pacify the country. On reaching

Aurangâbâd, he was apprised of the death of the Amîru'l-Umarâ and the imprisonment of Qutbu'l-Mulk. He took counsel with Mubâriz Khân, on the situation brought about by this unforeseen event. The latter advised him to go to Delhi personally, to offer congratulations to the Emperor. Moreover, the Emperor and his mother had repeatedly promised him, in their letters that, if ever fortune took a favourable turn, he would be given the post of Chief Minister. In view of this, Nizâmu'l-Mulk set out in the direction of Burhânpur; but when he reached Fardâpur he was informed of Muhammad Amîn Khân's appointment to the office of Chief Minister. He marched back to Aurangâbâd, in order to consolidate his authority in the Deccan. Thus he purposely avoided unpleasantness with his cousin, who owed his rise to his as well as to his father's (Ghâziuddîn Khân Fîrûz Jung's) influence and authority.

At Aurangâbâd, Nizâmu'l-Mulk set about organising the different departments of government. He sent back Mubâriz Khân to Hyderâbâd, to look after the administration of that Province, and appointed I'zdu'd-Daulah 'Ivaz Khân Deputy-Governor of Aurangabad. He himself set out in the direction of Bîjâpur, to deal with the unruly Afghan landholders, who had acquired power by extortion and highway robbery. On hearing of his march, they all offered submission. Nizâmu'l-Mulk was busy restoring peace and order and chastising rebels, in the neighbourhood of Tâlikota, when he received the news of Muhammad Amîn Khân's death at Delhi.

Nizâmu'l-Mulk wrote the following letter to Sa'du'd-dîn Khân (Officer in charge of the Imperial household) putting forward his claim to the chief ministership of the State.

"During the Subedari of Malwa, we had the privilege of receiving several personal notes from the Emperor desiring us to engage ourselves to exterminate the malign and the rebellious enemy. The Emperor promised us several times that if we succeeded in this task, the vizierate would be conferred on us and to this effect he already issued a firman in his own handwriting. Praise be to God, in accordance with his auspicious wishes we devoted our life and our property to the Emperor's cause and sacrificed the comforts of home to achieve our object. We undertook the most hazardous transactions, when nobody was coming forward to offer his services or even to help us in any way. Trusting the Divine Will

whose aid is begged, we prepared for action. The enemy outnumbered our forces and possessed a larger number of guns to cannonade, but our men gave evidence of extreme courage and prowess in the various battles in which they were from time to time engaged. By the grace of God and the prestige of the Emperor we invariably won successes over the enemy. The adversity and the hardships we willingly underwent are beyond human endurance. Battles and their exertions have lost all terror for us now. The forces of the enemy have been scattered in various directions like the constellation of the Bear (banât-un-n'ash) and disunion is rife among them. Meanwhile, Husain 'Alî Khân (Amîru'l-Umarâ) was murdered at the instigation of I'timâdu'd-Daulah (Muhammad Amîn Khân) and Qutbu'l-Mulk was left helpless like a bird that has lost its feathers, to be enmeshed in the net. Thus the entire domain was cleared of the ill-wishers of the State. Our intrepidity and sacrifice should bear fruit. We are justly entitled to the vizierate which has not only been promised to us but which we deem our rightful heritage. In view of the agreement arrived at between ourselves and I'timâdu'd-Daulah, the latter would have done better not to claim the vizierate. But human weakness and lack of generous feelings actuated him to put forward his claim and to do what he actually did. He should not have behaved in this manner. This being left behind was odious to us, but in view of our near relationship with I'timâdu'd-Daulah we tolerated this and controlled our feelings. If the vizierate, which is the highest office in the realm to which one can aspire, is conferred on someone else, it will cause us heart-burning and our feelings will be such as cannot lend themselves to description. If such an unwholesome arrangement is brought about, we shall have to resign from the Imperial service. For the present we are busy organising the administration of the Deccan which is in a very disturbed condition. We are proceeding in the direction of Bijapur and have reached Adoni. God willing, we shall soon be free from care and reach the Imperial presence. In the meantime 'Inâyatullah Khân or some other person to whom the Emperor gives preference, may be asked to work as deputy during our absence." (*Insha-i-Musavi Khân Jurat, Asafia MS. 321*).

To show respect to the memory of his deceased kinsman the Chief Minister, he gave the order to stop drum-beating

(*naubat*) for three days. Now, Nizâmu'l-Mulk started his march towards Aurangâbâd to form his future plans. Tafâkhur Khân, Shâh Nizâmu'd-dîn, a well-known sûfî, and Rûhullah Khân, Qiledar of Bijâpur welcomed him at Anandi. Ibrâhîm Khân Pannî, Faujdâr of Kurnûl, 'Abdu'l-Nabî Khân, Faujdâr of Cudappah, 'Abdul Ghaffâr Khân, son of Diler Khân, and others came to offer their allegiance. They were all awarded robes of honour (*Hadîqatu'l-'Âlam*).

Nizâmu'l-Mulk, on reaching Aurangâbâd, received an Imperial firmân, asking him to repair to the capital immediately. There were four candidates for the vacant post of Chief Minister: Haider Qulî Khân, Sarbuland Khân, Burhânu'l-Mulk and Samsâmu'd-Daulah. But the Emperor desired Nizâmu'l-Mulk to fill the post. Inâyatu'llâh Khân Kashmîrî was directed to perform the duties of Chief Minister till the arrival of Nizâmu'l-Mulk from the Deccan. The latter, after having intimated his willingness to accept the offer, busied himself with arrangements for the administration of the six súbâs of the Deccan during his absence. He appointed I'zdu'd-Daulah 'Ivaz Khân as Sûbedâr of the Deccan and entrusted him with his personal seal of authority. (*Târikh-i-Fathiyah*). Diyânat Khân was made Dîwân in place of Fidaî Khân, who took leave to proceed to Mecca; and Asadu'llâh Khân, son of Umdatul-Mulk Amîr Khân was raised to the office of Chief Bakhshî, superseding Muhtashim Khân. It was brought to the notice of Nizâmu'l-Mulk that the misconduct of Mîrzâ 'Abdu'llah and Sheykh Hidâyatu'llâh was causing great suffering and hardship to the people of Burhânpur. He immediately ordered Marhamat Khân, Sûbedâr of Burhânpur, to be transferred to the faujdârî of Baklana, for his negligence and connivance at the mischief. Thus, having assured himself of the efficient and honest discharge of public business in the six súbâs, Nizâmu'l-Mulk set out upon his march to Delhi.

YUSUF HUSAIN.

(Concluded)

THE COINS OF THE BAHMANI KINGS OF THE DECCAN

(The following article deals with over five hundred of the finer specimens of Bahmani coins in my own collection, in the making of which during a number of years I have had the advantage of the help and encouragement of my friend Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, M.A., the Curator of the State Museum of Hyderabad. Mr. M. W. Pickthall has been so kind as to convert the transliteration of the inscriptions in the Index to Plates into scholarly form. In the deciphering and arrangement of the coins a young and gifted pupil of mine, Mr. Syed Nur Muhammad Mahdavi, of whom I have great expectations, has been of the most valuable assistance for the past two years.)

THE coins of the Bahmani line of kings, who ruled over a large region of South Central India during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of the Christian era, have nowhere yet received the detailed consideration which they deserve, whether as evidences of Musulman invasion of remote lands, or for their own intrinsic value as a special field of numismatic interest. The catalogue of the Indian Museum in Calcutta records the possession of only forty-three of the hundreds of varieties in copper, silver and gold, while in the article on numismatics in the last issue of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* mention is not even made of this subject alongside the contemporary coinage of Malwa, Gujarat and Jaunpur.

We find in some catalogues of coin collections that for the sake of a nearer approach to completeness we are given pictures of coins in other collections, and thus a good deal of repetition occurs. In this article I have preferred to illustrate only coins in my own collection which, although large and representative, as it consists of over four thousand specimens, may not be complete in the sense of containing all existing varieties. When the catalogue of the large collection in the State Museum of Hyderabad is published, it will probably be found that our two collections supplement each

other in important details. Then it should be possible to make a census of all the Bahmani coins in public or private collections.

It is indeed one of the most romantic things in a South Indian State full of submerged romance that there should be found still preserved in brilliant condition so many kinds of coins bearing Arabic and Persian inscriptions, many of which were struck over five hundred years ago.

The reason for this is that the coins of dead rulers in India have rarely been called in, and therefore in an old and remote city astonishing varieties of coins are continually turning up, ranging over a period of nearly two thousand five hundred years. On some later occasion I should like to give in these pages some idea of this range and variety as represented in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions. The historical value of these relics goes without saying, and has been amply shown in such books as Sir Walter Elliot's *Coins of Southern India* and Prof. E. J. Rapson's *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*.

The need for a detailed study of the Bahmani coins has been several times emphasised by writers on numismatics, and it was certain words of Charles J. Rodgers in his *Coin Collecting in Northern India*, and later of Mr. C. J. Brown in his little manual on Indian Coins that decided me to do what I could to preserve for students of Indian history as complete a collection as possible of coins issued in this part of India. Of these coins an important section is that of the Bahmani kings.

Writers of a generation ago have told us how before the establishment of the Mint of the Nizam's Government and even later, it was customary to see at the money-changers' large piles of copper coins among which were varieties of those of the Bahmani kings. This is not possible to-day, when the collection of good specimens of old coins is a slow process. They are no longer current, and have been sold in large quantities for reminting and other purposes, so that for an investigator the only way is to find out and buy collections made in previous generations and still retained in old houses. A number of these collections, ranging in number from less than a hundred to several thousands, have come into my possession, and judging from the keenness with which local coins are being sought out, and the increasing difficulty of finding them, it was high time that they were gathered together.

The condition of these coins varies considerably. Those which have been long in circulation are much worn, many of them so that no inscription remains. Some have been dug up from earth that has been flooded, especially from the bed of the Musi river skirting the city walls of Hyderabad, and are solidly caked together. Some lots are green with rust and need careful cleaning before they can be read, and it is a quite exciting relaxation to clear away the stains and accretions of five or six hundred years and see the Arabic words slowly taking form, often in delicately beautiful script. Many of my rarest coins have come from piles of the most insignificant looking old metal. But some of these collections have been made by men who have taken a real pride in their hobby, and treasured the finds they have made as the result of years of wandering the bazars. They contain coins of great beauty and interest, and this is especially true of the copper coins, many of which might have recently minted, were it not for the added beauty of patina and other coloration due to age. It is largely due to the long and patient toil of forgotten enthusiasts that I have been able to bring together a collection of Indian coins larger than those of a number of Indian museums, and, as far as certain sections, including the Bahmani, are concerned, larger than those in any other known collection.

The region in which the coins of the Bahmani kings circulated naturally varied in extent with the powers of the individual monarch. But it always included the greater portion of what is now the State of Hyderabad, and at its greatest stretched from sea to sea, and from the territories of Vijayanagar in the South to the borders of Gujarat in the North. A considerable portion of the territory consists of rocky upland, averaging 2000 feet above the sea-level.

The most striking features of the landscape are the gigantic knobs of granite, on so many of which forts were constructed. The best known of these are Golkonda, comparable to the acropolis at Athens, some five miles to the west of the city of Hyderabad, and Daulatabad,—formerly Deogir—seven miles north of Aurangabad.

At the end of the thirteenth century A.D., the southern part of the peninsula of India, with its immense wealth, formed a tempting field of conquest to the Khiljis ruling in Delhi. There were three main Hindu kingdoms, that of the Yadavas in the West, the capital of which was Devagiri or

Deogir, later Daulatabad ; Telingana, reaching from Golkonda eastwards, beyond Warangal, mainly under the Kakatiyas ; and Hoisala, south of the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra, with its capital at Dwarasamudra, the modern Halebid. These kingdoms corresponded to the territory still earlier ruled, if we go from north to south, by the Western and Eastern Chalukyas and the Kadambas, and the Dravidian regions of the Pallavas, Cholas, Cheras, and Pandyas. The penetration of this great area, reaching to the southernmost point of India, by Musulmans from Persia and Central Asia, is one of the romances of history, though a deeply tragic romance, in which the tide of battle fiercely surged for centuries.

The southward drive of the Muhammadan rulers of the north of India was a continuation of the determination of Muhammad Ghorī, in the latter part of the twelfth century, not merely to invade India, but to conquer and hold the country. He held Ghazni as his capital, and left Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak, a Turk, in control of Northern India, with freedom to extend the dominions. One of his Turkish subordinates, Muhammad Khilji, annexed Bihar and Bengal. After the assassination of Muhammad Ghorī, in 1205, Aibak became the first Muslim sultan of Delhi, founding the dynasty of the Slave kings of India. He died in 1210. The next quarter of a century was spent by Iltutmish (or Altamish), a son-in-law of Aibak, in extending his rule from Sind to Bengal. From 1246 to 1287 Balban, a Turkish slave and son-in-law of Iltutmish, was the ruler as Lord Chamberlain, Lieutenant of the Kingdom, and from 1266 as king, and was in frequent conflict with Hindu revolution and Mongol invasion. With the enthronement, in 1290, of Jalal-ud-dīn Firoz of the Turkish Khilji or Khalji tribe the Slave dynasty came to an end.

It was this Firoz Khilji or Khalji who raised to power 'Ala-ud-dīn, his nephew and son-in-law. 'Ala-ud-dīn, as the result of military success, was given important fiefs. On an expedition into Malwa he heard much about the wealth of the Maratha kingdom whose capital was Deogir, the famous rock-fortress near the caves of Ellora. He gathered a force and in 1294 marched via Elichpur, took the Raja Ramachandra by surprise and captured the place, returning northward with much booty. He had his uncle Firoz Shah treacherously murdered, and in 1295 ascended the throne of Delhi.

The small copper coins of Balban, Firoz Shah and 'Ala-ud-dīn are often found in the Deccan, and appear to

have been current until the similar ones of Hasan Gangu the first Bahmani king, took their place. Photographs of some of them are given on Plate I.

During the next twenty years the whole of India came under the control of rulers of Turkish origin, and in every main speech of the peninsula there remain pregnant sayings which bear witness to the fear in which they were held. They were frequently reinforced by fresh hordes of immigrants from Central Asia, possessed of that amazing driving force which resulted in Mongol dominion of such vast regions from China to the Eastern bounds of Europe. 'Ala-ud-din himself appears to have been one of the world's great generals, with the ambition to become a second Mohamed and a second Alexander; and he was ably served by men who shared his ambition. He found that, as a result of the wealth gained by his conquest, and of the leisure that ensued, disaffection was rising, which he counteracted by a series of ordinances by which the feudal system was abolished, the use of wine (a weakness of his own) and intermarriage between noble families were prohibited, heavy taxes were imposed on Hindus, and a system of universal espionage was introduced.

The latter years of 'Ala-ud-din were darkened by jealousy among his favourites, rebellion, and wholesale executions. On his death in 1316 he was succeeded by a dissolute son Mubarak, who began his reign by having his three brothers killed. By rescinding the unpopular edicts of his father he was responsible for laxity and licentiousness which he himself encouraged, which produced revolt and massacre of his own relatives and ended in his own death. At the height of his arrogance he had declared himself successor to the Abbasid Caliphate which had gone down in the flood of Mongol invasion in 1258. And he had direct bearing upon the political future of the Deccan, for, hearing that Harpal, the son-in-law of the late raja of Deogir, had proclaimed his independence, he marched thither, had Harpal captured and flayed alive, remained in Deogir for a year and built the great mosque there. After his murder in 1320, the consequent disorder was put down by the great man whose name, and that of his terrible son, was to mean so much to Southern India. This was Ghias-ud-din Tughlaq, who had been Master of the Horse and Governor of the Punjab under 'Ala-ud-din.

During the five years of his reign he corrected the abuses which had crept in, and tightened the administration generally, without returning to the severity of 'Ala-ud-din.

His mother was Indian, and in addition to his northern vigour he had inherited a regard for human welfare and a sense of orderliness.

Ghias-ud-dîn Tughlaq soon began to entrust great power to his eldest son, Muhammad Juna, also called Ulugh Khan, (after whom Jaunpur was named), sending him south twice to reduce to obedience the Raja Pratapa Rudra of Warangal, and also into Orissa, and leaving him as regent in Delhi while he himself led a force into Bengal. On his first expedition into Telingana Ulugh Khan, believing or pretending that his father was dead, tried to assume power but could not obtain support. However, when his father returned from Bengal, he had him murdered by contriving the collapse of a reception pavilion, and in 1325 became king under the name of Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

This is not the place, of course, to deal more than very briefly with this amazing personality and his aims and achievements. There have been few monarchs possessed of his strange fusion of powers, human and demoniac, and he was certainly the instrument most largely conducing to the final disruption of social conditions in South India and the widespread infusion of foreign blood. As has been pointed out he was 'an alien sultan of curiously mixed breed. In the Muhammadan distrust of unconverted Hindus, all manner of foreign adventurers were installed in divisional posts; these men, having little or no interest in the stability of the throne, were ever ready to aid any projected rising..... The annals of the period present a mere succession of outbreaks—No sooner was one section of the empire brought back to its allegiance than another would seek to assert its independence.' Much has been written about him, and we have also the testimony of Ibn Batûtah, who gives us pitiful pictures of the cruel treatment of all classes. His characteristics have been summed up by Sir Wolseley Haig as follows.

'He was a genius, with a share of that madness to which great wit is nearly allied, and his character was a strange medley of the most contradictory qualities. It is described by two contemporary writers, one native, fettered by the bonds of official reticence, and one foreign, untrammelled by such bonds. Both are lost in astonishment at his arrogance, his piety, his disregard for the sacred law, his humility, his pride, his lavish generosity, his rapacity, his care for and his hostility to his people, his preference for foreigners, his love

of justice, and his ferocious cruelty, and can find no better description of him than that he was a freak of creation.'*

For our present consideration we have to emphasize his intimate relations with the Deccan, and especially those regions which now constitute the dominions of H.E.H. the Nizam. Still more pertinent is his remarkable system of innovations in coinage, in which those dominions shared. The tragic story has often been told of his removal, in 1327 and 1329, of the inhabitants of Delhi to Deogir, to which he gave the new name of Daulatabad. As the result largely of the system of farming revenues which he had placed in the hands of merciless officials, he was kept continually engaged in suppressing rebellions. These came to a head in the south, where the Centurions of Daulatabad revolted and proclaimed an Afghan named Ismail Mukh their king, as Nâsir-ud-dîn Isma'il Shah. Tughlaq marched to Daulatabad and made preparations for a siege, but was called away to another rebellion in Gujarat, and never returned, as in 1351 he died in camp on the way to Tatta.

From this revolt in the Deccan there emerged a personality standing in strong contrast to Muhammad Tughlaq. This was Hasan, or Zafar Khan, the commandant of the Centurions in Bidar, a town ninety miles north of the present city of Hyderabad. On the arrival of Tughlaq at Daulatabad Hasan had withdrawn south-west to Gulbarga, but as soon as Tughlaq had left for Gujarat, he marched to the relief of Daulatabad, and on his arrival Nâsir-ud-dîn Isma'il Shah, observing, Ferishta says, that greater deference was paid to Hasan than to himself, decided to abdicate. He called a meeting of the chief officers and told them that, as he felt too old to control affairs, he recommended them to take Zafar Khan as their king. This was done, and Zafar Khan was crowned king on August 3rd 1347, under the title of 'Ala-ud-dîn Bahman Shah. Thus was founded the dynasty of the Bahmani kings, whose coinage forms the subject of this article.

Chronology of the Bahmani Kings

A.H.	A.D.	
(747-748	1346-1347	Nâsir-ud-din Ismail Shah, at Daulatabad)
748-759	1347-1358	'Ala-ud-dîn Bahman Shah (Hasan Gangu)
759-776	1358-1375	Muhammad I

**Cambridge Shorter History of India*, 232.

A.H.	A.D.	
776-779	1375-1378	Mujahid
779-780	1378	Daud
780-799	1378-1397	Muhammad II
799	1397	Ghias-ud-din
799-800	1397	Shams-ud-din
800-825	1397-1422	Firoz
825-838	1422-1435	Ahmad I
838-862	1435-1457	Ahmad II
862-865	1457-1461	Humayun
865-867	1461-1463	Nizam Shah
867-887	1463-1482	Muhammad III
887-924	1482-1518	Mahmud
924-927	1518-1520	Ahmad III
927-929	1520-1522	'Ala-ud-din II
929-930	1522-1523	Wali-ul-lah
930-933	1523-1526*	Kalim-ul-lah

The Bahmani dynasty lasted for some 180 years, of which time Gulbarga was the capital from 1347 to 1435, and Bidar from 1435 to 1526. The former city is famous for its great mosque built by Muhammad I in 1367, and Bidar for its ruins of stately and splendid buildings, and its tombs of the later Bahmani kings.

Hasan Gangu, as the first king is still called, in preference to the appellations 'Ala-ud-din or Bahman Shah he chose for himself, is remembered as a just and generous king. He established himself at Gulbarga, now a station on the trunk line between Bombay and Madras, and renamed the place Ahsanabad. He had to deal with a plot to usurp the throne by Isma'il Khan, whom he had made Amir-ul-Umara, and whom he now had executed, though he did not harm his family or confiscate his property. On the other hand he gave Bahadur Khan, Isma'il's son, his father's place as Amir-ul-Umara.

The king devoted much attention to the organization and administration of his territories, which extended from the western sea-coast to the neighbourhood of Bidar and Kandhar, and from the Bhima to the Tungabhadra. His fame spread and he was induced to send forces into the Carnatic and even as far north as Gujarat. He himself was taken ill near Surat, and returned to Gulbarga to die.

*There is some doubt about the latter date. I have four coins of Kalimullah, dated A.H. 952 which is A.D. 1545. But 952 may be an engraver's error for 932 A.D. 1525. See Pl. XIX Coins 28, 29, 30 and 31.

He was succeeded by his son Nizam, a child of eight, who died in less than two years, and was succeeded in 1463 by his younger brother, Muhammad III, who reigned for nineteen years. During the reign of both of these kings the real ruler of the realm was the famous Khwaja Mahmûd Gavan, a Persian whose ancestors had been viziers to the princes of Jîlan until the time of Shah Tahmasp. He had been in charge of Berar, and later held the fiefs of Gulbarga and Bijapur. In the reign of Nizam Shah the country was invaded by the Hindus of Orissa and Telingana, and by Mahmûd I of Malwa, who captured Bidar. But in the reign of Muhammad III Mahmûd Gavan extended the dominions of the Bahmanis from sea to sea. He captured Goa, which then belonged to Vijayanagar, after an attack by land and sea. On his return from this expedition of three years against the rajas of the Konkan he was promoted to very high rank; the Queen-mother called him her brother, and the king gave him a suit of his own robes, and honoured him by a visit of three weeks. Yet it is not the military successes of Mahmûd Gavan which keep his memory in reverence, but his devotion, from the height of his success, to a life of sacrifice. Ferishta tells the story of his response to the honours showered on him.

‘ On Mahmud Shah’s leaving the house of the minister, Mahmood Gavan, retiring to his chamber, disrobed himself of his splendid dress, threw himself on the ground and wept plenteously; after which he came out, put on the habit of a dervish, and calling together all the most deserving holy and learned men, and syeds of Bidar, distributed among them most of his money, jewels, and other wealth, reserving, only his elephants, horses and library, saying: “Praise be to God, I have escaped temptation, and am now free from danger.”’

Mulla Shamsuddin asked him why he had given away everything but his library, his elephants, and horses. He replied: “When the king honoured me with a visit, and the Queen-mother called me brother, my evil passions began to prevail against my reason; and the struggle between vice and virtue was so great in my mind, that I became distressed even in the presence of his Majesty, who kindly enquired the cause of my concern. I was obliged to feign illness in excuse of my conduct; on which the king, advising me to take some repose, returned to his palace. I have, therefore,” said the minister, “parted with wealth, the cause of this temptation to evil.” His library, he said, he had retained for the use of students,

and his elephants and horses he regarded as the king's, lent him only for a season. After this day, the minister always wore plain apparel; when at leisure from State affairs he retired to his own mosque and college, where he spent his time in the Society of the learned and persons eminent for piety and virtue. On Friday night, he went disguised through the different wards of the city, and distributed alms to the poor, saying, as he gave them: "This is sent by the king." * *

After having disposed of the western coast and the trouble caused to Muslim voyagers and traders, Mahmûd Gavan turned his attention to Telingana, which he and the king became masters of, and the royal headquarters were established at Rajahmundry. Muhammad Shah divided Telingana into two provinces, with capitals at Rajahmundry and Warangal. This and a curtailment of the powers of the provincial governors incensed Malik Hasan, the son of a Brahmin but brought up as a Muslim, who had been made Governor of Telingana. This man conceived a hatred of Mahmûd Gavan, and finally had a forged treasonable letter shown to Muhammad Shah when he was drunk. The king, in a fit of anger, had the Khwaja executed, and thus put an end to one of the noblest lives in Indian History. Muhammad was overcome by remorse, and died in 1482 from the effects of drink, the curse of his line.

The next king was the young son of Muhammad, named Mahmûd, in whose reign the Bahmani rule began to break up owing to the royal inability to control the provincial governors, who were eager to assert their independence.

This was the origin of the five kingdoms into which the Bahmani dominions broke up in 1527, those of the Nizâm Shahs of Ahmadnagar and Daulatabad, the 'Imâd Shahs of Berar, the Barîd Shahs of Bidar, the Qutb Shahs of Golkonda and the 'Adil Shahs of Bijapur. Of the coins of these kingdoms I hope to treat in a later paper.

After the long and troubled reign of Mahmûd which ended in 1518, the throne was held in turn by three of his sons, Ahmad III, 'Ala-ud-dîn II and Wali-ul-lah, who were followed by Kalim-ul-lah, the son of Ahmad III, with whose retirement to Ahmadnagar about 1526 the line of the Bahmanis came to an end.

*J. Briggs' translation of *Ferishta* (Calcutta 1909) II 486-7.

THE COINS

The coins of the early Bahmani Kings derive, in form and script and legend, from those of the Pathan kings of Delhi. These had undergone considerable transformation from those of Muhammad bin Sam and Altamish more than a century before the founding of the Bahmani dynasty. Plate I consists of specimens of the billon and copper coins of the kings of Delhi from Balban to Muhammad Tughlaq. The fine silver coins illustrated on Plates II and III derive, even to imitation of the legend, from those of 'Ala-ud-dîn Khilji (Muhammad II), the rare smaller ones corresponding in size to the gold ones of 'Ala-ud-dîn. Attention is particularly drawn to the splendid specimen of Mujâhid (Pl. II and III, No. 6) than which no finer contemporary silver coin appears to have been recorded. It is unique among Bahmani coins in its delicacy, which stands out so clearly by comparison with all others published. In the Catalogue of the Indian Museum in Calcutta there is only one silver coin (Pl. III, 155), of Ghias-ud-dîn Balban (A.D. 1265-1289) which approaches it. These earlier silver Bahmani coins in my possession do not appear to have been in circulation, but treasured as the works of art they are; whereas those of the Bidar kings, from Ahmad II onwards, show signs of wear.

The copper coins struck at Ahsanabad (a name for Gulbarga revived by Aurangzeb on his gold coins) also follow Delhi models, some of them going back to the style of copper coins of Taj-ud-din Yildiz before 1210. With them are included on Plate IV two specimens of the copper coins of Nâsir-ud-dîn Isma'il Shah, struck at Daulatabad (Nos. 1 and 2).

The inscription on the former of these coins is in remarkably fresh condition, even sharper than that of the fifth and sixth Balban coins on Plate I. The coins on Plate IV illustrate the scarcity of copper in the fourteenth century, which limited the space for striking the die and so made complete inscription rare. In the coins of Hasan Gangu three sizes are discernible, in those of Muhammad I only one.

With Muhammad II (1378-1397) we have a larger size which remained throughout the period of the dynasty, in addition to larger sizes beginning with Ahmad II in 1422. As Daud and Ghias-ud-dîn reigned for less than two months each, their coins are naturally rare, those of Muhammad II and Firoz being much more frequently found, the latter in a

remarkably variety of dies. The smaller coins of Ahmad I have also been preserved in good condition, some of them with a dark-green patina which is very effective.

With Ahmad II and the establishment of a mint at Bidar (Muhammadabad on the coins) the copper coins became more plentiful, and a large variety of dies is shown on Plates VII to XI. The coins of Humayun and Nizam, both much rarer, and the more plentiful ones of Muhammad III follow the same undistinguished course. But with Mahmûd, Wali-ul-lah and Kalim-ul-lah we get legends in thicker and so bolder type which produced many handsome specimens, some of which are rarer even than earlier coins of the dynasty.

In addition to the mints at Gulbarga and Bidar (Ahsanabad and Muhammadabad on the coins), one more name is known, Fathâbâd, a unique specimen of which is shown on Plates II and III, coin No. 3. Only three or four other specimens are known, this being the earliest date recorded for a coin of this mint (A.H. 761). It is not yet known where Fathâbâd was, but my specimen appears to have been struck during the conflict between Muhammad I and the ruler of Warangal.

It is to be regretted that it has not been possible in Hyderabad to do justice in the matter of photography to the coins represented in the following pages. The reason is that old copper coins exist in a great variety of shades of colour, lustre, and clearness. When they are photographed in numbers many coins which are very attractive in appearance fail to come out at all effectively.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

[*Index.*

INDEX TO PLATES

[The sizes of these coins are those of the originals. The weights of any of them can be communicated if desired]

PLATE I

1-2 *Sultân Ghiyâthu'd-dîn Balban* (1266-86)

Obv.

السلطان الا
عظم غياث الدنيا
والدين

Rev.

In a circle

بلبن

Balban

In Margin in Nagari

श्री सुल्तां गयासुद्दी

As-Sultânu'l-a'zam

Ghiyâthu'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn Sri Sultân Ghiyâthû'd-dîn

3-4 *Balban*

Obv.

Rev.

} Same as in coins Nos. 1-2

5-6 *Balban*

Obv.

السلطان
الاعظم

As-Sultânu'l-a'zam

Rev.

غياث الدنيا
والدين

Ghiyâthu'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn

7-8 *Jalâlu'd-dîn Firôz* (1290-96)

Obv.

السلطان الا
عظم جلال
الدين

As-Sultânu'l-a'zam

Jalâlu'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn

Rev.

In a square

شاه

فیروز

Firôz Shâh

In Margin in Nagari

श्री सुल्तां जलालुद्दी

Sri Sultân Jalâlu'd-dîn

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E. E. SPEIGHT)

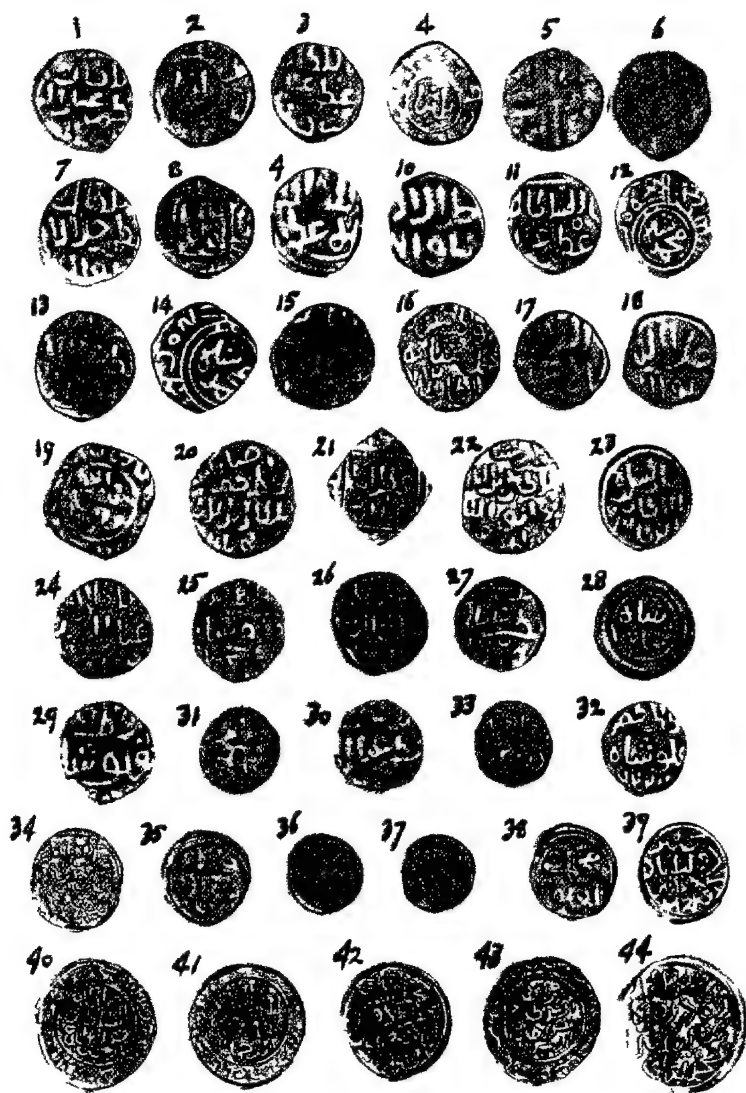


PLATE I

9-10 *Jalâlu'd-dîn Firôz*

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
السلطان الاعظم	جلال الد نيا والدين
As in No. 5	Jalâlu'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn

11-12 *'Alau'd-dîn Muhammad II (1296-1315)*

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
السلطان الا عظم علا الد نيا والدين	In a circle شاه محمد
As-Sultânu'l-a'zam 'Alau'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn	Muhammad Shâh In Margin in Nagari श्री सुल्तान अलावर्दी Sri Sultân 'Alau'd-dîn

13-14 *'Alau'd-dîn Muhammad II*

<i>Obv.</i>	} Same as in coins Nos. 11-12.
<i>Rev.</i>	

15-16 *'Alau'd-dîn Muhammad II*

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
السلطان الا عظم علا الد نيا والدين	ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان ٧١٢
As-Sultânu'l-a'zam 'Alau'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn	Abû'l-Muzaffar Muhammad Shâh as-Sultân 712

17-18 *'Alau'd-dîn Muhammad II*

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
السلطان الاعظم	علا الد نيا والدين
As-Sultânu'l-a'zam	'Alau'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn

19 *Qutbu'd-dîn Mubârak* (1315-1318)*Obv.*

الامام الاعظم
قطب الدنيا
والدين ابو
المظفر ٧٢٠

Rev.

In a circle

خليفة الله
مبارك شاه

Al-imâmu'l-a'zam
Qutbu'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn
Abû'l-Muzaffar 720

Khalîfatu'llâh
Mubârak Shâh
Marginal legend illegible

20 *Qutbu'd-dîn Mubârak**Obv.*

In a circle

خليفة رب العالمين
قطب الدنيا
والدين

Rev.

مبارك شاه
ابوالمظفر
السلطان ابن السلطان
الواثق بالله

Khalifatu Rabbi'l-'âlamîn
Qutbu'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn

Abû'l-Muzaffar
Mubarak Shâh as-Sultân
ibni's-Sultân al-wâthiq-bi'llâh

21 *Qutbu'd-dîn Mubârak**Obv.*

قطب الدنيا
والدين

Rev.

مبارك شاه
السلطان ابن
السلطان

In a square
Qutbu'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn

Mubarak Shâh as-Sultân
ibni's-Sultân

22 *Qutbu'd-dîn Mubârak**Obv.*

خليفة رب العالمين
قطب الدنيا والدين
ابوالمظفر

Rev.

مبارك شاه
السلطان ابن السلطان
الواثق بالله
امير المؤمنين

Khalîfatu Rabbi'l-'âlamîn
Qutbu'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn
Abû'l-Muzaffar

Mubarak Shâh as-Sultân
ibni's-Sultân al-wâthiq-bi'llâh
Amir-ul-mominîn

23 *Qutbu'd-dîn Mubârak**Obv.*

السلطان الا
عظم قطب الد
نيا والدين

As-Sultânu'l-a'zam
Qutbu'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn

Rev.

مبارك شاه
السلطان ابن
السلطان ٧١٦

Mubarak Shâh as-Sultân
ibni's-Sultân 716

24-25 *Ghiâthu'd-dîn Tughlaq (1321-25)**Obv.*

السلطان الغازى
غياث الدنيا
والدين

As-Sultânu'l-Ghâzi
Ghiyâthu'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn

Rev.

ابو المظفر
تغلق شاه
السلطان ٧٢٣

Abû'l-Muzaffar
Tughlaq Shâh as-Sultân
724

26 *Ghiâthu'd-dîn Tughlaq**Obv.**Rev.*

} Same as No. 24 but date ٧٢١ 721

27-28 *Ghiâthu'd-dîn Tughlaq**Obv.*

السلطان الا
عظم غياث الدنيا
والدين

As-Sultânu'l-a'zam
Ghiyâthu'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn

Rev.

In a double Circle
شاه
تغلق

Tughlaq Shâh

29 *Ghiâthu'd-dîn Tughlaq**Obv.**Rev.*

} Same as in Coins Nos. 24-25 but no date.

30 & 32 *Ghiâthu'd-dîn Tughlaq**Obv.*

Same as No. 27

Rev.

ابو المظفر

تغلق شاه

السلطان ۷۲۲

Abû'l-Muzaffar

Tughlaq Shâh as-Sultân

722

31 & 33 *Ghiâthu'd-dîn Tughlaq**Obv.*

عدل غياثی

'Adl Ghiâthi

Rev.

بقلة دیوگیر

bi qal'ah Deogir

34 & 39 *Muhammad Tughlaq (1325-51)**Obv.*

ضرب الدرهم

الشرعی فی زمن

العبد محمد بن

تغلق

Rev.

محضرة

دولت آباد

سنة ثلثین

وسبعائة

Duriba'd-dirhemu'sh-shara'i
fi zamani'l-'abd
Muhammad bin TughlaqBihadarata
Daulatabad sanata thalâthîna-
wa sab'a me'ata (730)35 & 38 *Muhammad Tughlaq**Obv.*

عدل

کانی

هشت

Rev.

محمد

تغلق

'Adil-i hasht kani

Muhammad Tughlaq

36 & 37 *Muhammad Tughlaq**Obv.*

سکه بر

دوکانی

Rev.

محمد

تغلق

Sikkah-i bar dô kânî

Muhammad Tughlaq

40 & 44 *Muhammad Tughlaq**Obv.*

من اطاع
السلطان
فقد اطاع
الرحمن

Man atâ's-Sultân
Faqad ata'a'r-Rahman

Rev.

مهر شد تنکه
رانج در روزگار
بنده امیدوار
محمد تغلق

In Margin
در تخت گاه دولت آباد سال بر هفصد سی

Mohrshud tinka e raij dar rôz
gâr bandae ummidvar
Muhammad Tughlaq
(In Margin)
Dartakht gâh Daulatabad
Sâl bar hafsad sî (=730)

41 *Muhammad Tughlaq*

Obv. } Same as of Coins Nos. 40 & 44 but margin
Rev. }

در تخت گاه دارالملک سلطانپور
سال بر هفصد سی

Dâr-ul-mulk Sultân-pûr
Sâl bar hafsad sî (=730)

42 *Muhammad Tughlaq**Obv.*

تغلق
محمد بن
محضرة دولت
آباد سنة ثلثین
وسبع مائة

Mohammad bin Tughlaq be
hazarata Daulatabad sanata
thalathîna wa sabami'ata
(=730)

Rev.

ضرب هذا
النفیس فی زمن
العبد الراجی
رحمة الله

Duriba hâdha'n-nisfî
fî zamani'l-'abdir-râjî
rahmati'llah

43 *Muhammad Tughlaq*

Obv. } Same as of Coins Nos. 40 & 44 but margin
 Rev. }

در تخت گاه دهلی سال بر هفصد سی یک

*Dar takht gâh Dehli Sâl bar
 hafsad sî yak (=731)*

PLATES II & III

*Silver Bahmani Coins*1 *'Alâu'd-dîn Bahman Shâh (Hasan Gangu)*

Obv.

Rev.

In a circle

السلطان الاعظم
 علا الدنيا والدين
 ابو ظفر بهمن شاه
 السلطان

يمين الخلافة
 ناصر امير
 المومنين

Obv. As-Sultânû'l-A'zam 'Alâu'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn
 Abû Zaffar Bahman Shâh As-Sultân

Rev. Yamînu'l-Khilâfat Nâsir Amîrî'l-Mu'minîn

Margin.....

2 *'Alâu'd-dîn Bahman Shâh*

Obv.

Rev.

In a square made
 within a circle

سکندر الثاني
 يمين الخلافة ناصر
 امير المومنين

السلطان الاعظم
 علا الدنيا والدين
 ابو المظفر بهمن شاه
 السلطان

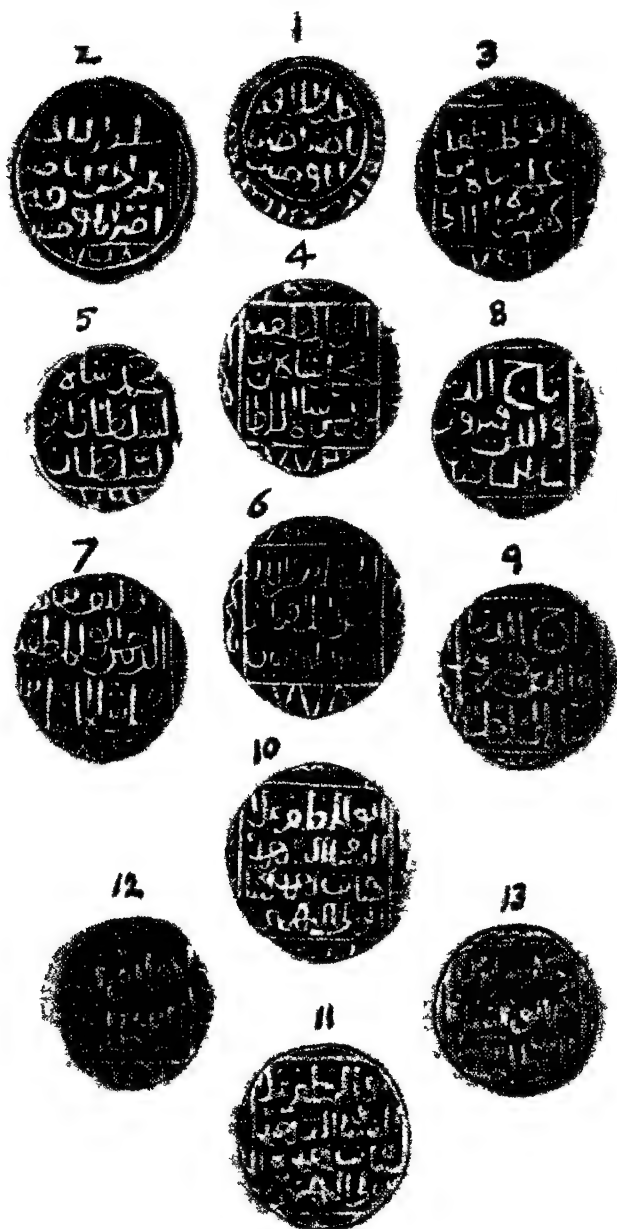
Margin..... ۷۵۸

Obv. Sikandaru'th-thânî Yamînu'l-Khilâfat Nâsir
 Amîrî'l-Mu'minîn Date 758

Rev. As-Sultânû'l-A'zam 'Alâu'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn
 Abû'l Muzaffar Bahman Shâh As-Sultân

Coins of the Bahmani Kings

(E. E. SPEIGHT)



Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E E SPEIGHT)

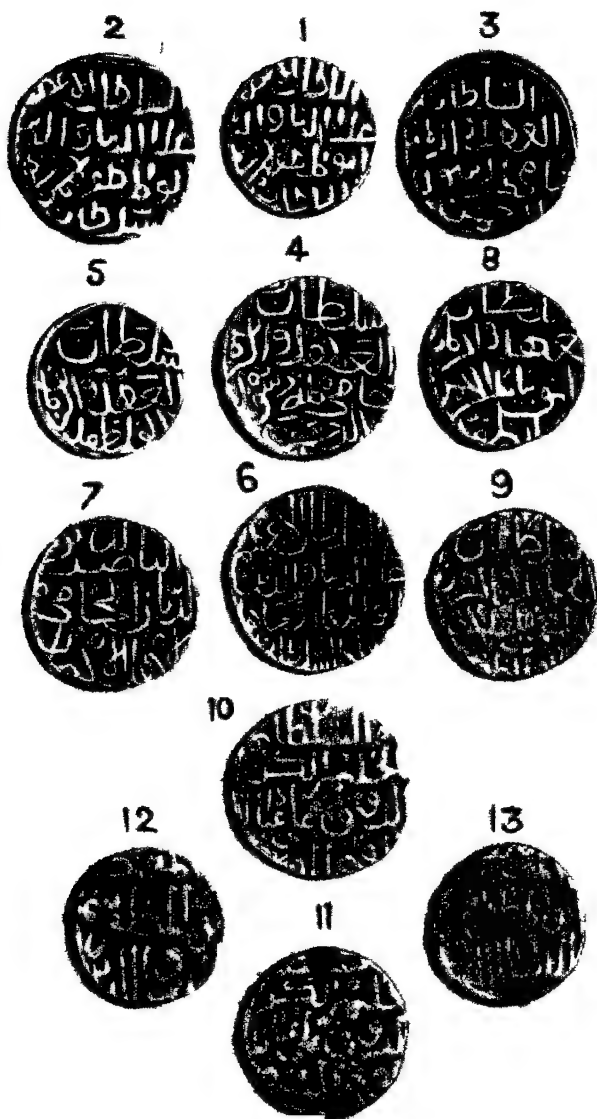


PLATE III

3 *Muhammad Shâh I*

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
(In a square)	السلطان
أبو المظفر	العهد والزمان
محمد شاه بن	حامى ملته رسول
بهمن شاه السلطان	الرحمن
<i>Obv.</i> Abû'l Muzaffar Muhammad Shâh bin Bahman Shâh as-Sultân	

Rev. As-Sultânû'l-'Ahd-i-wa'z-zamân Hâmiu Millati
Rasûl'i'r-Rahmân

Margins	Left	Top	Right	Bottom
	ضرب	بمحضره	فتح آباد	۷۶۱
	Dariba	behazarat	Fathâbâd	761

4 *Muhammad Shâh I*

Obv. } Same as No. 3
Rev. }

Margin: Same as No. 3 but date ۷۷۳ Mint احسانآباد
773 Ahsanâbâd

5 *Muhammad Shâh I*

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
سلطان	محمد شاه
العهد والزمان	السلطان ابن
أبو المظفر	السلطان
	۷۶۱
<i>Obv.</i> Sultânû'l-Ahdi-wa'z-zamân Abû'l Muzaffar	
<i>Rev.</i> Muhammad Shâh as-Sultân ibni's-Sultân	761

6 *Mujâhid Shâh**Obv.*

In a square
الموید بنصر الله
مین الخلافتہ ناصر
امیر المومنین

Rev.

السلطان الاعظم
علا الدین والدین
ابوالمغازی مجاهد
شاه السلطان

Obv. Al Muwayyid bi-nasri'llâh Yamînu'l-Khilâfat
Nâsiru Amîri'l-Mu'minîn

Rev. As-Sultânu'l-A'zam 'Alâu'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn
Abû'l Maghâzi Mujâhid Shâh as-Sultân

Margin: Same as No. 4 but date ۷۷۸ 778

7 *Muhammad Shâh II**Obv.*

الناصر لدين
الديان الحامي
لاهل الايمان

Rev.

In a square
الوائقي بتايد
الرحمن ابوالمظفر
محمد شاه السلطان

Obv. An-nâsir lidîni'd-deyân al-hâmi la'-ahli'l-îmân

Rev. Al-wâthiq bitâ'idi'r-Rahmân Abû'l Muzaffar
Muhammad Shâh as-Sultân

Margin: Right احسانباد (۱) (A)hsanâbâd

Bottom [۷] ۸۳

(7)83

8 *Fîrôz Shâh**Obv.*

سلطان
العهد والزمان
الوائقي بتايد الرحمن
ابوالمظفر

Rev.

In a circle
تاج الدنيا
والدين فيروز
شاه السلطان

Obv. Sultânu'l-'Ahdi wa'z-zamân al-wâthiq bitâ'idi'r-
Rahmân Abû'l-Muzaffar

Rev. Tâju'd-dunyâ wa'd-dîn Fîrôz Shâh as-Sultân

Margin: Right احسانباد Ahsanâbâd

Bottom

۸۰۳

803

9 *Fîrôz Shâh*

Obv. } Same as No. 10 but no date
 Rev. }

Margins: Same as No. 8 but date ۸۱۴ 814

10 *Ahmad Shâh II*

Obv.

السلطان
 الحليم الكريم
 الروف على عباد الله
 الغنى المهيمن

Rev.

In a square
 ابو المظفر علا
 الدنيا والدين احمد
 شاه بن احمد شاه
 الولي البهمنى

Obv. As-Sultânu'l-halîmu'l-Karîmu'r-Raûf 'ala-
 'ibâdi'llahi'l-Ghanîyi'l-Muheymanî

Rev. Abû'l-Muzaffar 'Alau'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn Ahmad
 Shâh bin Ahmad Shâhi'l-Walîyi'l Bahmanî

Margins: Left	Top	Right	Bottom
ضرب	بمحضر	محمد آباد	۵۷ (۸)
Duriba	bihazarat	Muhammadâbâd	(8) 57

11 *Ahmad Shâh II*

Obv. } Same as No. 10 but no date.
 Rev. }

12 *Muhammad Shâh III*

Obv.

المعتصم (بالله)
 ابو المظفر شمس
 الدنيا والدين

Rev.

In a circle
 محمد (شاه بن)
 همايون شاه
 السلطان خلد ملکه

Obv. Al Mu'tasim-bi'llâh Abû'l-Muzaffar Shamsu'd-
 dunyâ-wa'd-dîn

Rev. Muhammad Shâh bin Humâyûn Shâhi's-sultân
 khallada Mulkuhu

Margin: Right	محمد آباد	Muhammadâbâd
Bottom	۸۷۷	877

13 *Muhammad Shâh III*

Obv. } Same as No. 12 but no date
 Rev. }

PLATE IV

1 *Nâsiru'd-dîn Isma'îl Shâh*

Obv.

ناصر الدنيا
والدين

Rev.

ابو الفتح
اسماعيل شاه

Nâsiru'd-dunyâ wa'd-dîn Abû'l Fath Isma'îl Shâh

2 *Nâsiru'd-dîn Isma'îl Shâh*

Obv. } Same as No. 1.
 Rev. }

3 *'Alâu'd-dîn Bahman Shâh (Hasan Gangu)*

Obv.

علا الدنيا
والدين

Rev.

بهمن شاه
السلطان

'Alau'd-dunya-wad-dîn Bahman Shâh as-Sultân

4 to 9 *'Alâu'd-dîn Bahman Shâh*

Obv. } Same as No. 3 but of different sizes.
 Rev. }

10 *Muhammad Shâh I*

Obv.

المويد
بنصر الله

Rev.

ابو المظفر
محمد شاه

Al Muwayyid bi nasri'llâh

Abû'l-Muzaffar
Muhammad Shâh11 *Muhammad Shâh I*

Obv.

المويد
بنصر الله

Rev.

ابو المظفر
محمد شاهAl Muwayyid
bi nasri'llâhAbû'l-Muzaffar
Muhammad Shâh

Upper

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E. E. SPEIGHT)

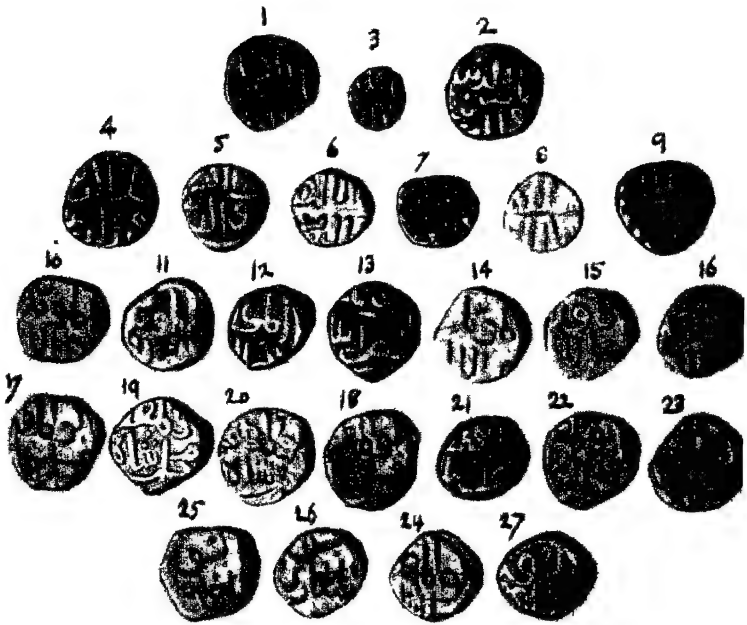


PLATE IV

Islamic Culture

April

Lower

Coins of the Bahmani Kings

(E. E. SPEIGHT)

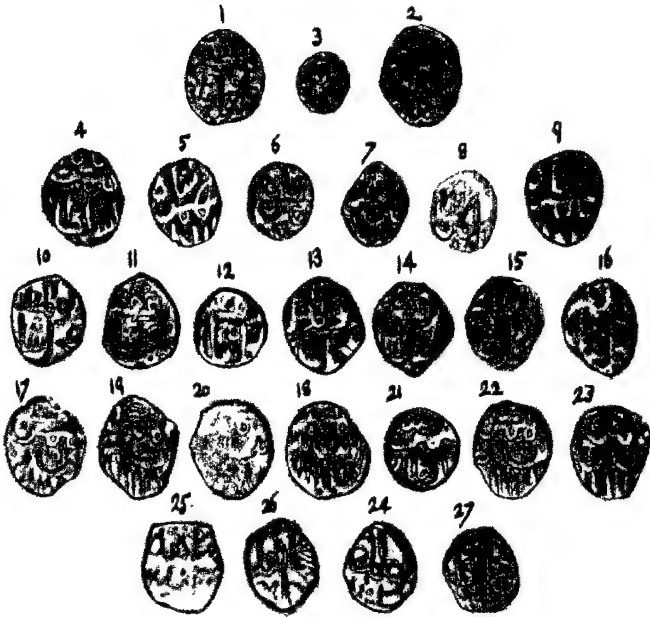


PLATE IV

12 *Muhammad Shâh I*

Obv. }
 Rev. } Same as No. 11.

13-17 *Muhammad Shâh I*

Obv. }
 Rev. } Same as No. 12 but of different dies and sizes.

18 *Muhammad Shâh I*

Obv.

ابوالمظفر
 محمد شاه

Rev.

بهمن
 ابن شاه
 السلطان

Abû'l-Muzaffar

Muhammad Shâh ibn Bahman Shah as-Sultân

19-20 *Muhammad Shâh I*

Obv. }
 Rev. } Same as No. 18 but of a different die.

21 *Muhammad Shâh I*

Obv. }
 Rev. } Same as No. 18 but smaller in size and of
 a different die.

22 *Muhammad Shâh I*

Obv. }
 Rev. } Same as No. 21 and equal in size but of a
 different die.

23 *Muhammad Shâh I*

Obv. }
 Rev. } Same as No. 18. Equal in size, but of a
 different die.

24 *Muhammad Shâh I*

Obv. }
 Rev. } Same as No. 18.

25 *Mujâhid Shâh**Obv.*ابو
الغازي

Abû'l Maghâzi

*Rev.*مجاهد
شاه

Mujâhid Shâh

26 *Mujâhid Shâh**Obv.**Rev.*

} Same as No. 25 but of a different die.

27 *Mujâhid Shâh**Obv.**Rev.*

} Same as No. 25 but of a third die.

PLATE V

1-5 *Muhammad Shâh II**Obv.*عبد
معبود

Abd ma'bûd

*Rev.*محمد
محمود

Muhammad Mahmûd

Marginal legend in Arabic incomplete

6-10 *Ghiyâthu'd-dîn Shâh**Obv.*المؤيد
بنصر الله
ابوالمظفرAl-muwayyad-bi-nasr'ullâh
Abû'l-Muzaffar*Rev.*تہمتنشاہ
بن محمد شاہTahamtan Shâh
bin Muhammad Shâh11-15 *Daûd Shâh**Obv.*Same as of Ghiyâthu'd-dîn
Coins 6-10*Rev.*

In a circle

داود
شاه

Dâud Shâh

Upper

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E. E. SPEIGHT)

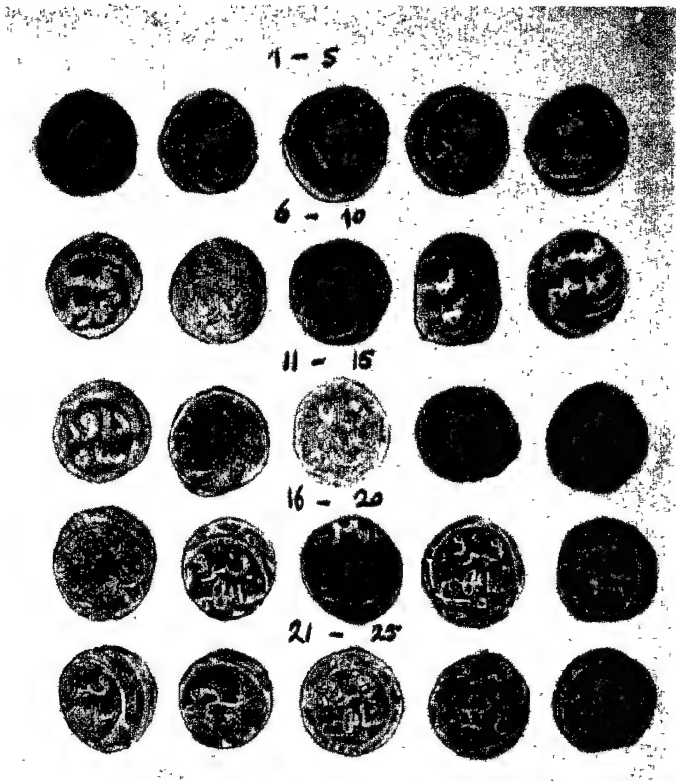


PLATE V

Lower

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E. E. SPEIGHT)

1-5



6-10



11-15



16-20



21-25



PLATE V

Islamic Culture

April 1935

Lower

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E. E. SPEIGHT)

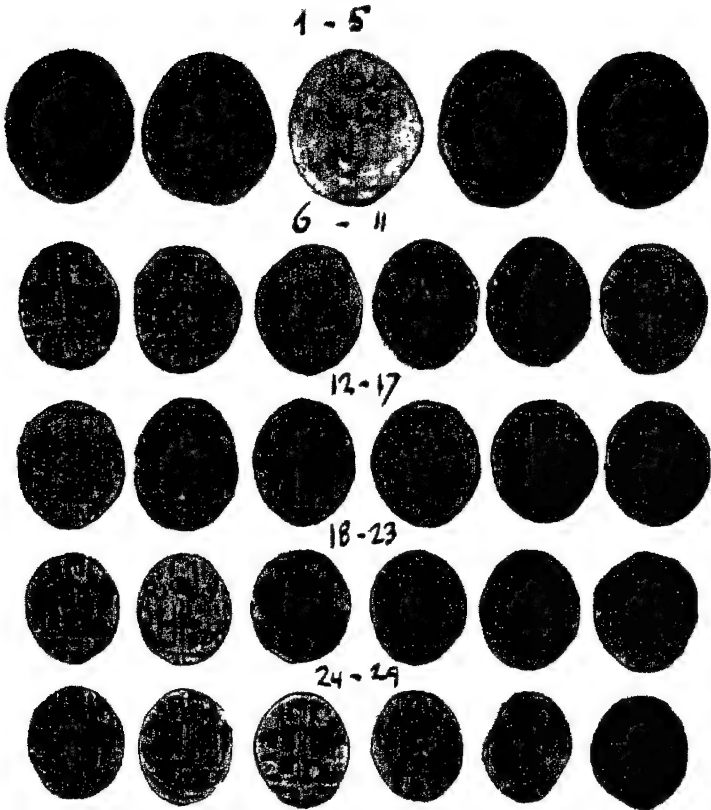


PLATE VI

Upper

Coins of the Bahmani Kings

(E. E. SPEIGHT)

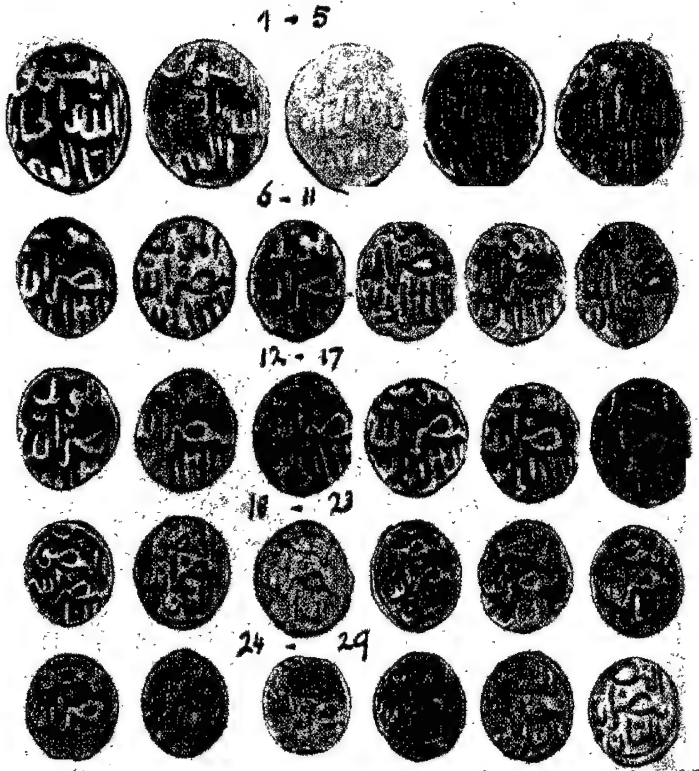


PLATE VI

16-25 *Fîrôz Shâh**Obv.*

راجی
رضوان
مہمینی

Râjî ridwân
Muheymanî

Rev.

In a circle

فیروز
شاہ بہمنی

Fîrôz Shâh
Bahmanî

PLATE VI
AHMAD SHÂH I

Type I (Coins 1 to 5)*Obv.*

المستوثق
بإلہ الخنآن
المنان الغنی

Obv. Al Mustauthiq bi'llâhi'l-Hannâni'l-mannâni'l-
Ghanî

Rev.

سلطان
احمد شاہ بن احمد
بن الحسن البہمنی

Rev. Sultân Ahmad Shâh bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan al-
Bahmanî

Dates: 1:832; 2:837; 3: ?; 4:837; 5: ?

Type II (Coins 6 to 17)*Obv.*

الموید
بتصر اللہ
الملك الخنآن

Rev.

ابو المعازی
احمد شاہ السطان
محمد آباد

date.

Obv. Al Muwayyid bi nasri'llâhi'l Maliki'l Hannân

Rev. Abû'l-Maghâzi Ahmad Shâh as-Sultân
Muhammadâbâd

Dates: 6:832; 7:(8)33; 8:(8)35; 9:836; 10:837;
11:(8)38; 12:(8)32; 13:—; 14:(8)33;
15:—; 16:837; 17:(8)37.

Type III (Coins 18 to 29)

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
النصور	ابوالغازي
بنصر الله	احمد شاه السلطان
المنان	

Obv. Al Mansûr bi nasri'llâhi'l-Mannân

Rev. Abû'l Maghâzi Ahmad Shâh as-Sultân

Dates: 18:825; 19:826; 20:827; 21:828; 22:829;
23:830; 24:836; 25:837; 26:(8)38; 27:—;
28:827; 29:—.

PLATE VII

AHMAD SHÂH II

Type I

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
المعتصم	علا الدنيا
بأمره المنان سمى	والدين احمد شاه بن احمد
خليل الرحمن	شاه السلطان
ابوالمظفر	

date.

Obv. Al-Mu'tasim bi'llâhi'l-Mannân summiya Khalil-u'r-Rahmân Abû'l-Muzaffar

Rev. 'Alau'd-dunyâ wa'd-dîn Ahmad Shâh bin Ahmad Shâh as-Sultân

Dates: 1:839; 2:840; 3:841; 4:842; 5:844; 6:846;
7:854; 8:848; 9:852; 10:853; 11:—;
12:—; 16:84-; 17:84-; 18:84-; 19:84-;
23:84-.

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E E SPEIGHT)

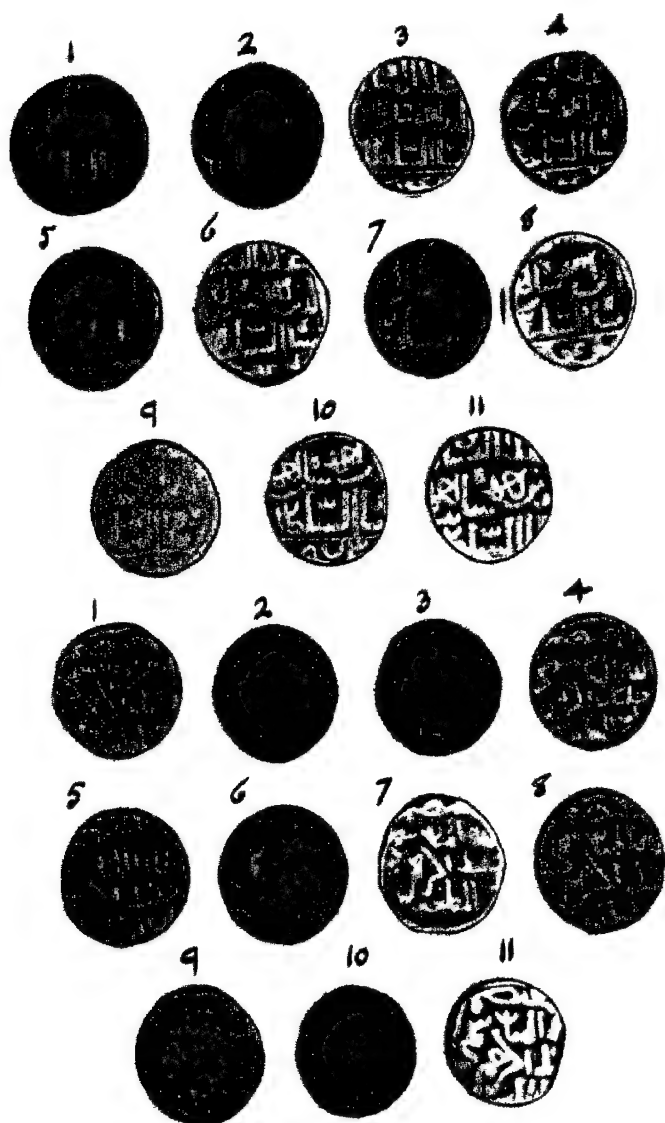


PLATE VII

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E E SPEIGHT)

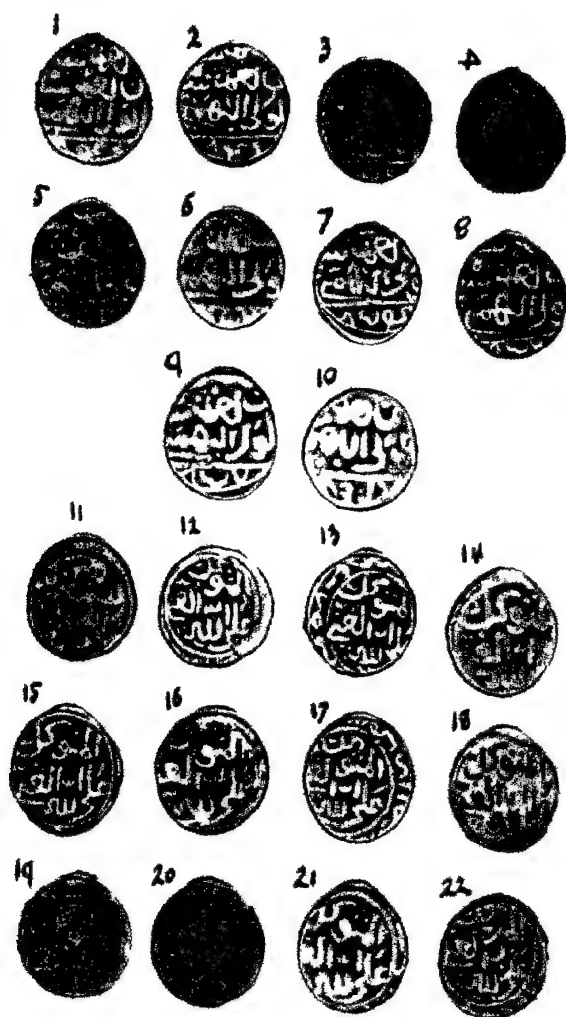


PLATE VIII

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E. E. SPEIGHT)

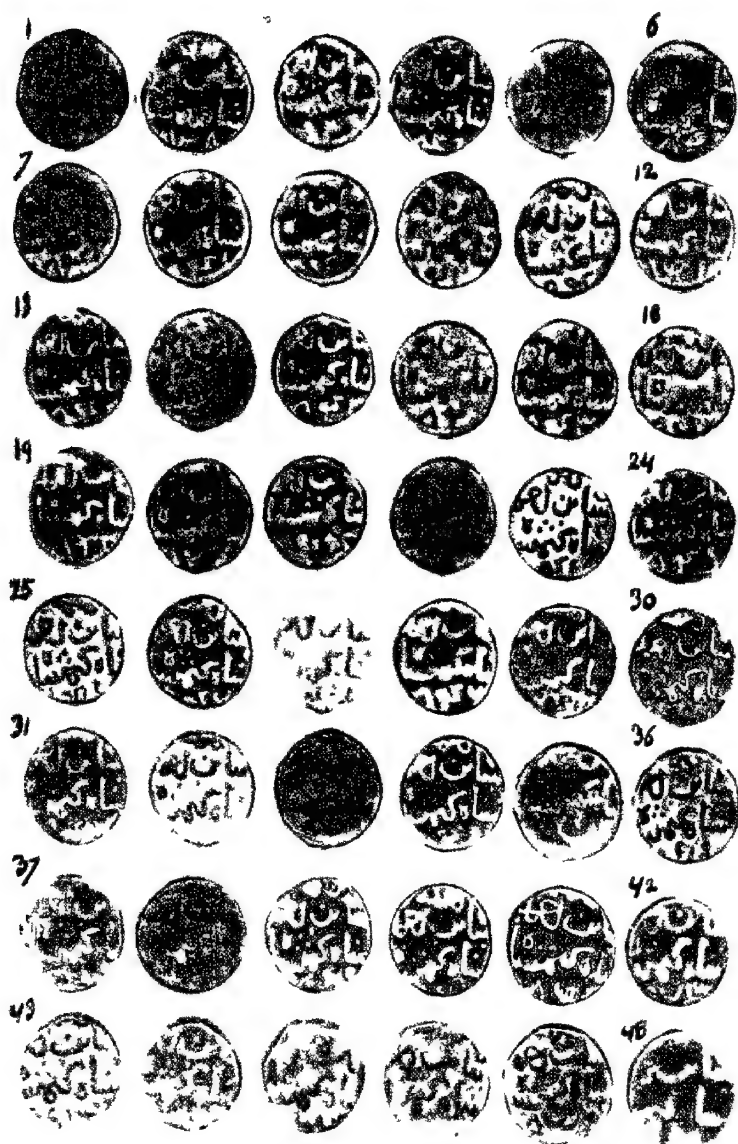


PLATE IX

PLATE VIII

AHMAD SHÂH II

*Type II**Obv.*

المتوكل
على الله الغنى

Rev.

احمدشاه
بن احمد شاه
الولى البهمنى

Obv. (in a circle) Al Mutawakkil 'ala'llâhi'l-Ghanî*Rev.* Ahmad Shâh bin Ahmad Shâh al-Walî al-Bahmanî

Dates on *Rev.* 1:840; 2:846; 3:850; 4:851; 5:852;
6:853; 7:854; 8:856; 9:857; 10:858;
11:85-; 13:85-; 15:856; 16:853; 17:85-;
20:84-.

PLATE IX

AHMAD SHÂH II

*Type III**Rev.*

احمد
شاه بن احمد
شاه بهمنشاه

Rev. Ahmad Shâh bin Ahmad Shâh Bahman Shâh

Dates: 1:838; 2:838; 3:839; 4:839; 5:840; 6:840;
7:841; 8:841; 9:841; 10:841; 11:841;
12:841; 13:842; 14:842; 15:843; 16:843;
17:843; 18:843; 19:844; 20:844; 21:844;
22:845; 23:845; 24:845; 25:845; 26:845;
27:845; 28:846; 29:847; 30:847; 31:847;
32:848; 33:849; 34:849; 35:849; 36:850;
37:850; 38:850; 39:850; 40:851; 41:852;
42:853; 43:854; 44:854; 45:856; 46:856;
47:857; 48:860.

PLATE X
AHMAD SHÂH II

Type III

Rev.

الوائق
بتأييد الملك الاله
ابو المظفر

Al-Wâthiq bi tâ'îdi'l-Maliki'l-ilâh Abû'l-Muzaffar

PLATE XI
AHMAD SHÂH II

Type IV

Rev.

احمد شاه
بن احمد شاه
البهمنى

Ahmad Shâh bin Ahmad Shâh al-Bahmanî

Dates: 1:839; 2:841; 3:842; 4:842; 5:844; 6:845;
7:846; 8:849; 9:854; 10:—; 11:—; 12:—;
13:(8)57; 14:—; 15:—; 16:—; 17:—;
18:85-; 19: ?; 20:84-.

Obv.

بالله
المستنصر
الغنى
ابو المظفر

Al-Mustansir bi'llâhi'l-Ghanî
Abû'l-Muzaffar

Nos. 21-38

PLATE XII
HUMAYUN SHÂH

Type I (Coins 1-10)

Rev.

علا الدنيا والدين
هايون شاه بن احمد
شاه بن احمد شاه
الولى البهمنى

'Alau'd-dunyâ-wa'd-dîn
Humâyûn Shâh bin Ahmad
Shâh bin Ahmad Shâh
al-Walî al-Bahmanî

Dates: 1:862; 2:863; 3:864; 5:865; 4:—; 6:864;
7:86—; 8:—; 9:86-; 10:—; 11:865.

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E E SPEIGHT)

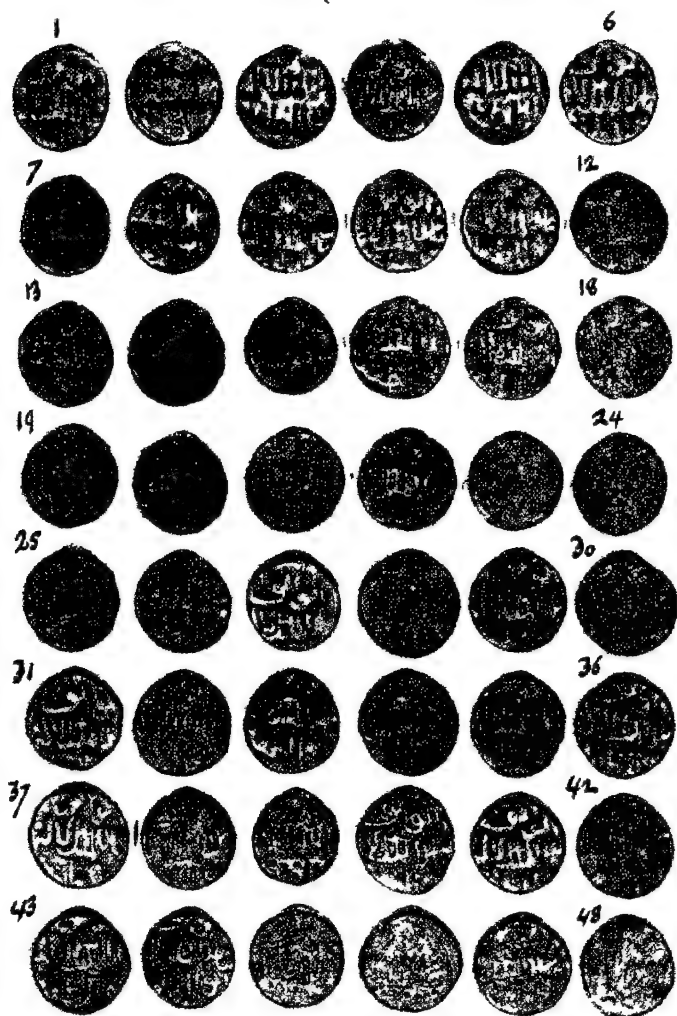


PLATE X

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E. E. SPEIGHT)

1-38



PLATE XI

Upper

Coins of the Bahmani Kings

(E. E. SPEIGHT)

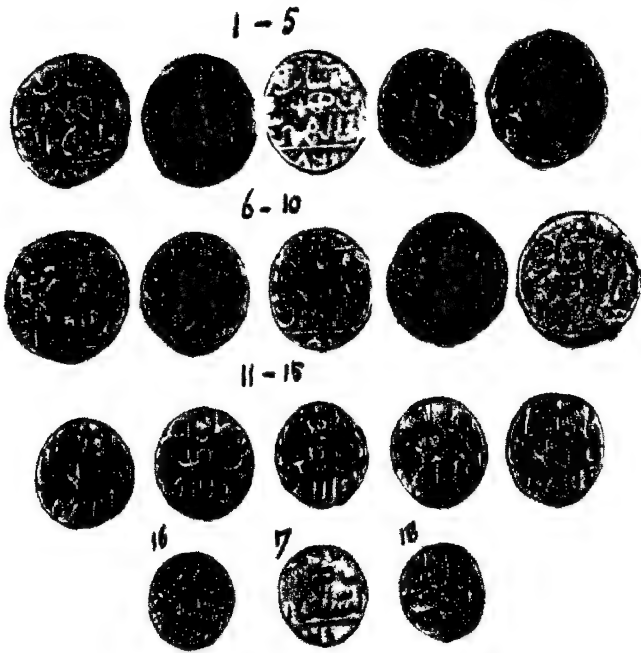


PLATE XII

Lower

Coins of the Bahmani Kings

(E. E. SPEIGHT)

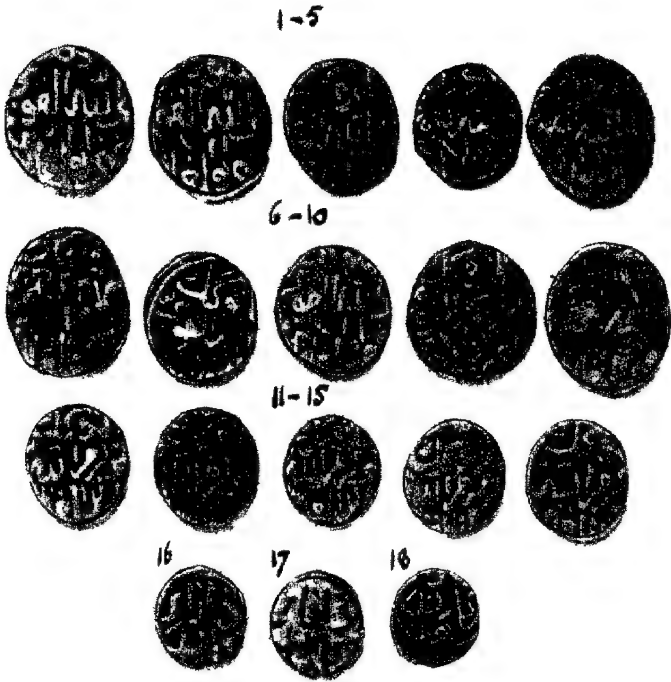


PLATE XII

Islamic Culture

April 1935

Lower

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E. E. SPEIGHT)

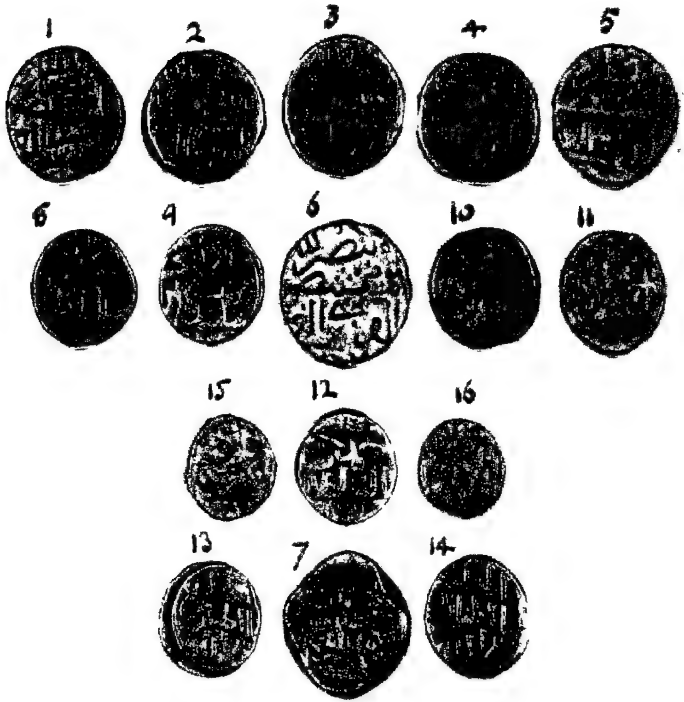


PLATE XIII

Upper

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E. E. SPFIGHT)

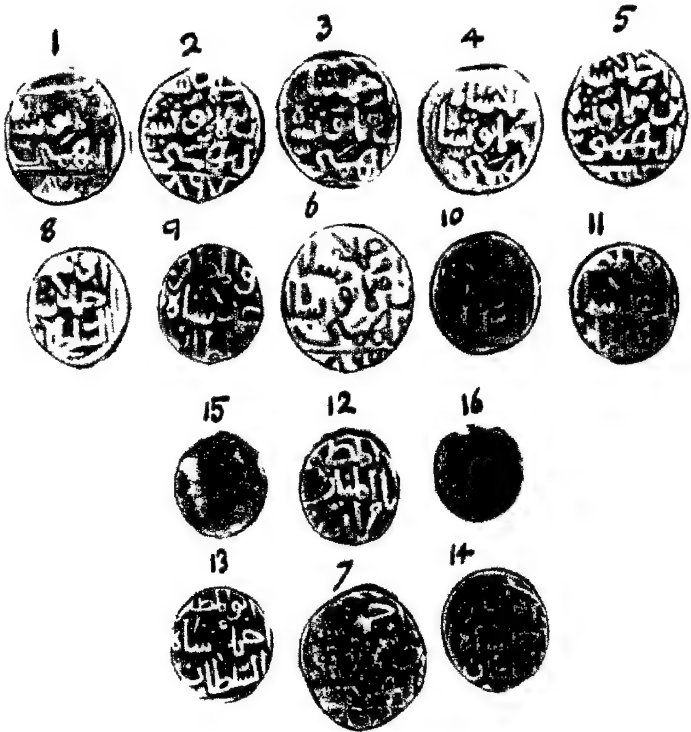


PLATE XIII

Type II (Coins 11-15)*Rev.*

همايون شاه
بن احمد شاه
الولى البهمنى

Humâyûn Shâh bin Ahmad
Shâh al-Walî al-Bahmanî
(No dates)

Type III (Coins 16-18)*Rev.*

همايون شاه
بن احمد شاه
السلطان

Humâyûn Shâh bin Ahmad
Shâh as-Sultân

Dates: 16:866; 17:865; 19:866; 18:—.

Type I (Coins 1-10)*Obv.*

المتوكل
على الله القوى الغنى
ابو المغازى

Al-Mutawakkil 'ala'llahî'l-
Qâwi al-Ghanî Abû'l Maghâzi

Type II (Coins 11-15)*Obv.*

المتوكل
على كرم الله
الحنان

Al-Mutawakkil-'ala Karami'l-
lâhil-Hannân

Type III (Coins 16-18)*Obv.*

داراء
زكاهمان

Dârâi zakâ haman

PLATE XIII
NIZÂM SHÂH

Type I (Coins 1 to 7)*Obv.*

بنصرا الله
المستنصر
القوى الغنى

Al Mustansir bi nasri'llahî'l-
Qâwiyl-Ghanî

Type II (Coins 8 to 11)*Obv.*

الراجي
بتأييد الرحمن

Ar-Râji be tâ'îdi'r-Rahmân

Dates: 8:866; 9:867; 10:—; 11:867.

Type III (Coins 12 to 14)*Obv.*

الطبع
المان
بإمرائه

Al-Mutî' bi amri'llâhi'l-
Mannân

Type IV (Coins 15-16)*Obv.*

الوائق
بإله الرحمن

Al-Wâthiq billâhi'r-Rahmân

Dates: 15:866; 16:—.

Type I (Coins 1-7)*Rev.*

احمد شاه
بن همايون شاه
البهمي

Ahmad Shâh bin Humâyûn
Shâh al-Bahmanî

Dates: 1:866; 2:867; 3:—; 4:—; 5:866; 6:866;
7:866.

Type II (Coins 8-11)*Rev.*

أبو المظفر
احمد شاه
السلطان

Abû'l Muzaffar Ahmad Shâh
as-Sultân

Type III (Coins 12-14)*Rev.*

أبو المظفر
احمد شاه
السلطان

Abû'l Muzaffar Ahmad Shâh
as-Sultân

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E. E. SPEIGHT)

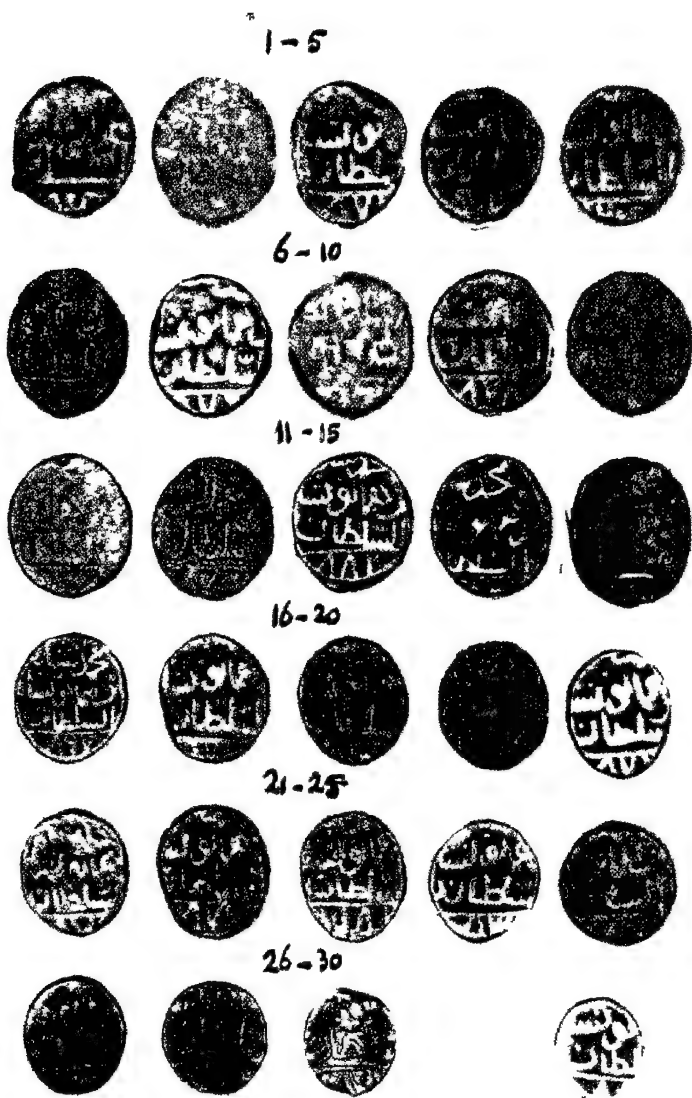


PLATE XIV

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E. E. SPEIGHT)

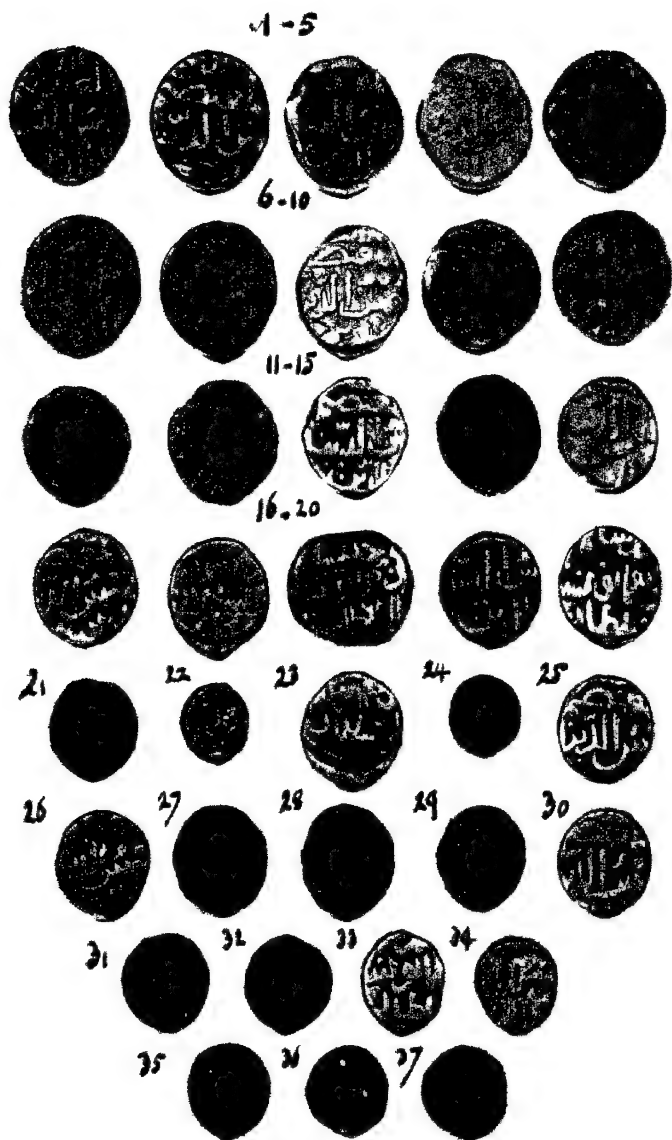


PLATE XV

Type IV (Coins 15-16)*Rev.*

ابوالمظفر
احمد شاه
السلطان

Abû'l Muzaffar Ahmad Shâh
as-Sultân

PLATE XIV

MUHAMMAD SHÂH III

Type I

Same inscription for all sizes

Rev.

محمد شاه
بن همايون شاه
السلطان

Muhammad Shâh bin Humâ-
yûn Shâh as-Sultân

Dates: 1:870; 2:871; 3:872; 4:873; 5:-74; 6:-75;
7:876; 8:877; 9:878; 10:-79; 11:-80;
12:881; 13:882; 14:-83; 15:884; 16:867;
17:871; 18:-74; 19:876; 20:877; 21:878;
22:879; 23:886; 24:-83; 25:885; 26:874;
27:870; 28:870; 29:871; 30:8—.

PLATE XV

MUHAMMAD SHÂH III

Type I (All Coins but Nos. 22 and 24)*Obv.*

باقه
المعتصم
شمس الدنيا
والدين

Al Mu'tasim bi'llâh Shamsu'd-
dunyâ wa'd-dîn

Type II (Coins Nos. 22 and 24)*Obv.* on No. 24.

محمد
شاه

Muhammad Shâh

Rev. on No. 22.

بن
همايون
شاه

Bin Humâyûn Shâh

Coin No. 38 is remarkable for having no line or date below
as generally found.

PLATE XVI

MAHMÛD SHÂH

Type I (Coins 1-4. Thin Lettering and 5-8: Thick Lettering)

Obv. (Nos. 1, 3, 5 and 7)

المتوكل على
الله الحنان المنان
ابو المغازي

Al Mutawakkil 'ala'llâhi'l-
Hannâni'l-Mannân Abû'l
Maghâzi

Rev. (Nos. 2, 4, 6 and 8)

محمود شاه
بن محمد شاه
السلطان

Mahmûd Shâh bin Muham-
mad Shâh as-Sultân

Date: 2:887.

(Coins 9-12 Thin Lettering and 13-16 Thick Lettering)
Same Inscription

Date: 10:887.

Type II (Coins 17-24 and 25)

Obv.

المتوكل على
الله القوى
الغنى

Al Mutawakkil 'ala'llâhi'l-
Qâwiyi'l-Ghanî

Rev.

محمود شاه
بن محمد شاه
البهمنى

Mahmûd Shâh bin Muham-
mad Shâh al-Bahmanî

Type III (Coins 26 and 27)

Obv.

على الله
المتوكل

Al Mutawakkil 'ala'llâh

Rev.

محمود شاه
بن محمد شاه

Mahmûd Shâh bin Muham-
mad Shâh

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E E SPEIGHT)

—249—

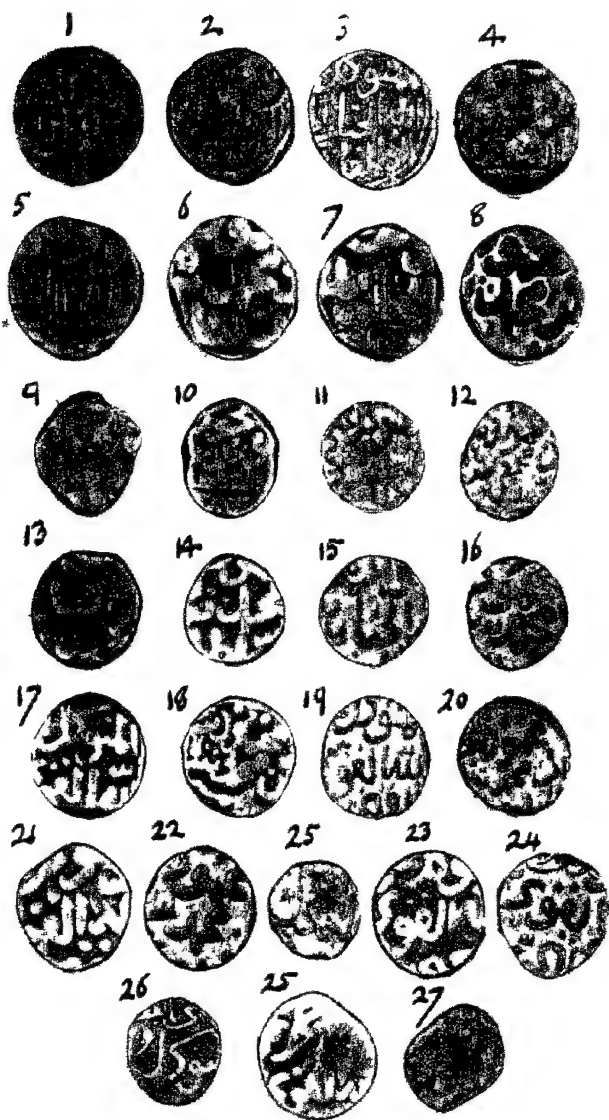


Plate XVI

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E E SPEIGHT)

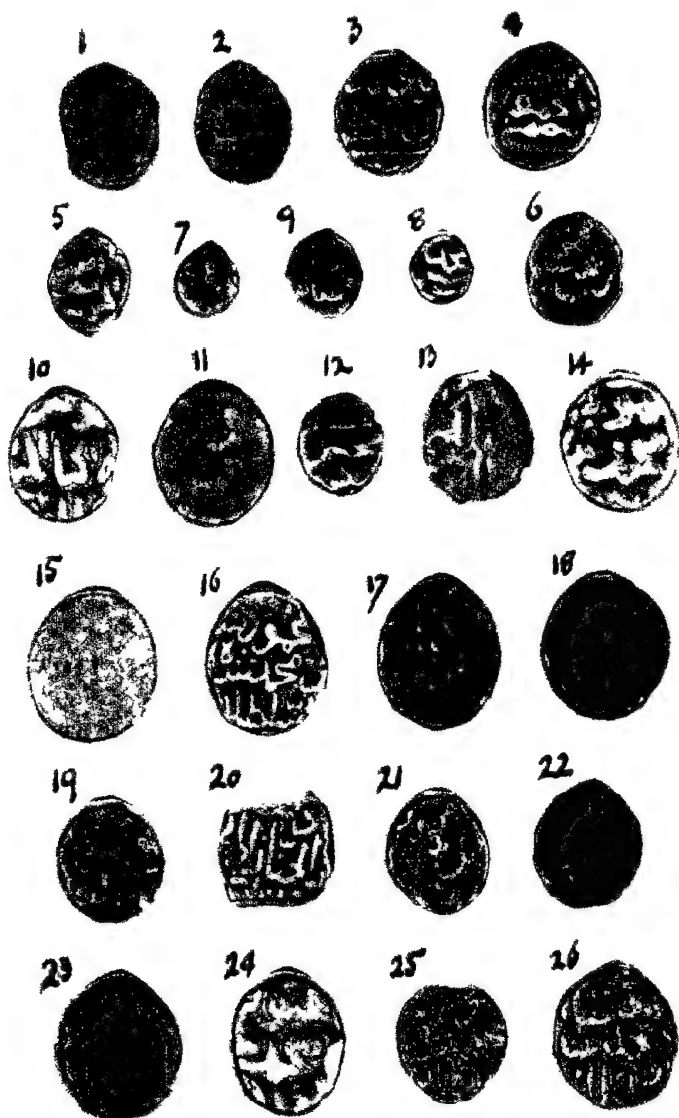


PLATE XVII

PLATE XVII

MAHMÛD SHÂH

Type IV (Coins Nos. 1, 3 and 19)*Obv.*

بنصر
الويد
الله الغنى

Al-Muwayyid bi nasri'llâh'l-
Ghanî

(Coins Nos. 2, 4, 10, 22)

Rev.

سلطان
محمود
البهمنى

Sultân Mahmûd al-Bahmanî

Type V (Coin No. 5)*Obv.*

بنصر الله
الويد

Al Muwayyid bi nasri'llâh

(Coins 6 & 9)

Rev.

محمود شاه
بن محمد شاه

Mahmûd Shâh bin Muham-
mad Shâh

Type VI (Coin No. 7)*Obv.*

محمود
شاه

Mahmûd Shâh

(Coin No. 8)

Rev.

بن
محمد شاه

bin Muhammad Shâh

Coins 11-18, 20, 21, 23-26 are specimens of Type I

PLATE XVIII

WALIULLAH SHÂH

Type I (Coins 1, 3, 5, 7)*Obv.*

بنصراته
الموید الملك
القوی الغنی

Al-Muwayyid bi nasri'llahi'l-
Maliki'l-Qawiyi'l Ghanî

(Coins 2, 4, 6, 8)

Rev.

بن ولی الله
السلطان
محمود
الیهمنی

As-Sultân Walîu'llâh bin
Mahmûd al-Bahmanî

Type II (Coins 9, 11, 13, 15)*Obv.*

بنصراته
الموید
القوی

Al Muwayyid bi nasri'llâhi'l-
Ghanî.

(Coins 10, 12, 14, 16)

Rev.

ولی الله
السلطان
الیهمنی

As-Sultan Walîu'llâh al-
Bahmanî

Type III (Coins 17, 19, 21, 23)*Obv.*

بنصراته
الموید

Al Muwayyid bi nasri'llâh

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E. E. SPEIGHT)



Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E. E. SPEIGHT)

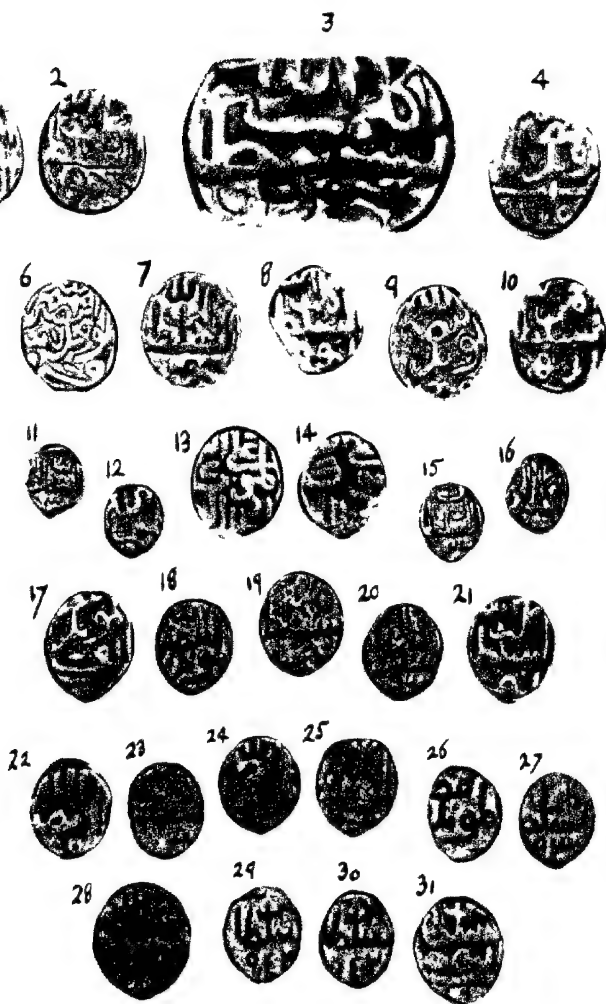


PLATE XIX

(Coins 18, 20, 22, 24)

Rev.

ولے اللہ
السلطان
۱۳۰

As Sultân Waliu'llâh

Date: 18:93-; 20:930; 22:930.

PLATE XIX

KALIMULLAH SHAH

Type I (Coins 1 and 4)*Obv.*

بنصر اللہ
الموید الملک
القوی الغنی

As Waliullah (Type I Obv.)

(Coins 2, 3, 5)

Rev.

کلم اللہ
السلطان بن
محمود البہمنی

As-Sultân Kalimu'llâh bin
Mahmûd al-Bahmanî*Type II* (Coins 6, 9, 18, 22)*Obv.*

اللہ
الموید بنصر
الغنی

As Waliullah (Type II Obv.)

(Coins 7, 8, 10, 19, 23, 30, 33)

Rev.

کلم اللہ
السلطان
البہمنی

As-Sultân Kalimu'llâh al-
Bahmanî

Type III (Coins 13, 14)*Obv.*

على الله
المتوكل
العادل الغنى

Al-Mutawakkil 'ala'llâhi'l-
a'dili'l-Ghanî

(Coin 15)

Rev.

كليم الله
السلطان
البحمن

As-Sultân Kalimu'llâh al-
Bahmanî

Type IV (Coins 20, 24, 26, 28)*Obv.*

بنصر الله
الموید

As Type II without Al-Ghanî

(Coins 21, 25, 27, 29, 31, 32)

Rev.

كليم الله
السلطان

As-Sultân Kalimu'llâh

٩٣٥

Date: 930. On 28, 29, 30 and 31: 952.

Type V (Coins 11, 15)*Obv.*

ن
السلطان

As-Sultân

(Coins 12, 16)

Rev.

كليم الله
٩٣٥

Kalimu'llâh

Date: 930

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E. E. SPEIGHT)

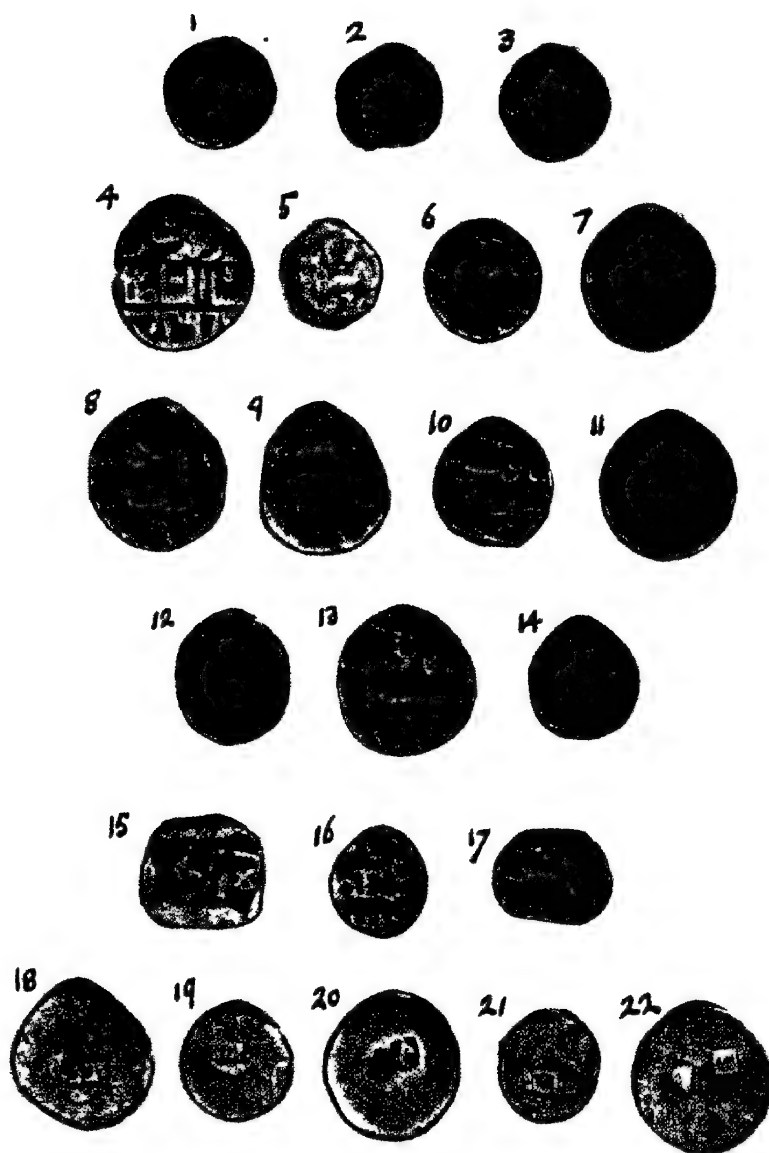


PLATE XX

PLATE XX

Curiosities

Coin No.	1. Ahmad I	Date	۸۶۸ for ۸۲۸
„	2. Ahmad I	„	۲۶۸ for ۸۲۶
„	3. Ahmad I	„	۸۶۹ for ۸۲۹
„	4. Ahmad I	„	۸۶۸ for ۸۳۸ (3 reversed).
„	5. Ahmad II	Obverse and Reverse same but one side die reversed.	
„	6. Muhammad II	Date	۸۳۴ for ۸۴۴
„	7. Muhammad III	„	۷۸۲ for ۸۷۲
„	8. Muhammad III	„	۶۸۲ for ۸۷۶
„	9. Muhammad III	„	۷۷۷ for ۸۸۷
„	10. Muhammad III	„	۶۶۸ for ۸۶۹
„	11. Muhammad III	„	۶۸۷ for ۶۸۷ (?)
„	12. Muhammad III	As No. 5.	
„	13. Muhammad III	Date	۷۸۳ for ۸۷۳ (?)
„	14. Mahmûd	One side lettering reversed.	
„	15 & 17.	Curious Shapes.	
„	16. Kalimu'llâh		۰۴۹ for ۹۳۰
„	18 to 22.	Saraf Marks on indecipher- able Bahmanî coins.	

Coins of the Bahmani Kings
(E. E. SPEIGHT)

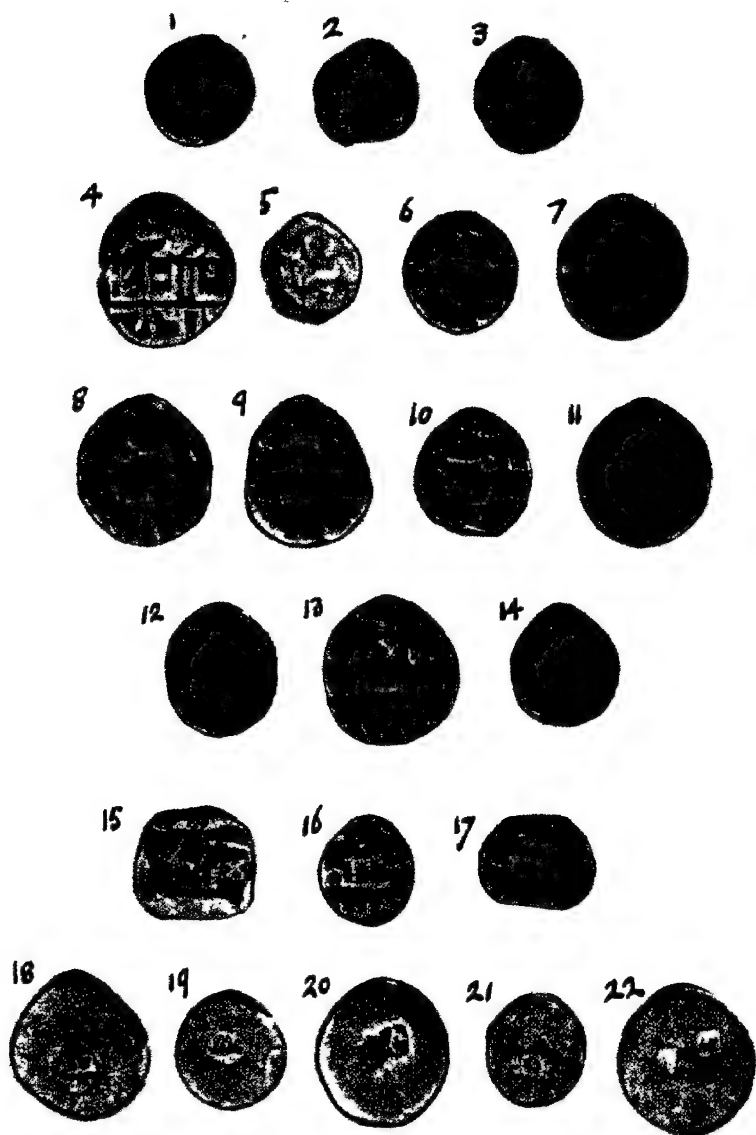


PLATE XX

PLATE XX

Curiosities

Coin No.	1. Ahmad I	Date	۸۶۸ for ۸۲۸
"	2. Ahmad I	"	۲۶۸ for ۸۲۶
"	3. Ahmad I	"	۸۶۹ for ۸۲۹
"	4. Ahmad I	"	۸۶۸ for ۸۳۸ (3 reversed).
"	5. Ahmad II	Obverse and Reverse same but one side die reversed.	
"	6. Muhammad II	Date	۸۳۴ for ۸۴۳
"	7. Muhammad III	"	۷۸۲ for ۸۷۲
"	8. Muhammad III	"	۶۸۲ for ۸۷۶
"	9. Muhammad III	"	۷۷۷ for ۸۸۷
"	10. Muhammad III	"	۶۶۸ for ۸۶۹
"	11. Muhammad III	"	۶۸۷ for ۶۸۷ (?)
"	12. Muhammad III	As No. 5.	
"	13. Muhammad III	Date	۷۸۳ for ۸۷۳ (?)
"	14. Mahmûd	One side lettering reversed.	
"	15 & 17.	Curious Shapes.	
"	16. Kalimu'llâh		۰۳۹ for ۹۳۰
"	18 to 22.	Saraf Marks on indecipher- able Bahmanî coins.	

*CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MODERN PERSIAN-
ENGLISH VOCABULARY*

پیشنهاد (pish-nihâd) : an "offer," a tender." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 2).

پیشنهادات مناقصه برای ۱۵۰۰ من قند و ۱۵۰ من چای اعلاتا روز شنبه ۷ مرداد ۱۳۰۶ ساعت ۱۲ ظهر در دفتر سرویس ملزومات کل قبول میشود.

Tenders by Dutch auction of 1500 maunds of sugar and 150 maunds of high class tea will be received in the Office of the General Requirements Service up to noon on Saturday the 7th of Mordad, 1306 (1927 A.D.).

A "proposal." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 10, col. 4).

ماده واحد ذیل بنابه پیشنهاد آقای دادگر مطرح چون مخالفی نداشت تصویب شد.

The first article, following on the proposal of Âkâ Dadgar, was brought forward, and no one opposing, was approved.

پیش نهاد

پیش نهاد بردن (pish-nihâd burden; with prep. به) : "To lay a proposal" (before). (اتحاد 1922, No. 217, p. 1).

پیشنهاد

پیشنهاد نمودن (pish-nihâd namûdan) : "To propose." (تجدد 1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 1).

اگر خود کپانی این چند ماده را هم تلفیق نمی کرد و پیشنهاد نمی نمود * * ضرورتی از برای تنظیم مواد احساس نمی شد.

If the Company itself had not put together and proposed these few articles (of the Oil Concession), no necessity would have been felt for drawing up any (by the Persian Government).

ایران جوان) (پیشنهادی (pish--nihâdî). "Proposed, designed." (1927, No. 24, p. 5, col. 1).

On the taxes proposed upon income.
تاخیر

"To be postponed." (فرهنگ 1888, No. 571, p. 4, col. 3).

اعلان نامه رسمی امپراطوری که باید در داخل مملکت ژرمنی منتشر بشود
تا بعد از دفن جنازه امپراطور متوفی بتاخیر افتاد.

The official proclamation of the Imperial (succession) to be published within the German Empire is postponed till after the funeral of the late Emperor (Frederick).

تاسیس

"Institutions." (1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1).

درعوض تکمیل تاسیسات سابقه و رفع معایب آنها حذفشان میکنیم.

In place of perfecting existent institutions and repairing their defects we abolish them.

"Unanimity," (Lit., "making a united agreement)." (1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 1).

همینکه بتالیف مجامع خود کامیاب شدند قانون تعدد زوجات را بدولت
خود پیشنهادی نمایند.

As soon as they have come to unanimity in their assemblies they will propose a law in favour of polygamy to their governments.

تامین

"To be secured." (طوفان) (ta'mîn gardidan) : (1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 1).

اول را

"Deliberation, patience." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 4).

علاقه مندان سعادت این مملکت * * * بواسطه اعتماد و اطمینان بحسن نیت و لیاقت و کاردانی رئیس الوزرا حاضر خود را تسلی داده و عموم را دعوت بحصوله وثاقی می نمودند.

Those devoted to the welfare of this country (i.e., Persia), have consultation in their confident reliance upon the good intentions, fitness and experience of the present Premier, and call upon the public for forbearance and patience.

[In reference to the question of the Naphtha Concession in the North of Persia].

تبریک

تبریک گفتن (tabrîk guftan; with را of the subject of congratulation and به of the person congratulated): "To congratulate." (a person, on). (۱۹۲۷, No. 55, p. 2, col. 2).

ما این حسن انتخابات را به هیئت دولت و به عموم ملت تبریک میگوئیم.

We congratulate the Government and the whole nation on this happy choice of people.

تبصره (tabsira): an "elucidation, a note." (۱۹۲۷, ایران جوان, No. 24, p. 10, col. 3).

ماده واحده ذیل مطرح و * * * باتبصره که از طرف آقای تقی زاده پیشنهاد شد * * * بتصویب رسید.

The following Article I was introduced, and, with an elucidation proposed by Takî Zâda, was approved.

تبلیغ (tablîgh).

تبلیغات (pl.): "False or exaggerated accounts or reports." cf. بلاغات (۱۹۲۷, No. 55, p. 1, col. 2).

رسومات و عقاید خارجه را بملت و مردم ترزیق و بدسایس و حیل و تبلیغات جامعه را از عقاید و اصول مذهبی و دینی منصرف نموده.

Investing the community the habits and beliefs of foreign countries, they have by tricks, devices, and false accounts turned it away from its own beliefs and religious principles.

تبلیغ نمودن (tablîgh namûdan): "To communicate." (۱۹۲۷, ایران جوان, No. 24, p. 3, col. 3).

اخيرا در نتیجه عدم موفقیت سیاست خارجی حکومت سویت قدراست کرده علنا پر گرام مخالفت خود را تبلیغ مینمایند.

Lately, emboldened by the failure of the foreign policy of the Soviet Government, they are openly communicating the programme of opposition.

اطاق تجارقی (adj.), See اطاق تجارقی.

تجدید (tajdîd): "Revival, restoration." (1924, مین No. 27, p. 2, sub-col. 1).

در مقابل این جواب ولتر ایراد کرد که ژنرالهای مانخواستند عملیات و با اصطلاح خود او بازی ایرانیان را تقلید و تجدید نمایند.

In response to this answer Voltaire said: "Our Generals did not wish to imitate and revive the practical performances and," (to quote his own terms), "the play of the (ancient) Persians."

[Voltaire, according to the مین had advocated something in the nature of the modern war—Tank].

تجدید نظر (tajdîd-e nazar; with در): a "revision" (of). ستاره ایران (1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 3).

اعلانی * * انتشار داده که * جهة تجدید نظر در انتخابات با دوستان حضور پیدا نمایند.

(The Nâ'ibu'l Hukûma) issued a notice that they should be present with their friends for a revision of the elections.

تجربیات (tajarrubîyât): "Experiences." ایران جوان (1927, No. 24, p. 4, col 1).

در چنین موقع باریک نباید از تجربیات گذشته غفلت نمود.

In so critical a situation we must not be neglectful of former experiences.

تحت (taht).

ستاره ایران (dar taht; with gen.): "Subject" (to). (1924, No. 9, col. 2). See under ایتایی.

تحت البحر (Tahta'l-bahrî) adj.: Submarine (1927, کوشش No. 77, p. 2, col. 5).

در دریای خزر * * يك ولکان تحت البحر منفجر و مشعل شده.

In the Caspian Sea a submarine volcano burst forth in flames.

مبین (Impulsive, "as action or movement). تحریکی
1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 2).

۴- حرکت تحریکی مثل حرکات مست مجانین الخ -

4—Impulsive action or movement, such as that of drunkards or lunatics, etc.

تحکیم (tahkīm).

تحکیم گشتن (tahkīm gashtan): "To acquire authority, to be strengthened." (1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

بر اثر اقدامات دولت ایران سکونت کامل در طهران و ولایات شمالی
برقرار و موقعیت کابینه روز بروز تحکیم می گردد -

In consequence of the efforts of the Persian Government there is (now) complete tranquillity in Tehran and the Northern provinces and the position of the cabinet is being strengthened day by day.

تحمیل شدن (tahmīl shudan; with به): "To be imposed" (upon). (1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 3).

تشکیل حزب کونیست بر روی اصول دموکراسی باین معنی که در
داخل حزب تصمیمات با افراد تحمیل نشده و آنها آزاد باشند -

The formation of the Communist party on the principles of Democracy, in this sense that within the party resolutions should not be imposed upon individuals, who should be free.

تحويل

تحويل گرفتن (tahvīl giriftan): "To take away." (1927, No. 191, p. 4, col. 2).

قیمت قدا دریافت میشود و خریداران باید اتومبیل را فوراً تحويل بگیر -

The price will be taken in ready money, and the purchasers must take the motor-cars away at once.

تخصص (takhasṣus): "Special knowledge, proficiency." (1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1).

والا محصلی که از مدرسه متوسطه بیرون میاید اعم از اینکه دیپلم شعبه علمی یا ادبی را بدست آورده باشد در هیچ رشته تخصص نداشته -

For indeed a student who is leaving an Intermediate School, though he have gained a diploma in Science or Arts, has, generally, no special knowledge of any particular subject.

1927, ایران جوان) : "Special fitness." (tukhsîs) تخصص
No. 24, p. 4, col. 4).

در ایات مسیویزو و تخصص او در مالیه هیچ شکی نیست -

There can be no doubt as to the suitability and special fitness of Monsieur X. for financial business.

تخلق (takhalluk), (with به) : "A being characterized by some special quality." (Redhouse). (See also متخلق in اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 5).

تخم

کاوه (tukhm dâdan) : "To seed." تخم دادن

تخم دادن as تخم کردن

تخمین

(takhmîn gardîdan; with به) : "To be estimated" (at so many). اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 4, col. 3).

عده قوای باغی منستر بچند هزار نفر تخمین گردیده ولی در سرتا سرا یالت مزبور پراکنده هستند -

The number of rebel forces in Munster has been estimated at several thousands, but they are scattered all over that province.

تدارك

(tadâruk dâshtan; with برای) : "To provide" (something for). محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 1).

اهالی قزوین انتظار دارند رئیس بلدیة با کفایت دلسوز غیر طماعی برای قزوین وزارت داخله تدارك * * دارد -

The inhabitants of Kazvîn are (hoping and) expecting that the Home Office will provide for Kazvîn an efficient earnest Governor untainted by covetousness.

تدوینی (tadvîni) : "Drawn up, registered." (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

چندی قبل بودجه تدوینی هذه السنه وزارت معارف بکسیون رجوع شده .

A short time ago the budget drawn up for this year of the Ministry of Education was referred to the Commission.

تذکر دادن (tazakkur dâdan; with را or به and following) :
"To call the attention" (of one to the fact that). (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 2).

با ذکر این مقدمه * * * قارئین محترم را تذکر می دهیم که در شماره آینده
* * * شروع بتشریح خرابی مؤسسات بلدیہ * * * خواهیم نمود .

Having touched upon these preliminaries we would call the attention of our esteemed readers to the fact that in a coming number we shall enter into an exposure of the ruined condition of our municipal establishments.

تراموه "Tramway." (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 1).

ترانزیت "Transit." (e.g., of goods). (1924 فکر آزاد, No. 148, p. 2, col. 4).

ترتیب

بترتیب ذیل (ba-tartîb-zail) : "As follows, by what follows."
(میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 3, sub-col. 4).

جنگ آتیہ با عرابہ هارا * * * بترتیب ذیل میتوان حدس زد .

One may gauge coming wars with tanks by what follows.

ترتیب "State of affairs." (1924 فکر آزاد, No. 148, p. 4, sub-col. 2).

این که وضع شد با این ترتیب که نمی شود اخلاق و حیثیات یک ملت را در
انظار ملل سائره حفظ کرد .

This being promised,—in such a state of affairs it is impossible to preserve the moral consideration of a nation in the eyes of other nations.

ترجم (tarhîm) : "Prayers for the dead." (1927 محشر, No. 55, p. 1, col. 4).

بناسبت فوت مرحوم آقای حاجی سید ابوالحسن علوی مجلس

ترجم * * * * * از امروز صبح الی فرد اظهر منعقد است .

In connection with the death of Âkâ Hâjjî Saiyid Abu'l-Hasan 'Alavî, a meeting for prayers will be held from early this morning till midday to-morrow.

تودستی (tar-dasti): "Jugglery, fraud." (مهر 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 2).

See under قلب

ترعه (tur'a)

ترعه سوئز "The Suez Canal." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

دفاع ترعه سوئز یکی از منافع حیاتی انگلستان محسوب شده.

The defence of the Suez Canal has been reckoned as one of the vital interests of England.

ترقی خواه (tarakkî-khvâh): "Progressive," (adj. and noun). (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 3, col. 2).

زحمت کشان اتحاد شوروی که بمساعدت عناصر ترقیخواه دنیا اتکا دارند در مقابل حمله که از طرف مرتجعین انگلیس شروع شده است با وحدت روح مقاومت خواهند نمود.

The responsible heads of the Soviet Union who rely upon the support of the progressive element of the world will oppose with one spirit the attack which has been entered upon by the English reactionaries.

تزاری (tzârî). "Of the Tsar." adj. (مهر 1927, No. 55, p. 2, col. 4).

ترویج

ترویج نمودن (tazvîj namûdan): "To marry," (in the sense of "espouser"). (مهر 1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 1).

See under اینکه به

تساوی (tasâvî): "Parity," (in the political sense). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, col. 1).

See under بایه اصلی

تسلیم

تسلیم نمودن (taslîm namûdan; with gen. after تسلیم نمودن): "To make surrender." (مهر 1924, No. 27, p. 2, sub-col. 2).

آلمان هادر فکر اختراع گازهای برآمدند که بوسیله امواج آنها کلیه دشمن را معدوم * * و دنیا را تسلیم خویش نمایند.

The Germans thought of (and carried out) the invention of gases, by means of whose waves they should annihilate all their enemies and made all the world surrender to them.

تسویه (tasvia): "Settling or arranging" (a business). (اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 4, col. 1).

برزیدنت هاردینگ سعی دارد کار را تسویه کند لیکن موقعیتی مشهود نمی گردد.

President Harding is making efforts to arrange the business but without any apparent success.

[Referring to a railway strike in America].

تشریف (tasharruf): "Being honoured" (by visiting a superior, or the mausoleum of a saint). (1924, حیات ایران, No. 129, p. 1, col. 2).

چند روز قبل نمایندگان محلات طهران بحضور رئیس انوز را تشریف و * * مساعدت خود را برای هر اقدامی ابراز داشته.

Some days ago the Members for all the quarters of Teheran had the honour of visiting the Premier and promised him their support in every measure.

تشخیص

تشخیص دادن (tashkhîs dâdan; with را and از): "To distinguish" [one from (another)]. (1924, پیک, No. 18, p. 1, col. 1).

مردم را خبر داد کردیم که باید روحانی خوب را از ملا نما تشخیص بدهند.

We warned people that they must distinguish the truly spiritual from the false mulla.

تشکیل (tashkîl).

تشکیلات (pl.): "Constituted bodies." (Cf. هیئت hai'at). (1927, طوفان, No. 191, p. 1, col. 5).

از طرف تشکیلات حشره شناسی که جدیداً در وزارت مالیه تاسیس شده تصمیم گرفته شد که * * در قساطی که مورد تهاجم ملخ واقع شده است اقدامات برای دفع آنها بنمایند.

It was resolved by the entomological bodies lately constituted under the Financial Ministry that measures should be adopted for checking the locusts in the districts subject to their attacks.

تشکیل

تشکیل دادن (tashkil dâdan): "To arrange, to form," (trans. v). (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 3).

اعلیحضرت به مهدی قلی خان مخبرالسلطنة دستور داده است که کابینه جدید را تشکیل دهد.

His Majesty has given permission to Mehdi Kulî Khân, Mukhbîrû's-Saltana, to form the new Cabinet.

تشکیل شدن (tashkil shudan): "To be arranged, formed." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 3).

کابینه جدید ایران به قرار ذیل تشکیل شد.

The new Persian Cabinet has been formed as follows.

تشویق (tashvîk): "Urging." (Redhouse).

تشویق نمودن (with به): "To urge" (to). (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 4).

عامه را بر جوع بایشان تشویق می‌نمائیم We urge the public to have recourse to them.

تعهدی (tasaddî): "Engagement" (in a work or office). (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 2).

وزارت پست و تلگراف مشارالیه را ملزم نموده است * * در کسب حضور پیدا نماید که شروع بر رسیدگی محاسبات اداره حمل و نقل در زمان تعهدی ایشان بشود.

The Post and Telegraph Ministry require the presence of the above-named at (the meeting of) the Commission, in order that investigation into the accounts of the Department of Transport, in the time of his engagement in it, may be entered upon.

تصدیق

تصدیق نمودن (tasdik namûdan): "To endorse," (metaph.). (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 2, col. 1).

بیش بینی کردن See under

تصدیق

بتصدیق رساندن (ba-tasdik rasândan): "To secure the ratification of." (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 2, col. 4).

قرار داد مزبور را رفیق شومیا آسکی وعده داده اند که بزودی بتصدیق دولت متبوعه خود برسانند۔

Comrade X. has promised to secure without delay the ratification by his Government of the treaty spoken of.

تصدیق

(ba-tasdik rasidan) : "To be ratified."
(فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 2, col. 4-5).

لازم است تجار محترم بهم کوشش وسیعی نمایند که قرار داد هرچه زود تر بتصدیق مجلس پنجم نیز برسد۔

(Our) esteemed merchants also must use every effort that the commercial agreement be ratified by the fifth parliament as soon as possible.

(tasdik-nâma) : A "confirmatory note or document."
(ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 11, sub-col. 3).

بجائے اجازه نامه تصدیق نامه گمرکی بآنها داده میشود۔

In place of a (commercial) license a Custom-house confirmatory note will be given to them.

(tasarruf; with gen.) : "Control" (over). (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 3).

معلوم شد که انگلیسها * * * منافع کثیری در بین النهرین و فلسطین بکپانی استانداده و در عوض بصورت شرکت بکپانی مزبور تصرف معادن شمالی فقطهاے مارا بدست آورده اند۔

It is known that the English have given great advantages in Mesopotamia and Palestine to the Standard Oil Company, and in return have, under the guise of partnership with that Company, gained control over our naphtha wells in the North.

تصویب

(as tasvib guzarânidan; with gen. after 1927, ایران جوان) : "To secure the approval" (of).
(No. 24, p. 1, sub-col. 2).

ممکن است برای مدت معینی مثلاً پنج سال * * * از تصویب مجلس گذاریند۔

It would be possible to secure the approval of the (National) Assembly for a fixed period; for instance, 5 years.

تصویب

(تصویب az tasvîb guzashtan; with gen. of گذشتن)
"To be approved" (by). (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 2, col. 2).

مواد ذیل را از قانون حکومت نظامی که در ۲۲ رجب * * از
تصویب مجلس شورای ملی گذشته است * * بعموم اهالی اعلان میدارم.

We are advising the public of the following article from
the regulations of the Government by Martial Law (in Resht)
approved on the 22nd of Rajab by the National Assembly.

تضمین (tazmîn; with gen.): "Giving guarantees" (for)
(تقی 1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

باید يك سلسله تقاضا هائى عملی راجع بتأمین خانواده مقتول وتضمین
مصونیت دیپلوماسی وقونسولی امریکا در ایران بعمل آید.

A number of requirements must be made, with a view to
the security of the murdered Consul's family and the giving
of guarantees for the safety of American Diplomats and
Consuls in Persia.

اتحاد (tazmînât, p.): "Indemnities, damages." (تضمینات)
1922, No. 215, p. 4, col. 2).

صدر اعظم آلمان در جواب رئیس کمیته تضمینات اظهار داشته است
* * آلمان ودولت آن حاضر خواهند بود اقداماتی را که در یاد داشت
کمیته قید شده است * * بموقع اجرا گذارند.

The German Premier in answer to the Chairman of the
Committee on the indemnities declared that Germany and
the Government will be prepared to carry out the under-
takings inscribed in the memorandum of the Committee.

تضییق

تضییقات (tazyîkât; pl.): "Oppression, oppressive acts."
(ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 4).

شایعات مختلفه در خصوص تضییقات دولت جمهوری ترکیه در حق ایرانیان
مقیم ترکیه بود.

There have been several reports of oppressive acts of the
Turkish Republican Government on Persians resident in
Turkey.

تجدد). (to). "Analogy, parallel," (with با): (tatbîk) تطبیق (1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 5).

با حل نشدن این قضیه دادن حق انتخاب کردن و انتخاب شدن بر آنها در میان تمام ملل دنیا تطبیق نمی شود.

There is no analogy or parallel to the non-solution among all the nations of the world of the question of giving women the right to vote or be voted for.

تطمیع (tatmî'): "Exciting cupidity." (Redhouse; and 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 3).

باید سرمایه خارجی را بوسیله تطمیع و پرداخت ربح گزافتری بروسه جلب نمود.

By means of exciting cupidity and paying extravagant interest foreign capital must be attracted to Russia.

اتحاد، (ta'âti) "Exchange;" (e.g., of thoughts), (1922, No. 215, p. 4, col. 2).

شاید در خصوص قضیه تنجیر نیز تعاطی افکاری بعمل آید.

It is possible that some exchange of thought may be offered also on the subject of Tangiers.

ایران جوان (ta'rifa): a "tariff." (Redhouse; and 1927, No. 24, p. 1, sub-col. 2).

اگر دولت موفق با استقرار تعرفه گمر کی قانونی نسبت بعوم دول شود برای مصالح ایران بهتر است.

If the Government should be successful in establishing a legal customs tariff with most other nations it would be better for the interests of Persia.

تعطیل

تعطیل بودن (ta'tîl būdan): "To be disengaged" (from one's usual functions), "to be closed" as a Government Office), (1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 1).

امروز تمام وزارتخانه ها و دوائر دولتی تعطیل خواهند بود.

To-day all the ministries and Government departments will be closed.

توق (ta'til shudan): "To be adjourned." (رق 1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 2).

See under تنفس

تعطیل گردیدن (ta'til gardidan): "To be adjourned." (محضر 1927, No. 55, p. 2, col. 2).

از روز پنجشنبه پنجم صفر * * جلسات مجلس تا یک ماه * * تعطیل گردید.

From Thursday, the 5th of Safar, the sittings of the (National) Assembly have been adjourned for a month.

تعطیل

تعطیل نمودن (ta'til namûdan): "To take a holiday." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, sub-col. 2).

دیروز بواسطه ورود آقای میرزا علی اکبر محمد کلیه اهالی تعطیل نموده و باستقبال رفته بودند.

Yesterday by reason of the arrival of the Mujtahid Âkâ Mîrzâ 'Alî Akbar (in Ardabîl) all the inhabitants took a holiday and went out to meet him.

تعقیب (ta'kîb): "Prosecution," (e.g., legal). (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 3, col. 1).

اجازه نامه مزبور در دست هر کس باشد از درجه اعتبار ساقط و نگاهداران مورد تعقیب خواهد شد.

The above-mentioned (medical) diploma will be of no value to any one into whose hands it may have fallen, and the retainer of it will be liable to prosecution.

—"Prosecution," (e.g., of studies). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 2). "To prosecute," (*ibidem*).

برای پیروی تحصیلات عالیّه آماده است و چنانچه آنها را در دارالعلوم تعقیب نماید بمناسبت استعداد و قریحه اش مورخ فیلسوف یا ادیب خواهد شد.

(The student from the Middle School) is prepared to pursue higher studies, and if he prosecute them in the University, when there is preparedness and natural ability, he may become a historian, a philosopher, or a man of letters.

تعقیب

در تعقیب (dar ta'kîb; with gen.): "Following" (upon), "in pursuance" (of). (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 4, col. 4).

در تعقیب واپرتهای هل و ثور و جوزا که دایر بر عملیات اداره انستیتو پاستور اشاعت یافت اینک راپرت عملیات برج سرطان ایت ئیل ذیلا مندرج میسازد -

Following upon the reports published in April, May, and June on the operations conducted at the Pasteur Institute, a report is now given of those carried out in July, 1922.

تعلق

(to). "To belong" (to) : (به ta'alluk giriftan) : تعلق گرفتن.
(2. sub-col. 1, p. 24, No. 1927, ایران جوان).

معافیتها و مصونیتهای نمایندگان سیاسی در ممالك شرق * * *
بهان اعصای رسمی سفارت محدود نبوده * * * باشخاص دیگری که وابسته
سفارتخانهها بودند از قبل طیب و معار و غیره نیز تعلق میگرفت -

The immunities and safeguards of political representation in Eastern countries have not been restricted to the official members of the embassy, but have belonged to other persons connected with the embassies, such as physicians, architects, etc.

(ta'lîmat; pl. of تعلیم) : "Instructions." See under تلکراف شدن.

(ta'mîm) : "The general diffusion," (e.g., of aims or views). (1. col. 4, p. 55, No. 1927, محشر).

برای تعمیم مقاصد خود بحامی تاسیس نموده اند -

They have established assemblies for the general diffusion of their aims.

(takdîr) : "Appreciation." (Redhouse; and تقدیر
بندگی کردن 2. col. 4, p. 10, No. 1924, See under).

(takallub) : "Imposture." (مین 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 2).

میگویند که میز و غیره بدون تقلب و تردستی حاضرین حرکت میکند -

They say the table or other things move without any imposture or jugglery practised by those taking part.

(takâmul o inkilâb) : "Decline succeeding attainment to the zenith." (یک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 1).

نصرت الدوله و مدرس که بموجب شرع تکامل و انقلاب فقط چند لحظه
محياتشان باقى است بنا بقوانين زندگى جق دارند اين تلاشهاى مايوسانه را بکنند -

Nusratu'd-Daula and mudarris (مدرس) who in accordance with the divine law that decline succeeds attainment to the zenith have but a few moments to live, in consequence of the human laws of life—have they the right to make all these flurried desperate efforts?

[The writer is reprobating certain reactionaries and declaring that their time is over. Mudarris (مدرس) was a very prominent member of the National Assembly].

تک فروشى (tak-firûshî) : “Retail sale,” (محرر 1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 3).

کا کائو هلندی - تک فروشى - همه جا -

Dutch cocoa—Retail sale, everywhere.

تکلیف

تکلیف قطمى (taklîf-e-kat'î) : An “ultimatum.” (1927 طوفان)
No. 191, p. 1, col. 2). See under آشکار کردن.
تکيه

(به and را with) takya dâdan (تکيه دادان)
“To lean (against), “to rest” (upon). (مهر 1924,
No. 27, p. 4, col. 2).

حال اگر عامل دستش را بجائى تکيه دهد شاقول از حرکت مى افتد -

Now, if the agent rest his hand upon any place the plummet ceases to move.

تلقى

تلقى شدن (talakkî shudan) : “To be met, received, accepted,” (مهر 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 1).

ولى خوشبختانه تحريكات آنها بايى اعتنائى و خون سردى توده تلقى شد -

But happily their instigations have been met by the indifference and nonchalance of the public.

تلقى کردن (talakkî kardan) : “To meet, receive, accept.”
(1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

در محافل سیاسی طهران وصول چنین تعلیقاتی را از طرف امریکا بمنزله يك طریق صالح جویانه تلقی میکند

In political circles in Teheran they meet such instructions from America (to its representatives) as a pacific line of action.

تلگراف (telgerâf): "Telegraph, telegram," (1927, طوفان, No. 191, p. 2, col. 4).

تلگراف

تلگراف شدن (telgerâf shudan): "To be telegraphed." (1927, طوفان, No. 191, p. 3, col. 1).

دیروز تعلیقات رسمی * * به عنوان نسوان و کودکان انگلیس مقیم محلات خارج سفارت تلگراف شد که در پکن نماند و هر چه زود تر خارج شوند.

Yesterday official instructions were telegraphed concerning the English women and children living in quarters at any distance from the embassy that they should not remain in Pekin but leave it as soon as possible.

تلگرافی "By telegraph." (1927, طوفان, No. 191, p. 2, col. 1).

"Telegraphic," (1927, طوفان, No. 191, p. 2, col. 1).

راپورت تلگرافی شیراز حاکی است امیر لشکر حکمران خوزستان وارد شد

A telegraphic report from Shiraz announces that General (X), the Governor of Khûzistân has arrived in that town.

تلفات (talafât; pl.): "Casualties," (in killed and wounded), (1922, اتحاد, No. 215, p. 4, col. 3).

تلفات قوای ملی نیز عبارت از چهار نفر مقتول و پانزده نفر مجروح میباشد

The casualties among the Nationalist forces also consist of four men killed and fifteen wounded.

تیلیمبار [tilumbâr, as تیلیمبار (Steingass)]: a "silk-worm nursery," (کنج شایگان, p. 83).

See under بار آوردن "To breed."

تماشا

تماشا کردن (tamâshâ kardan; with به): "To gaze" (at); "to contemplate," (مبین, 1924; No. 4, col. 3).

درین موقع رویت فوقانی با کمال تعجب به این میزدوا تماشا میکند -

At this juncture the conscious mentality gazes at the moving table with extreme wonder.

تمام

(tamâm shudan) : "To amount to, to cost." کل شدن. (1921, Apr. 10, p. 6). Cf. کاهه -

تمام

(1924, مین) "To be made up, to be settled." تمام شدن (No. 27, p. 1, sub-col.).

وقتی که قضیه کشف میشود و جای انکار باقی نمی ماند قرار می گذارد ماهی بست و پنج تومان از حقوق او کسر کنند تا تمام شود !!!

At the time when the matter is being disclosed and denial is no longer possible, he agrees to suffer a deduction from his pay of 25 tûmâns a month until (the account) is settled!!!

[For the beginning of the paragraph see under برداشت کردن]

(Fr.): a "postage-stamp." ایران جوان (1927, No. 24, p. 2, col. 2).

(tanzil) : "Interest" (on money). (فرهنگ 1888, No. 580).

پولی که در بانک بوعده یک سال و زیادتر گذارده شود تنزیل از قرار صد شش از جانب بانک داده خواهد شد -

Interest at the rate of six per cent. will be paid by the bank on money deposited for a term of one year or more.

(tanaffus) : "Rest." (Redhouse; and ترقی 1924 No. 8, p. 2, col. 2).

جلسه برائی تنفس تعطیل و پس از یک ربع تشکیل شد -

The sitting was adjourned for rest, and after a quarter of an hour was resumed.

(taujih) : "Construction" put upon any action or words), (فرهنگ 1888, No. 572, p. 4, col. 2).

روزنامه های انگلیس * * در توجیه و تاءویل دستخط عمومی امپراطور جدید
ژرمنی فصلهایی نویسند.

The English newspapers write articles upon the construction and interpretation to be put upon the public letter of the new Emperor of Germany.

اشکال See under بر بریت و توحش. (tavahhush) : توحش (1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 4).

—“Anxiety.” (ستاره ایران) (1924, No. 9, p. 3, col. 3).
در طی آن اظهار توحشی برای سلامت و حفاظت امریکائی های مقیم طهران
نموده.

In the course of that (memorandum) he has displayed some anxiety as to the safety and protection of Americans residing in Teheran.

توده

(tûda-ye millat) : “The mass of the community or nation.” (اتحاد) (1922, No. 216, p. 1, col. 2).

این يك روح عمومی است که امروز در اکثریت مجامع و دستجات و
جراید و توده ملت موجود است.

This is the public sense, which to-day is found in the majority of assemblies, meetings, newspapers, and, (in fine), the mass of the community.

(tavassut) : توسط (with gen.):
“ (Through) the instrumentality ” (of), “through.” (محشر)
(1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 1).

پس از مذاکرات تلگرافی توسط آقای حاجی رحیم آقای قزوینی بریاست
وزرای عظام مخبره نمودند.

After some conferences they sent a telegram through Âkâ Hâjjî Rahîm Âkâ.

(taukîf) : “Detention,” (Redhouse). A “detaining hand.” (ستاره ایران) (1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 2).

See under ابتیاعی.

تولیت (tauliyat): "Administration or trusteeship of pious bequests." (Redhouse; and فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 4, col. 4).

دارالتولیت (dâru't-tauliyat): "the office of the same," (ibidem).

از موقعی که کسیونی برای رسیدگی با مور آستانه در دارالتولیه تشکیل شد هرچه از طرف کسیون میرزای ضابط تذکر داده شد که اسناد آستانه را بیاورد بکسیون * * * * میرزای ضابط * * * از آوردن اسناد خود داری میکرد -

From the time when a Commission was formed in the Office of Administration of pious bequests to investigate the affairs of the Âstana,—in spite of all the notices received from the Commission by the Mîrzâ Zâbit to bring the documents of the Âstâna before it, he has refrained from doing so.

تھا جم (tahâjum): "Attack" (in numbers), (1927 طوفان), No. 191, p. 1, col. 5).

See under تشکیلات.

تہیہ

تہیہ دیدن (tahîya دیدن; with برای): "To provide" (for). (1927 طوفان), No. 191, p. 1, col. 2).

انگلستان * تجهیزات مستعمراتی خویش را برای چنین روزی تہیہ میدید -

England has provided its colonial reserves for such a day as this.

تیپ (tip): "A type," (1924 پیک), No. 18, p. 1, col. 1 and 2).

تیپ of 800 men فوج A تیپ

Generally found in سرتیب (sar tip): "Commander of a فوج of 800 men." It is often found, however, as an independent word, as in رئیس تیپ the head or chief of a تیپ or فوج (مہن 1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 3).

حاکم نظامی طهران و مضافات رئیس تیپ گارد پیاده سرتیب مرتضی خان -

Military Governor of Teheran and its dependencies, Ra'îs-e Tîp of the fort-guards, Sar Tîp, Murtazâ Khân.

تیر باران کردن (tîr-bârân kardan; with را of person). "To shoot." (1917 نو بہار), No. 59, p. 3).

محشر (tîra-dâr; adj.): "of cotton-thread." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 2, sub-col. 5).

و دستگاه دیگری هم مشغول بود پارچه تیره دار میبافت.

And the other form was also in use (and) employed in weaving stuff of cotton-thread.

جامع (jâmi').

جامع الاطراف (jâmi'u'l-atrâfi): "Comprehensive and detailed." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 3).

See under چیدن .

جامعه (jâmi'a): "The social state, society, the state of society." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 3, col. 4).

امروز جامعه ما خراب است فساد یعنی دروغ گفتن و خیانت منفعت طلبی و حب جاه خود پسندی نقصان صمیمیت و راستی با آخره ست عنصری در سرتا سر مملکت حکفر ما است .

In these days our social state is ruined: corruption, that is, lying, dishonesty, self-seeking, ambition, conceit, want of sincerity and truth, and finally, sloth and instability prevail throughout the kingdom.

ایران جوان (jâmi'a): "Environment, atmosphere." (ایران 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1). See under ادبی .

جان

بجان هم افتادن (ba-jân-e ham uftâdan): "To attack one another desperately." (اتحاد 1922, No. 217, p. 4).

جبران (jubrân): "Compensation" (for injury or loss). (ترقی 1924, No. 7, p. 1, col. 2).

بعلاوه چنانچه دولت ایران خود اظهار نموده است باید نسبت بزوجه مقتول جبران بعمل آید-

In addition, as Persia herself has declared, compensation must be made to the widow of the murdered (Consul).

جبه "The forehead."

جبه جنگ (jabha-ye jang) : " The front," (in war). (مین)
1924, No. 27, p. 2, sub-col. 3).

در صورتی که صفوف آهنین نظام در جبه جنگ و مقاومت و پایداری
تمام قوای ملی در پشت سر آنها هیچ وجه از این اختراعات مرتعش
و متزلزل نشدند -

Whilst the iron ranks of the troops at the front, and the
firm opposition of all the national forces behind them are in
no way shaken by these inventions.

جدیت (jiddiyat) : " Earnestness," (اتحاد) 1922, No. 219,
p. 3, col. 4).

از کسانی این کار را امید دارند که * * * هم کم و بیش از طرز زندگی
سایر مال اطلاعاتی داشته باشند و هم جرمی همت و جدیت در وجود آنها
یافت شود -

Their hope for this business is in such persons as have
some knowledge, more or less, of the mode of life of other
nations, and have also decision and earnestness.

جریان (jarayân).

" To be going on," (اتحاد) 1922, No. 215,
p. 4, col. 1, cl. 13-14).

اعتصاب کارگران طرق آهن در امریکا جریان دارد -

The strike of railway-workers in America is going on.

" To hold," (as conferences). (اتحاد) 1922, No. 215, p. 3,
col. 5 last two lines, and p. 4, col. 1, ll. 1-3).

اعتصاب کارگران تلفون خانه در استکهلم توسعه می یابد و بسا بر بلاد سوئد
سرایت میکند عجائیه مذاکراتی با اعتصاب کنندگان جریان دارد -

The strike of the Telephone-workers in Stockholm is
extending and spreading to the rest of Sweden. Conferences
are being held without delay with the strikers.

جریان in اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 1, col. 2 means presumably
" movement, trend," almost " influence."

جریان دیگری که امروزه در طهران موجوده است جریان افکار عمومی
است -

Another movement found at present in Teheran is the
trend of public thought.

[i.e., as to the question of the naphtha concession in the north of Persia].

جریانات (jarayânât, pl. of جریان): "Movements," i.e., "action taken for any purpose." (1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 4).

عجالة خالی از فایده نیست که جریانات راجع باین قضیه را * * * بطور اختصار ذکر کنیم -

For the present it will not be profitless to speak shortly of the action taken in connection with this matter.

اجزائی (jazmî): "Determination, decision," (1922, No. 219, p. 3, col. 4). See under جدیت.

میهن (شعبه) (as جزء (juz') or جزو (juzu); a "section," (1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 5).

برای تعیین و واضح نمودن از این قبیل وسائل برای فلاح و زراعت ایران جزو وزارت فلاح و زراعت اداره و شعبه مخصوصی برای آب لازم است -

In order to make definite and clear such means of cultivating the soil of Persia there should be a section of the Ministry of Agriculture and a special section for irrigation.

طوفان (juz'î or جزئی (juzvî): "In retail, retail," (1927, No. 191, p. 3, col. 4).

کلی رجوع شود به تجارت خانه غربی و جزئی به دو چرخه سازی استاد غلام حسین صابری -

Wholesale: apply to the Tijârât-khâna-ye gharbî; retail: to the bicycle factory of Ustad Ghulâm Husain Sâbîrî.

جلوگیری (jalau-gîrî; with از): "Prevention" (of), "hindrance" (in), (1922, No. 215, p. 4, col. 2 and 3).

و اما راجع بجلوگیری از خارج شدن سرمایه تصمیم متخذه در شورای عالی متفقین منعقد در ۱۳ اوت سنه ۱۳۱۱ راجع بخارج کردن سرمایه از این یبعد بموقع اجرا گذاشته شد -

But as regards prevention of the transportation of capital (from Germany)—the restoration adopted in the High Council of the Allies held on August 3, 1921, relative to the transportation of capital, will now and henceforth be given effect to (by that Power).

ستاره‌ایران (jalau-gîrî) : "Opposition, objection." (ستاره‌ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 3).

راجع به تجدیدی که قرار بود روسها از تازه حصار بار تقی احداث نمایند
فعلا جلوگیری بعمل آمده -

With regard to the new canal which, as had been agreed, the Russians were to construct from Tâza Hisâr to Artik, objection has for the present been taken.

— "Inhibition." (with : از of the person inhibited), (ستاره‌ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

از اطباء غیر دیلمه که تا بحال در امر طبابت دخالت داشته اند جلوگیری
بعمل آید -

That Doctors having no diploma who have engaged up to the present in medical practice should be subject to inhibition.

جلوگیری (jalau-gîrî) : "Rejecting, preventing, stopping, arresting."

جلوگیری کردن (with : از : "To reject, prevent, stop, arrest." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 3).

بموجب مواد مزبور مدعی العموم حق خواهد داشت از کلیه تقاضا نامه های
اتحادیه اصناف برای تهیه وجوه که مخالف مقررات قانون باشد جلوگیری کند -

In accordance with the above articles the Public Prosecutor will have the right to reject all demands of the Trades Unions for providing means opposed to the provisions of the (proposed) law.

جمع.

جمع اعانه (jam'-e i'âna) : A "subsidy," (کاوه 1921, Apr. 10, p. 5).

جمع (jam').

"To occupy, engage, monopolize," (e.g., the attention). (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 1).

فرض کنیم شخصی در موقع گردش با رفیق خود از سیاسیات حرف می زند این مطلب تمام توجه متکلم را جمع نموده -

Suppose a person whilst walking with a friend is talking politics (with him). This subject engages all the attention of the speaker.

جمهوری (jūmhûrî). Often used for "Republic."
(طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 2).

انگلستان * * * مایل است کانادا مصر هندوستان عراق استرالیارا
برضد جمهوری شوروی روس بجهنر (کند) -

England proposes to equip Canada, Egypt, India, 'Irâk, Australia, against the Soviet Republic of Russia.

جنبش (jumbish).

"To take some action." (یک 1924, No. 18, p. 3, col. 3).

تأشاید خانمهای محترم از این وقایع قدری نکان خورده و جنبشی نمایند -

In order that ladies of station may be moved by these occurrences and take some action.

نکر آزاد (janjâl): "Contention, disputation,"
(1924, No. 148, p. 1, col. 1, et passim).

در این مملکت همیشه حقایق دستخوش و شهید سفته و جنجال است -

In this country truths are always subordinated to sophistry and disputation and victimised by them.

جنگه (junha): "Crime."

"Criminal Court." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 3).

باسمعیل ۲۵ سائہ آ- یابان * * * انظار میشود که مدعی العموم بدایت طهران
بر شما بجرم سرقت * * * اقامه دعوی نموده -

Isma'il, a miller aged 25, is notified that the Public Prosecution of the Court of First Instance has instituted proceedings against him for the crime of theft.

جنس (jins) : "Sex." (تجدد 1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 5).
 یحتمل فرقی که مابین این دو جنس وجود دارد در میان اقوام شمال بارزتر
 میا شد -

Possibly the difference between the two sexes is more pronounced among northern peoples.

جنسی (jinsî; adj. from جنس but used sometimes as noun) : "Products," (as opposed to نقد naked, "Cash").
 (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 3).

در مقابل پنجاه تومان نقد و در حدود هشتاد خروار جنسی * * * عشریه
 مذکور * * * مبلغ ۵۶۰۰ قران در سال * * * بعنوان مستمری
 برقرار گردد -

As an equivalent for the 50 tûmâns in cash and about 80 ass-loads of products, the tithes in question, the sum of 5605 kîrâns a-year should be settled as pensions (among the learned petitioners).

جهت (jihât) : "A reason."

جهت (ba-în jihat. As از این جهت) : "For this reason."
 (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 1).

باین جهت است که ما ایشان را برای ریاست وزرایی ایران شایسته میدانیم

It is for this reason that we consider him fitted for the premiership of Persia.

جهت (for به جهت ba-jihat) : "For." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 1).
 "Proposal for taking over a Government assignment."

چاشکاکای (châshkâ-chây. Rus.) : A "fête," (Lit., "a cup of tea"). (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 4, col. 1).

چراغ (chîrâgh).

چراغ برق (chîrâgh-e bark) : "Electric lights or lamps."
 (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 1).

یک عده چراغ برق هم از زمان آقا سید ضیا الدین در این شهر روشن گردید

From the time of Âkâ Saiyid Ziyâ'u'd-Dîn an equipment of electric lamps have served to illuminate the town.

چرخ(charkh).

چرخ الماس(charkh-e almâs): An "electric battery,"
(Phillott; and مین 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 4).

چند عدد جعبه های چرخ الماس * * که توہ خشک کار میکند وارد شده
و بقیمت مناسب فروخته میشود.

A number of boxes of electric batteries working by dry
power have come, and are on sale at a reasonable price.

C. E. WILSON.

(To be continued)

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF IBN-I-SÎNÂ

I. INTRODUCTION

THE Arabic language has two words for a philosopher one *Hakîm* and the other *Faîlsûf*. The former term is derived from the Arabic word *Hikmat*, meaning wisdom or science, and is applied indifferently and indiscriminately alike to a physician and a metaphysician, not under the Greek influence. Nevertheless it is a very significant term in so far as it points to the close relationship between philosophy and medicine or physics. The latter word is evidently derived from the two famous Greek words meaning "love of wisdom." In the Islamic philosophy, however, it is generally applied to the philosopher who shows clear signs of Greek influence, or who bases his study directly on the Greek text, either as a translator or as the pupil of those who used this Greek text. Technically, however, the word is used to denote a particular series of Arabic scholars, who arose in the seventh century, and who had their origin in the more accurate study of Aristotle, based on an examination of the Greek text and the Greek commentaries. The work of these commentators was circulated in Syria, and is employed as though these "philosophers" formed a particular sect or school of thought. 'Ibn-i-Sînâ belongs to this school of "philosophers." Shahrastâni has given a list of about twenty, who received this title before 'Ibn-i-Sînâ's time.¹ Among them are the Christian or the Sabian translators, of whom the chief are Hunain 'ibn-i-Ishâq, Thâbit bin Qurrâ and Yahyâ bin 'Adî. Among the Muslims the most celebrated representatives, before 'Ibn-i-Sînâ, are Al-Kindî² and Al-Fârâbî.³ Of these

(1) See his book entitled *ملل والنحل* (*The Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects*).

(2) For details of his life and philosophy see my art., '*Al-Kindi and his Philosophy*', in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Poona, Vol. II, part 2, Jan. 1921.

(3) For the details of his life and philosophy see my art., '*Al-Farabi and his Philosophy*' in the *Indian Philosophical Review*, Baroda, (now extinct) for January 1920.

Al-Kindî is the real organiser of the Arabian scholasticism, while to Al-Fârâbî 'Ibn-i-Sînâ is greatly indebted in metaphysics, as he himself acknowledges in his autobiography. His Logic and Psychology are also not without Al-Fârâbî's influence. It is now generally granted that this school was a development of Neo-Platonic, rather than strictly Peripatetic, philosophy. 'Ibn-i-Sînâ seems to have cleared up and systematized the work of his predecessors.¹ His doctrines still possess great authority in theological, philosophical, and especially medical, circles of the East. His importance among the Muslim philosophers is clearly evident from the fact that Al-Ghazzâlî has virtually addressed his book *Tihâfatu'l Filâsafah* (*The Destruction of the Philosophers*) to him, and that Shahrastânî, in his *Milalu w'an Nihal*, has adopted him as the type of a philosopher.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to present an uncritical exposition of 'Ibn-i-Sînâ's Psychology, based chiefly on the Arabic text of a treatise edited by Dr. Landauer, and published with German translation and an introduction in the *Z.D.M.G.* for 1875 pp. 335-418.²

II. THE PROOF OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE MENTAL FACULTIES

Before proceeding to define the individual mental faculties an attempt has to be made to prove the existence of such faculties. Now it is a fact known to everybody that activity and cognition are the chief characteristics of these faculties. From this it can be easily concluded, that for every moving body there is a cause of movement. From this point of view the movement of bodies can be divided into two distinct classes. One of these classes comprises those bodies, which move in a natural way, for example the falling down of the heavy bodies, and the rising up of the light ones. The other class includes those, which, in addition to these natural

(1) Carra de Vaux's art., on 'Ibn-i-Sînâ in the *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics*.

(2) I have to thank my elder brother Muhammad Jamil-'ur-Reh-mân, M.A., Professor of Islamic History, Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan, for drawing my attention to this treatise. For the details about 'Ibn-i-Sînâ life see my art., '*Ibn-i-Sînâ* published in vol. II, of the *Journal of the Osmania University College, Hyderabad-Deccan*.

movements, are capable of unnatural movements also.* The cause of these unnatural movements is known as the Mind, or the mental faculties. This obviously means that 'Ibn-i-Sinâ considers volition as the logical differentia of the mind, for it is volition that is the primary cause of those movements, which Ibn-i-Sinâ calls unnatural. But evidently this does not prove the existence of the mental faculties, but only defines it. To prove the existence we have to look at the bodies from a different angle. We know that there is a class of bodies which is capable of movements and there is another which is not. This means that the moving bodies do not move simply because they are bodies. If such were the case this differentiation would not have obtained. Hence we can conclude that there is an extraneous cause of the movements of the bodies. Now the bodies created out of the four elements are capable of two different kinds of movements. One of them is according to the predominating element, and is always in a particular direction. This direction and order is determined by the nature of the body. Man, for example, always falls down, and steam always rises up. This difference is evidently due to the difference of the predominating element of both of these bodies. The other kind of movement is against the nature of the predominating element. A bird, for instance, flies high up in the air, in spite of its heavy body. This difference of movements clearly shows, that there are two different causes which lead to these movements. The cause of the former of these is called nature, and that of the latter, Mind or the mental faculties. Thus from the point of view of movement we can prove the existence of Mind or the mental faculties.

The same, or similar, arguments apply to the faculty of cognition. From the point of view of cognition also, bodies can be divided into two distinct classes: those that are capable of cognition and those that are not. This means that cognition is an adjunct of "bodiness," and that there is an extraneous cause for it. The rest of the chain of arguments is quite similar to that used in the case of movements. In this way it is ultimately and conclusively proved that Mind or the mental faculties exist.

*These unnatural movements may be voluntary or coercive (تسرى). 'Ibn-i-Sinâ does not make any difference between them. This difference is, however, important, since the coercive movement may not be the direct result of a mind, as the throwing of the shells by a machine gun. In such cases the argument of Ibn-i-Sinâ tumbles down like a house of cards.

III. DIVISION OF THE MENTAL FACULTIES AND THE DEFINITION OF THE ABSOLUTE MIND

So far it has been shown that there is a similarity and a difference among bodies from the point of view of both movement and cognition. There are bodies that move according to their nature, and there are others, which, in addition to these natural movements, are capable of other kinds of movements. Such unnatural movements are according to their will. Then there is a third class of bodies which do not move at all. Similarly there are bodies similar to each other in so far as they are capable of cognition, or sense-perception, and dissimilar in so far as some of them are capable of intellectual perception also. Then there is a third class which is devoid of any perception whatsoever. Again, we have seen that the faculty of movement is more general than the faculty of cognition or perception, for the vegetables are quite innocent of the latter. Similarly the movement and the perception that is found in the animals is more than the rationality that is characteristic of man. Thus Mind can be arranged, according to this generality in three classes:—(1) the Vegetable Mind, (2) the Animal Mind, and (3) the Human Mind. This, so to say, is the first division of the Mind from the point of view of the faculties. But what about the universal, or the absolute generic Mind? This question 'Ibn-i-Sînâ answers in strict accordance with the Aristotelian dualism of matter and form. The chief characteristics of matter are:—(1) It is through it that any physical body suffers any action, (2) Two physical bodies cannot be differentiated on its basis. Earth and water, for example, are not different from each other as regards matter. Their difference, on the other hand, is of form. (3) It possesses the characteristic nature of a physical body *in potentia* only. The "mannes" of the human beings is only potential in the four elements. The characteristics of form, on the other hand, are:—(1) Bodies do their work with it. The sword, for example, cuts with its sharp edge and not with its iron. (2) It helps us to discriminate between the bodies. Earth, for example, differs from water in form only. (3) The characteristic nature of the physical bodies becomes an actuality in form. On the basis of all this it can be safely asserted that a composite animate body can only be differentiated from an inanimate one on the basis of mind and not that of matter. It is animate because it has a mind and not because it has a body. In other words Mind is a form,

and as such it is a perfection, or in the Aristotelian technology, an Entelechy. But this Entelechy is of two kinds:—One is the principle of all actions and effects, the other the actual actions and effects. Aristotle, and hence, Ibn-i-Sinâ, names the former as the first form, and the latter as the second form. Mind is the first form, or the Entelechy, for it is the source and the principle of all the actions and the effects. But this Entelechy can be that of the material substances, or that of the non-material substances. Mind, however, is the first Entelechy of the bodily substances. Then again bodies are either artificial or natural. Mind is the perfection, or the Entelechy, of the natural bodies. But the natural bodies either perform their functions with organs or without organs. Mind is not the Entelechy of the latter kind of natural bodies. Thus we reach the final definition of Mind:—Mind is the first Entelechy of organised physical bodies, or it is the first Entelechy of the physical bodies that are potentially animate, that is to say it is the potential source of animal actions.*

IV. THE MENTAL FACULTIES ARE NOT THE RESULT OF THE FUSION OF THE ELEMENTS, BUT ARE SOMETHING EXTRANEIOUS TO IT

Now the question naturally arises: Whence does the organised physical body acquire the first Entelechy? Two answers immediately suggest themselves: First, the body is the result of the combination, or the fusion, of the four elements, the first Entelechy—the Mind—is the epiphenomenon of this fusion. Or second, that the Mind is

(1) Compare this with the definition of the Soul offered by Aristotle:—"The Soul is the first Entelechy of a physical body having life potentially, or briefly, it is the first Entelechy of a physical organised body." See *De Anima*, II. c. I., quoted in original Greek, and translated by Dr. A. Stöckl in his *History of Philosophy*, Part I, Eng. Tr. by T. A. Finlay, Dublin, 1887, p. 118. 'Ibn-i-Sinâ's original words are:—

انها كال اول لجسم طبيعي آلى، وان شئنا قلنا كال اول طبيعى ذى حيوۃ بالقوة
ای مصدر الافرعال الحيوانى بالقوة

See *J. D. M. G.* for 1875, p. 346. Accordingly 'Ibn-i-Sinâ defines the Vegetable, the Animal, and the Human, Mind as under:—

١- النفس النباتية وهى كال اول لجسم طبيعى آلى من جهته ما تولد، وتنمو وتغذى.
٢- النفس الحيوانية وهى كال اول لجسم طبيعى آلى من جهته ما تدرك الحركات
وتتحرك بالارادة

٣- النفس الانسانية وهى كال اول لجسم طبيعى آلى من جهته ما تفعل الافعال
الكائنة بالاختيار الفكرى، الاستنباط بارى ومن جهته ما تدرك الامور الكلية

See *An-Najat*, Sîbrî al-Kürdî's Egyp. Ed., p. 258.

something added to this fusion. 'Ibn-i-Sinâ hastens to reject the first answer, and to support the second by an ingenious train of reasoning. He argues that when two or more different things are mixed, or fused, together the product can assume three forms only:—(1) The form of the product is in accordance with the predominating element. A large quantity of aloe mixed with honey, for example, gives a product bitter-in-taste-quality, which is strictly in accordance with the predominating element—the aloe. (2) The product will resemble all the individual elements—provided, of course, that these elements are of equal quantity. Black and white mixed in equal quantity give grey, which resembles both black and white. (3) The product will be quite different from the elements, whether we look at it from the point of view of a composition, or that of the elements. The form of the product will be a totally new form. The impression of a seal on wax, for example, is absolutely different from either the seal or the wax. Now we know that if the product is the result of fusion (*اِتِّزَاج*) and not the colligation (*اِخْتِلَاط*) of counteracting elements, the predominating elements leave no scope for others to counteract their effects and actions in the same product. On the other hand, these predominating elements suck up, as it were, the nature and the characteristic effects of all others. In the second case the elements easily counteract on account of their equality. Lastly, in the third case the product is not obtained from the nature of the composition, but is extraneous to it. With these premises before us we can very easily answer the question that we raised at the start:—Whence does the organised physical body acquire this first Entelechy? It is plain that the Mind cannot fall in the first case for if it did, it should be either hot or cold, wet or dry, according as any one of the four elements preponderates. Now how can any of these forces be itself the cause of the mental movements, the movements in other words, produced by the Mind, when there is a defect in the composition, on account of which defect it cannot reach the state of perfection? And if it is actually the cause, these movements will surely be in one direction only, and will inhibit all the other mental movements. But we have already seen that such a movement cannot be attributed to a mind or the mental faculties. That is to say Mind cannot be the result of the fusion of the four elements in unequal proportions. Then it cannot fall under the second case either. It is impossible because, when the elements fuse in equal proportions, the effects of each of those elements are lost, which is to say that the product will not show signs of any movement at all, but

will be stationary in one of the thresholds attributed to the four elements respectively. This means that the attractive force preponderates. But by hypothesis this is not true, for we have assumed that all the forces are equally balanced. Thus we reach the absurd conclusion, that the body will neither move nor be stationary. Now whatever is conducive to an absurdity is itself absurd. Hence our assumption, that the elements can be colligated in equal proportions, is absurd. Its converse must then be true. So that the final conclusion is, that the fusion, or the colligation, of the elements in equal proportions is impossible—and this is exactly the position we started from. Thus we are left with the third alternative only. And it has already been said that in this case the product is extraneous to the elements, or their composition. Mind, in short, is extraneous to the fusion of the four elements.

V. THE VEGETABLE MIND

A few pages back Mind was divided into three distinct classes: the Vegetable Mind, the Animal Mind, and the Human or Rational Mind or Reason. Now we shall consider them individually, and shall try to define their different faculties together with the use that that particular Mind makes of them.

So when we consider bodies having Mind from the point of view of their vegetable faculties, we know that they are similar as regards nutrition, but are different as regards growth and generation, for there are bodies which require nutrition, but neither grow nor generate, like a mature animate body, or a seed that has been sown. Then there are bodies which grow but do not generate, for example, the immature animals and the insects. Thus we can distinguish three faculties in the Animal Mind:—Nutrition, Growth, and Generation. Out of these three the first—the faculty of Nutrition—is, as it were, the source, the third—that of Generation—is the end, and the second—that of Growth—the connecting link between the source and the end.

But why should a body having Mind possess these three faculties? The answer is: When God ordained that Nature should bring into existence animate bodies made up of the four elements, this Nature could not produce such a body ready made and all of a sudden. It created it by making it grow gradually. But this creation was, by its nature, liable to dissolution, and ultimately to extinction, leaving nothing behind to perpetuate it. So Nature stood in need of a

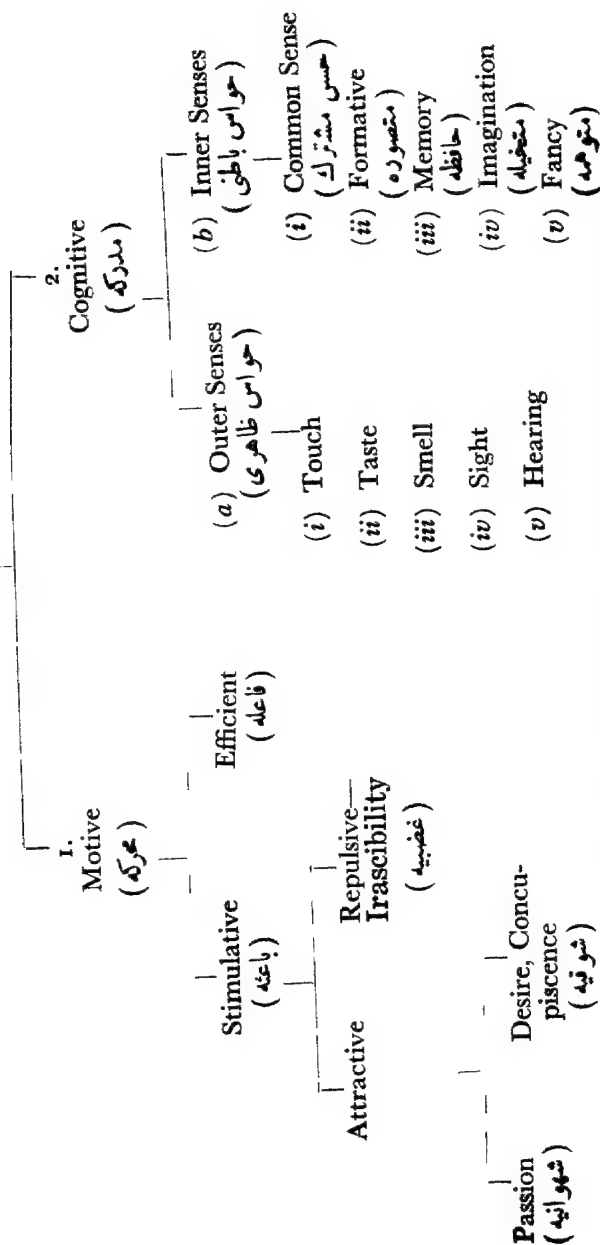
faculty, or power, through, or by, which it should make the body grow. Hence God granted it the faculty of Growth. But side by side with this growth, the process of dissolution was undoing the whole thing. So God, out of His bounty, endowed it with the faculty of Nutrition, to counteract the process of dissolution, and thus to preserve the psycho-physical organism. Then some force, or faculty, was needed to compensate for the extinction that was threatening the individual and thus to perpetuate the species. For this purpose God armed it with the faculty of Generation. From what we have said above it should be plain, that the faculty of Growth is consequent upon that of Nutrition, and the faculty of Generation upon that of Growth. But in the creation of the animate body and its conservation with its specific actions, the real arrangement is quite the reverse. When the matter is ready to accept life, the first faculty that makes its appearance is that of Generation, for it gives to matter the first form of the object to be created with the help of Growth and Nutrition. When this form is perfected, the matter is handed over to the faculty of Growth, which calls Nutrition to its aid. Then lastly the faculty of Nutrition holds the sway over the matter. Allegorically we can say that the faculty of Generation is a master without slaves, the faculty of Nutrition is a slave without a master, while the faculty of Growth is a master in one respect and slave in another. But although there is no master for the faculty of Nutrition in the realm of the mental faculties, still it finds a master in the four physical faculties of Attraction (*جاذبه*), Retention (*ماسكه*) Digestion (*هاضمه*) and Repulsion (*دافعه*). This much about the Vegetable Mind.

VI. THE ANIMAL FACULTIES, AND THEIR NECESSITY

Now for the Animal Mind. We know that every animal capable of cognition is also capable of voluntary movement, and vice versa. This is because the existence of the senses in any animal which is not capable of voluntary movement is futile, and its absence in those that are capable of voluntary movement is detrimental, and Nature does not endow any body with what is futile, or detrimental. This evidently means that the Animal Mind has two chief faculties:—(i) the Motive, and (ii) the Cognitive. Each of these is further divided into many others. These divisions and subdivisions can best be represented in the form of the following table:—

[*The Animal Mind.*

THE ANIMAL MIND



Now we shall define these faculties one by one in the above order.

1. *The Motive Faculty*

The Motive faculty, as we see from the above table, is divided into the Stimulative and the Efficient, the former being either Attractive, or Repulsive. The Attractive power again has two forms: One is Passion and the other is Desire. Passion is defined as the power, which induces the animal to go nearer the profitable, or the essential, objects with a view to get pleasure. The Repulsive faculty, on the other hand, is practically identical with Irascibility, which is a power inducing the animal to avoid the injurious objects with a view to predominance. In the Efficient faculty the power, or the energy, gets diffused in the nerves and the muscles, and stimulates them, with the result that the tendons contract or expand, producing a movement of the limb in which those tendons happen to be situated.

2. *The Cognitive Faculty*

The Cognitive faculty is subdivided into two classes: one is a faculty through which the external objects are cognised, and the other through which the internal subjective things are brought to the Mind. The former is called the External Senses, which are five in number. The latter is the Internal, or the Inner, Senses. We shall now consider them in the order of their advantageousness.

(a) *The Outer Senses*

(i) *Touch*.—This is a power diffused in the skin and the flesh of the animal body. When anything touches the animal body the nerves are stimulated, so that there occurs a change in the nature, or the condition, of the skin or the flesh, as the case may be, and we get the sensation of touch. It seems that this power is not a kind of the power of cognition, but is itself a genus, comprising four different powers in the skin generally. We are wrongly led to the conclusion that there is only one class of touch-sensations, because there is only one organ through which we get them.* This means that there are four different pairs of sensations that we get from the skin:—heat and coldness, dryness and wetness, roughness and smoothness, hardness and softness. This sense

*Vide *An-Najat*, Sibri al-Kurdi's Egypt. Ed., p. 260-61. All the future references to this book are to this same edition,

enables the animal to feel its way towards safe and profitable places, and to avoid the dangerous and the unprofitable ones.

(ii) *Taste*.—This power is found in the nerves spread out on the skin of the tongue, which is the organ of gustation. When we put anything on the tongue, it is immediately dissolved in the saliva, which, in turn, stimulates the gustatory nerve and we get the sensation of taste.¹ There is only one pair of sensations that we get from this sense—sweetness and bitterness. By the help of this the animal differentiates between the suitable and the unsuitable food.

These two senses—those of touch and taste—are of primary importance for the animal, and are found in each and every one of them without exception. The rest of the three senses are of secondary importance, and are found in some animals only.

(iii) *Smell*.—This power is found in the two projections of the front brain, which resembles the “nipples of a woman’s breast” in shape.² When any smelling substance gives out a smell, the air around it takes this smell up to the nostrils of the nose, and we quite naturally inhale it. Thus the projections of the front brain are stimulated, and we get the smell sensation. Like tastes this sense also gives us a single pair of sensations—good smell and bad smell.

By the help of this sense the animal knows the good food from the bad one.

(iv) *Sight*.—This power is found in the “hollow nerve” (عصبته المجوفة) of the eye. It perceives the shape of the coloured objects, which is imprinted in the vitreous humour, through the transparent mediums.³ Now there is a difference of opinion among the philosophers as to how we see the objects. There are three current theories of vision:—

(a) According to the first theory a ray of light coming out of the eye falls on the surface of the visible object, and hence we see it. This is the Platonic theory of vision.

(b) According to the second theory the Formative faculty (متصوره) itself meets the object and hence we get the sensation.

(1) *Ibid.* p. 260.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 260.

(3) *Ibid.* pp. 259-260.

(c) According to the third theory the shape of the visible object is imprinted in the vitreous humour of the eye, through an actually transparent medium, whenever the light falls on these objects. This is the Aristotelian theory of vision.

Now we shall try to look at each theory for what it is worth.

(a) The Platonic theory is obviously untenable.¹ If the rays of light proceed from the eye, as this theory asserts, then we should not require light for seeing. That is to say, we should have been able to see in the dark. Then again this ray of light exists in the eye, or in some body other than the eye, for we require some body to carry it, as the ray does not exist essentially, but *per accidens* only. If we accept the first alternative, as Plato does, then to say that it comes out of the eye is absurd. If, on the other hand, we assume the other alternative, then this body proceeds from the eye, or is a medium between the seer and the seen, in which exists the light coming out of the eye. The first alternative leads us to the conclusion that the eye does not see anything under the sky, for a body can never penetrate another body. It can only displace it and occupy its place. Here an objection can be raised on the basis of the void—to which, by the way, Plato denies existence. But we have taken its existence for granted, for the body emanating from the eye penetrates an empty expanse of water, and not its whole expanse. Thus we have to admit that the eye can see only some of the things that are under water. The second alternative is also wrong, for when a thing, and especially light, is near its source, its intensity is at its maximum. In other words, when the object seen is near the eye, our perception of the object should be of maximum intensity. When we remove the medium, the eye perceives the sensible object, and we require this medium—the substratum of light—only incidentally. This means that the emanation of light is not necessary for vision, which is absurd. Thus we come to the conclusion that the Platonic theory of vision is not right.²

(b) The second theory is also incorrect. The function of the Formative faculty is to perceive the absent objects. If

(1) Incidentally this is one of the points on which Al-Fârâbî has tried to reconcile Plato and Aristotle in his famous treatise *An Agreement Between Plato and Aristotle*.

(الجمع بين رأى الحكيمين افلاطون والاهى وارسطوطاليس)

(2) The present writer has to confess that there is more in this argument of Ibn-i-Sinâ than he is able to make out.

we accept this theory, we cannot draw any line of difference between the absent and the present objects, nor between the ways of their respective perception. This naturally means that the Formative faculty has no use in vision, though its importance for Imagination cannot be denied.

(c) So we are left with the third theory—the Aristotelian theory,—which is quite tenable. It should, however, be noted that in reality the eye perceives the colour of the object only, and there are two colours of which we have experience: the white and the black.

The sense of sight enables the animal to approach the profitable places, and to avoid the unprofitable ones by seeing them.

(v) *Hearing*.—This is a power which is found in the nerve spread out in the meatus.* With the help of this power we hear sounds. Sound is a vibratory movement of the air, which is sensed by the ear. This vibratory movement is produced when two hard and smooth bodies strike each other suddenly and with a force, and the air between them escapes. This air strikes the ear, and a vibration is produced in the air, which is in the ear. This vibration is exactly similar to the vibration in the outer air. This vibration of the inner air stimulates the auditory nerve, and we get the sensation. We have said that the bodies should be hard and smooth, and that they should strike suddenly and with a force. The hardness of the body is essential because the air does not escape from between the soft bodies, but only gets dispersed. Smoothness is necessary because when the uneven and the rough bodies strike each other, the air does not escape from between them with a force, but gets deposited in the pits. Striking suddenly is required, because when they strike slowly, or softly, the air between them does not escape with a force.

From this sense also we get only a single pair of sensations—"heavy" sounds and "intense cutting" sounds.

This sense is valuable for the animal because the dangerous and the profitable objects have their peculiar sounds.

The above discussion should have made it clear, that from the five senses we get eight pairs of sensations:—Four from the touch alone, and one each from the rest. These are the simple, the primary, the fundamental, sensations. All the other sensations that we have experience of being the result

**An-Najat*, p. 260.

of the combination of these simple ones, or in some cases they lie intermediate between them. Grey, for example, lies between black and white, lukewarm between hot and cold. Then again we get some sensations through aggregation (جمع) segregation (فرق), contraction (قبض), or expansion (بسط).¹ Sound is the only exception. It is sensed through segregation alone. Coldness is sensed through aggregation, moisture through expansion, dryness through contraction, roughness through segregation, smoothness through expansion, hardness through repulsion (اندفاع), which is a form of aggregation and contraction, but is not free from expansion and segregation, sweetness through expansion, which is free from segregation, bitterness through segregation and contraction, good smell through expansion, which is free from segregation, bad smell through segregation and contraction, whiteness through segregation, blackness through aggregation. The intermediaries do not possess the form of the sensibles by themselves, for otherwise they cannot be intermediaries. Now this negation of the form in the intermediaries is either absolute, or is due to the neutral tone, like the neutrality of the touch-qualities in the flesh, which is an intermediary between the sense of touch and the touch-qualities, in spite of the fact that the flesh is necessarily made up of the touch-qualities, save that the neutrality is very hard to find in it. The absolute negation, on the other hand, is exemplified in the negation of colour in air and water and the like—which are the mediums of vision, of smell in air and the water, which are the mediums of smelling, of taste in water, which is the medium of gustation, and the absence of the movements of the air, which is the medium of audition.

When we go deep into the matter we find that each one of these senses perceives the form of the sensible object first. The eye, for instance, perceives the form of the visible object, which is imprinted on it. Similarly with the rest of the senses. We also find that when any intense stimulus—a deafening sound, or a dazzling light, for instance,—affects the sense-organ and is repeated again and again, the sense-organ gets deteriorated and fatigued, and ceases to produce any response.² It appears that in each of the five senses the

(1) It is a pity that 'Ibn-i-Sinâ nowhere defines these terms, so that it is very difficult to understand what exactly he means by them.

(2) Modern Psychology would say that it becomes adapted to the stimulus.

perception is determined by five other things: shape, number, size, movement, and rest. In this connection nothing need be said about sight, touch and taste. Their case is quite evident. In audition our perception varies with the number of sounds, the number and the intensity of the sound-producing objects, the size of the bodies which strike each other (to produce sound), and in any and every change in stability of their change and rest. It is also determined by its enclosing of the different forms of the "silent" and the hollow sound-producing objects. Our smell sensations are similarly determined by the various directions from which we get the smell the number of the smelling objects, their size, the distance at which they lie from us, and any and every change in the stability of their movement and rest, and the different corners of a single body which gives out the smell. But this sense is very weak in men.

The forms of all the sensible objects reach the sense-organs, and are imprinted on them. After this that particular sense perceives them. This is quite evident in the case of all the senses except sight. As has already been noted, there is a difference of opinion about vision. Attention was there drawn to the Platonic theory that in vision something comes out of the eye,—and this something is known as the ray (of light),—meets the seen object, and takes its form externally. This is vision. The "scholars," on the other hand, are of opinion that when an actually transparent and colourless medium is actually present between the eye and the seen object, the image of the coloured object (on which the light falls) reaches the eye, and the eye perceives it. This is as if a ray of light is reflected from a coloured object, and colours any other object on which it falls. The difference between the two is of the image only. The first, or the Platonic theory, has already been dismissed as untenable from the common-sense point of view. Now when we look at it from the point of view of perception its untenability becomes still more glaring. This argument can be put forward thus:—*

That which comes out of the eye is either a body, or is not a body. In the latter case we can speak of movement and transference metaphorically only. If we admit it we shall have to assume that the eye has the power of reducing everything (such as the air, etc.), which reaches it, to any quality, and then say that that quality comes out of the eye.

**An-Najat*, pp. 261-264.

The former alternative is not possible either. In this case either it comes out of the eye, but remains attached to it, meeting the sphere of things at rest. If this is so, this body will be conic in shape, the base assuming the size of the object seen. It will then dispel the air, or will penetrate the void. Both of these alternatives are evidently false. Another possibility is that after coming out of the eye it will be cut off from it, and thus will be separated from it. In this case the animal will sense the object with the help of a thing which is separate from the eye, and will perceive it in a place in which that ray falls as apart from the place in which it does not fall. It means that it will sense that body between two points only, and will miss the major part of it.

A third possibility is that the body that comes out of the eye combines with the air, so that the whole of the thing becomes a sort of a single sensitive organ for that animal. This metamorphosis is also very strange. If this metamorphosis is a fact, then in case the eyes conflict with each other, this metamorphosis should be all the more radical and intense. So that when a single object is in a group of objects, its vision should be clearer and intenser than when it is seen singly, for the group is, by itself, more intense in point of metamorphosis than a single object. Thus we reach the conclusion that all the three alternatives and possibilities are absolutely untenable.

Again, the body that emanates from the eye will necessarily be either simple or compound with a particular nature. Its movements will either be voluntary or natural. But these movements—even those of the opening and the closing of the eyelids—cannot be voluntary. So that they must be natural. Now the natural movements of a single body are always in a particular direction, and not in all directions. Similarly the natural movements of a compound body are always in a particular direction according to the nature of the preponderating element and not in all the different directions. But it is clear as daylight that the movements of the eye are of quite a different sort.

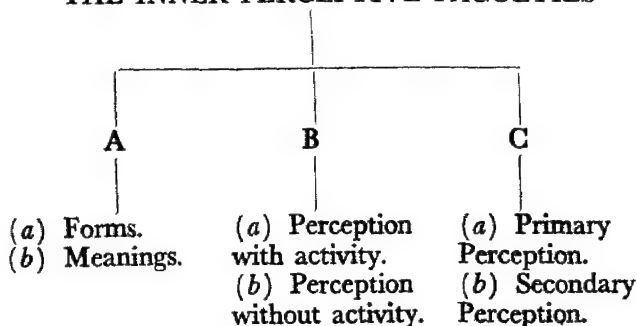
If the sensible object is seen from the side of the base of the cone, we should be able to see its shape and size as clearly as we can see its colour. This is also evidently wrong. If, on the other hand, we see the object from the side of the apex, that is the common distance between the eye and the supposed cone, then because the further the object the smaller it looks, the common distance and the image that is imprinted in the vitreous humour should be proportionately smaller.

So, after this rather long argument, we can finally assert that in vision nothing comes out of the eye to meet the visible object. We rather receive something from it. This "something" is not a body. It must be its image. If this theory had not been true, all the layers, the humours, the shape and the form of every one of these, and their specific natures—all of these would have been quite futile.

(b) *The Inner Senses*

The knowledge of the external world, which is acquired through the External, or the Outer, Senses depends, evidently, upon the stimulation of the different sense-organs. If these were the only avenues of knowledge open to the animal, it is clear that its life—both physical and mental—would have been limited to the present only. This is to say, that it would in no way profit by its past experience. And we do not require much of logical argument to prove that biologically and psychologically past experience is as necessary to the animal as its immediate present experience. But to be able to profit by the past experience means that the animal should be able to retain all the past experience, and to recall the appropriate parts thereof. With this purpose in view it has been endowed with the Internal, or the Inner, Perceptive faculties. Now of these faculties there are some which help the animal to perceive the form of the sensible objects, and others the meanings of them. Then there are some which perceive and act at the same time, and others which merely perceive and do not act. Then there are some faculties which are capable of primary perception, and others which are limited to the secondary perceptions only. Thus there are three broad divisions of the Inner Perceptive faculties, which can be represented in a tabular form thus:—

THE INNER PERCEPTIVE FACULTIES



A. The difference between the perception of form and the perception of meaning is that the form is a thing which is perceived by both the Inner and the Outer Senses, although the Outer Senses perceive it first, and then conduct it to the Inner Senses. The sheep, for example, perceives the form—the shape—of the wolf, in which the Outer Senses first perceive the particular shape, the form, and the colour, of the wolf. Meaning, on the other hand, is a thing, which is perceived only by the Inner Senses, the Outer Senses remaining without activity. The sheep, for example, perceives the danger from the wolf. This perception excites the emotion of fear in the sheep, and hence it runs away. Apparently this danger from the wolf could not have been perceived by the Outer Senses. So what is perceived by the Outer Senses first and then by the Inner Senses is the Form, and what is perceived by the Inner Senses alone is the Meaning.

B. The difference between perception with and without activity is that some of the faculties function in such a way that they combine the form and the meaning of one thing with those of another, and sometimes they separate the form and the meaning of one thing from those of another. This means that there is perception and activity at the same time. Perception without activity, on the other hand, means that only the form or the meaning is imprinted, and the faculty concerned does not modify it in any way.

C. The difference between the primary and the secondary perception is that the former we get from the thing itself, while the latter we get from some other thing.¹ Here 'Ibn-i-Sinâ is probably referring to what in modern terminology would be called the sensory and the ideational perception, or the reasoning. For example we see a sheep, and know that this is a sheep. This is primary perception. Robinson Crusoe notices a footprint on the sand, and knows that some other human being has already set his foot on this desert. This is secondary perception.

There are five different kinds of the Inner Senses. Now we shall consider them one by one.

(i) *The Common Sense*.—(حس مشترك) This faculty is located in the first ventricle of the front brain. It combines all the forms of the sensible objects that are imprinted on the five External Senses.² Evidently in the External Senses there

(1) *An-Najat*, pp. 263-265.

(2) *An-Najat*, pp. 265-266.

is none which could combine the perceptions of the different senses. We see a yellow substance and can instantly tell, that it is honey, and so it is sweet, good-smelling, and fluid. It is clear that we have neither tasted it, nor smelt it, nor touched it. This judgment of ours is the result of the functioning of this same faculty. We can say that it is a faculty, in which all the sense-perceptions are put together, and thus assume a single form. What differentiates it from the External Senses is that the latter function only when the animal is awake, while, as our observation shows, the former functions alike in the waking and the sleeping state of the subject.

(ii) *The Formative Faculty and Idea* المصوره والخيال¹—This faculty is located in the last ventricle of the front brain.² It retains and preserves everything that the Common Sense forwards to it after receiving it from the five External Senses. All this remains in the Mind after the sensible object has disappeared. It should, however, be clearly understood that the faculty which receives the sensory elements of a perceived object is quite different from the one that retains them. This is exemplified in the case of water, which can receive an impression but cannot retain, or preserve, it.³ In short this faculty retains or preserves the shape or the form of the object perceived.

(iii) *The Imaginative Faculty* (تخيل، متخيله)—This faculty is located in the middle ventricle of the brain.⁴ By the aid of this faculty the animal combines and abstracts the forms of the sensible objects which it receives from the Common Sense. This faculty is, however, different from the Formative faculty in so far as the latter retains the actual shape and the form of the sensible objects as known through the External Senses. But with the former the case can be otherwise. In it the shape and the form of the object can, and may, be

(1) In the treatise edited by Dr. Landauer *التصوره* is another name for the Common Sense. The actual words are:—

“أوجبت التأليفه الالهيه وضع الحاسه المشترك، اعنى القوة المتصوره في الحيوان”

(See Z.D.M.G., 1875, p. 352).

And again:—(Ibid. p. 359). وهذا القوه الموسومه بالحس المشترك و بالتصوره.

But in *An-Najat* the Common Sense and the Formative faculty are said to be separate and independent faculties. *Vide* pp. 265-266.

(2) *An-Najat*, p. 266.

(3) *An-Najat*, p. 266.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 266.

other than what was disclosed by the sense-organs. In other words we can imagine objects which we have never perceived, and perhaps shall never perceive, with the help of our sense-organs.

It should be noted that this faculty when used by Fancy (متوهمه) is called Imagination,¹ and when used by the Human Mind it is called the Cogitative faculty (الفكره).

(iv) *The Fancy* (وهميه، المتوهمه والظانه).—This faculty is located in the whole of the brain, especially near the threshold of the Imagination.² This tells the animals positively, that a particular object is such and such and not such and such. It is this faculty which tells the animal that it has to flee from the dangerous things and places, and to approach the harmless and the profitable ones. In other words, it perceives the meanings of the particular sensible objects, and helps to differentiate between the right inferences and the wrong ones. It is a sort of problematic cogitation.

Evidently this faculty is different from the Formative in so far as in the latter we can imagine the sun, e.g., in the form and the dimensions which our External Senses disclose. But in the latter the case is different. Here a beast of prey, for instance, sees an animal. On account of the great distance the animal looks smaller than it actually is. The beast of prey, nevertheless, knows its actual size and shape, and pounces upon it. Then again it is different from Imagination also, for the latter functions without regard to the fact that the things are, or are not, what they appear.

(v) *Memory and Reminiscence* (حافظه والذاكره بامتذكره).—This faculty is located in the posterior ventricle of the brain. By its help the animal preserves, or remembers, the meanings of the sensible objects, which it has acquired through the Fancy. The relation between the Memory and the Fancy is similar to that between the Imagination and the Sense; and the relation between the Imagination and the meanings is similar to that between the Memory and the sensible forms.³

(1) According to *An-Najat* it is called Imagination in relation to the Brute, or the Animal Mind. See p. 266.

(2) But in *An-Najat* it is in the posterior part of the middle ventricle of the brain. See p. 266.

(3) *An-Najat*, p. 266.

It is clear that the faculty of Memory is different from the Formative faculty in so far as in the latter all the forms are those that are obtained by the senses, and obviously the senses do not perceive the dangerous nature of the wolf, or the love of the child. They only perceive the shape and the form of the wolf, or the child. This dangerousness and the love were abstracted by the faculty of Fancy and then the faculty of Memory preserved them. Then it is different from the Imagination also, for by means of the latter we can imagine a thing not approved of, and not inferred by, the Fancy on the basis of the Senses. But the Memory does not conceive anything which the Fancy does not approve of, or infer, on the basis of the Senses. Then again it is different from the fancy, for the latter does not preserve that which has been approved of by some other faculty. On the other hand it itself approves the thing. The Memory, on the contrary, does not itself approve, but only preserves what other faculties approve.

Now Aristotle, and hence 'Ibn-i-Sînâ, believes that the heart is the seat of all these faculties, although they function through the different parts of the brain. So naturally any injury to a particular ventricle of the brain disturbs the function of a particular mental faculty. If these faculties had independent existence, they would not have stood in need of the different organs for their particular functions. This clearly shows that they have no independent existence, but depend on some other power. This power is the Rational, or the Noetic عقل Mind. Turn we now to this same Mind.

VII. THE RATIONAL MIND—FROM ITS BEGINNING TO ITS PERFECTION

The difference between the Irrational and the Rational Mind is that in the former the senses and the Imagination are meant to control the conditions of movement, while in the latter it is the reverse. In it the Motive faculties control the conditions of sensibility and imagination, and prepare the rational, intelligent perceiving Mind for self-reformation. In the Irrational Mind the Motive faculty is like the king, the five senses are his spies, the Formative faculty is the Postmaster-General of the King, the Imagination is the peon running between the King and the Postmaster-General, Fancy is the wazîr, and Memory the treasure-house of the hidden things.

Now nobody can doubt the fact that the difference between the rational and the irrational species of the animals is, that the former is capable of forming concepts while the latter is not. This capacity of forming concepts is known as the Rational Mind, although it is called the Material Intelligence (عقل مادی), i.e., the Potential Intelligence (عقل بالقوه), for it resembles matter in potentiality. This capacity is found in the whole of the human species. It should, however, be clearly understood that the Human Mind does not, by itself, possess these intelligible forms, but obtains them from two different sources. The first is the Divine inspiration. The concepts obtained through this source do not depend on education, or the activity of the sense. They are self-evident truths; for instance, the whole is greater than the part, or that contradictories cannot combine in the same thing at the same time. There is no difference of opinion among the thinkers regarding these concepts. The other source from which the concepts are obtained is reasoning and argumentation. Logical truths, physical relatives, mathematical truisms, metaphysical problems, are some of the examples of such concepts. This faculty which conceives these meanings, obtained from the Senses the intelligible forms that are latent in the Imagination. Then it presents to itself the forms that are in the Formative faculty and the Memory (which are in the service of the Imagination and the Fancy), and looks into them. It also finds that some of these are similar in some respects and different in others, and that some of these forms are essential to the objects and others merely accidental. The similarity between the forms is exemplified in the similarity between the man and the ass, in so far as both have life, and their difference in so far as the man is rational and the ass is irrational. The life in both of them is the essential form, their colour the accidental one. Now when we find out these forms, we abstract each of these essential, accidental, common and peculiar forms and make them into a separate, single, intelligible, and universal concept. From this we infer the genera, the species, the propria, the differentia, and the intelligible accidentia. Then these simple meanings undergo particular and syllogistic syntheses, and thus lead to many useful conclusions. All this is a service to the animal faculties and a help to the universal intelligence. It is true that this faculty seeks help from the Senses in inferring the simple intelligible forms from the sensible forms, but in itself it does not require this help in the formation of these meanings, or the construction of

syllogisms out of them. When the required sensory conclusions have been drawn, it throws away the yoke of the Senses, and is sufficient unto itself for all that it does. As the Senses perceive by becoming like the sensible objects, so the Intelligence perceives by becoming like the intelligible objects. This "becoming like" consists in the abstraction of the form from the matter, and then sticking to it. The difference is that the Senses cannot obtain the sensible form at their sweet will. They get it whenever the sensible object reaches them by chance, or through the Motive faculty. So the abstraction of the form is accomplished with the help of the intermediaries, which are, so to say, the conductors of these forms. In Intelligence, however, the case is otherwise. This faculty itself abstracts the form from the matter whenever it likes and sticks to it. Hence it is said that the Senses are passive in the formation of the ideas, but the Intelligence is active. Then again it is declared that the Senses cannot do without the sense-organs, and cannot act spontaneously. This, however, cannot be said of the Intelligence. An *intellectus in actu* (عقل بالفعل) is nothing but the forms of the intelligible objects prepared in the potential intelligence, and expressing themselves in action. So it is said that *intellectus in actu* is intelligence and the intelligible at the same time.

It is one of the properties of Intelligence that it can make one of the many and many of the one through synthesis and analysis respectively. The example of the latter is the analysis of man into substance, body, nutrition, animality, and rationality. The example of the former is the synthesis of all of these into one single meaning—the man and the Intelligence.

When the Rational Mind gets at the science, its activity is called Reason, and accordingly the Mind itself is called the Theoretical Reason (عقل نظرى). We have dealt with it already. When, however, it has to do with the predominance of the vicious faculties which lead a man to wonder, dull-mindedness, timidity, etc., and then subsequently sets him free from all these, then its activity is known as Politics (سياست), and the Mind itself as the Practical Reason (عقل عملى). Again in some men these rational faculties are of such a nature that they approach and unite with the Universal Reason while the man is in the waking state, and thus save him from the embarrassment incidental to argumentation and

deliberation. In this state he gets all the help from Divine inspiration. This feature of the Rational Mind is called Holiness (تقدس), and the Mind itself the Holy Soul (روح مقدس). This is the position to which only the prophets attain.

VIII. CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages I have been careful to limit my exposition to 'Ibn-i-Sînâ's views on the functions of the Mind and its structure. The line of demarcation between the structural and the functional points of view in empirical psychology was not so thick in medieval days as it has lately grown to be. As a matter of fact the empirical psychology itself had not then assumed the independent position that is generally allotted to it—and rightly so—in these days. In those old days Psychology was a part of Metaphysics, dealing as it did with the nature, the origin, and the destiny, of the Mind, rather than its functions or structure. The empirical psychology associated with the name of Aristotle is naturally very crude. For us its importance is mainly historical. MacDougall will perhaps "sternly banish" it "to the psychological museums" along with the "confused and the confusing fictions" of the Idea Psychology.* But even in such museums these "fictions" have a value of their own. Who can deny the importance of the absolutely mutilated statues of the pre-historic times in a museum? Who can be bold enough even to suggest that they should be thrown away because they are mutilated beyond recognition, and because they happen to belong to pre-historic times? To throw them away would be like pulling down the foundations of a huge and an ever-expanding building. 'Ibn-i-Sînâ's views on the Philosophy of Mind will be presented in a subsequent paper.

* *An Outline of Psychology*, p. 15.

MU'TAZID WALIUR-RAHMAN.

*AL-MANFALUTI—AN EGYPTIAN ESSAYIST**The Civilisation of the West*

I SHALL not allow either imagination or sentiment to play any part in this essay. The subject is altogether too serious to admit any of those unsubstantial embellishments which are an author's legitimate distraction in moments of idleness or leisure but are out of place in his hours of responsible activity.

We, the community of Egyptian writers, a portion of this nation, should consider ourselves as trustees of the people. It is our duty to keep jealous and loving guard over a legacy which we wish to hand on to our successors intact, uncorrupted and unimpaired, as we received it from our predecessors. If we are successful, we shall have done our duty; if we fail we can seek indulgence for a sincere effort and ask God to grant his peace to writers who have proved their goodwill.

Since the Egyptian nation is a Muslim nation and a nation of the East, it is incumbent upon it, as long as the Nile flows through its soil and the Pyramids rise towards its sky, to continue to belong to Islam and to the East "until the day when the earth will be changed to other than the earth, and the heavens also."*

Every step that the Egyptian takes towards the West shortens his life and leads him towards a profound chasm in which, if he fall, his lifeless body is entombed until the day of the Resurrection.

The Egyptian is a passive, submissive creature. When he is brought into contact with western civilisation he behaves exactly like a miller's sieve, which retains the husks and lets go the flour, or as a strainer which retains the impurities and releases the wine. He would do far better to save himself the trouble and flee infection, like a healthy man avoiding contact with mange.

**Quran* 14 "and man will come forth to God, the one, the Almighty."

The Egyptian would like to imitate the European's energy and activity; unfortunately, his efforts are all consumed in the mere coming and going, in getting up and sitting down. When circumstances call for a little serious application and endurance, boredom begins to paralyse him as wine paralyses the limbs of the drinker, or sleep the eyelids of the drowsy. When he wishes to make his own the well-being and luxury of the West, he achieves no more of the first than a certain effeminacy in his movements, or of the second than a round of visits to night club, cabaret and brothel.

The Egyptian would like to display the patriotic activities of the European; but all he assimilates is the flag-wagging, applauding, catcalling and disorder. When he is asked for the achievement of which all this is the prelude, he gallops off to the four winds like a lively colt; if he hears a whistle he collapses in fright and if he sees a shadow he thinks it is a man.

The Egyptian would like to acquire the European habit of travel. He waits for the arrival of summer, as anxiously as the dead earth waits for spring. When the time comes, he makes for the European capitals with the directness of a homing pigeon, without sparing a glance to right or left, or a thought for what he is leaving behind. On arriving he plunges headlong into places of amusement, casinos, gambling hells and the like. There he spends his wits and his money freely, as long as they last; and only leaves when there is just enough left of the first to find the way to the steamer which is to take him home, and of the second to pay a newspaper editor to insert the news of his return, with the eulogistic comments which convention demands in praise of his many sterling qualities.

When he tries to assimilate European science nothing comes of it but a few pompous phrases which contain no single crumb of wisdom and which do not even serve to secure him from the worst blunders of ignorance.

He would like to imitate European humanitarianism and charity; so, while leaving the poor people in his neighbourhood to contract their ribs over their starving entrails, if he sees an appeal for the relief of sufferers from a disaster at the North Pole, or from an accident to the dam of Gog and Magog, he hastens to write his name at the head of the list.

The Egyptian would like to imitate the European in the education and practical training of women. He is, however, satisfied on the first point if she writes an article for a newspaper or makes a speech at a meeting; and as to the second, asks no more than the art of dressing well and skill in attracting the attention of men.

In short, the Egyptian's reaction to the virtues of the West is to form a distorted and topsy-turvy conception of them, without penetrating to their essence or realising their purpose or arriving at a sound judgment. He is like the hypocrite who copies the men of the age of faith in their external observances, while inwardly he remains entirely corrupt; who is most punctilious in the forms of devotion but does nothing to prevent or rectify unjust dealing. Or like a man who dresses as simply as the Caliph 'Umar but is nevertheless keener after this world's goods than a Jewish money-lender.

As for the vices of the West, there is nobody quicker than the Egyptian at picking them up. He has not the least difficulty in learning to commit suicide, like the European; to disbelieve in his religion, like the European; to live loosely and indulge his worst instincts.

Certainly the Egyptian has defects enough, as his habits and practices reveal; but if he is to be summoned to correct them let it be done in the name of eastern civilisation and not western.

If we wish to set before him patterns of civilisation, let us take them from Egyptian Thebes or Phoenicia or Bagdad or Cordoba, not from Paris, Rome, Switzerland or New York. If we wish to urge him to noble actions, let us recall to him the verses of the Revealed Book and the words of the prophets and wise men of the East; not the chapters of Rousseau, Bacon, Newton and Herbert Spencer. If it is a question of military matters, we have in the campaigns of Khâlid ibn al Walid¹ and Saad-ibn Abi Waqqâs² and Mûsa ibn Nusair³ and Salah-ud-Dîn⁴ models enough without bringing in Washington and Napoleon, Nelson, Wellington and

(1) "The Sword of God." General of the Early Caliphs. Capturer of Damascus p. 642.

(2) Commander in Chief at the battle of Qadisia.

(3) Conqueror of Spain (711).

(4) Recaptured Jerusalem from the Crusaders 1187.

Blucher. In the battles of Qâdisia,¹ 'Ummuria, North Africa² and the Crusades there are examples enough without troubling our heads with the details of Waterloo and Trafalgar, Austerlitz and the War of 1870.

It is shameful that the Egyptian student should know more of the history of Bounaparte than he does of 'Amr ibn ul-'âs;³ and should be better acquainted with the details of the establishment of the French Republic than he is with the prophetic mission of Mohammed. It is ridiculous that he should learn to talk of the discoveries of Descartes and the investigations of Darwin when he knows nothing of the wisdom of Al-Ghazzâlî⁴ or the investigations of Ibn-Rushd;⁵ and that he should be able to recite verses of Shakespeare and Victor Hugo when he is ignorant of Al Mutanabbi⁶ and Al Ma'arri.

There is of course no objection to those who are acquainted with European languages translating profitable and useful works of western writers, whether in prose or verse, provided always that the reader examines them critically and does not accept them with the passivity of the hypnotist's patient. But there is no more fatal error than to copy them as people copy the latest fashion, and to make them the only measure of our praise and blame.

In conclusion I would urge our writers and leaders to remember that there is really nothing in the habits and personal characteristics of Europeans which we have any great reason to envy them. Let us not be false to ourselves, our religion and our eastern individuality. Let us not exalt that other civilisation at the risk of our spiritual independence, after political circumstances have already imperilled our material independence.

(1) Defeat of Persians (635) resulting in the occupation of Iraq.

(2) Conquered by Muslims 647-708.

(3) Conqueror of Egypt d. 664.

(4) 1058-1111. At one time Professor in the Nizamiyya College, Bagdad. Religious philosopher and mystic.

(5) Born Cordoba 1126 died Marrehash 1198. Aristotelian physician and judge.

(6) 915-965. Court poet to Saif-ud-Daula, Prince of Aleppo. Unsurpassed in panegyric.

ALAS FOR ISLAM!

A letter has reached me from an Indian man of letters. In it he tells me that he has recently examined a pamphlet published in the Tamil language, which is that spoken by the Indians living in the districts south of Madras. Its subject was the life of the saint 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jîlânî,* including a description of his virtues and miracles. My correspondent found that the author employed in honour of the saint many attributes and adjectives which should only be applied to God; attributes which are not appropriate to a prophet and much less to a saint. The following will serve as examples. "Lord of the heavens and the earth, bringer of profit, bringer of loss, dispenser of the universe, knower of the secrets of creation, restorer of the dead, healer of the sightless and lepers and born-blind, co-worker with God, forgiver of sins, defender from evil, the exalter, the abaser, lord of the divine law, lord of perfect existence."

My correspondent added that the same pamphlet contained a chapter with instructions concerning the procedure to be followed by pilgrims to the tomb of Saint 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jîlânî. The following is an extract.

"The pilgrim must first make a complete ablution followed by two prostrations with the accompanying prayers, the whole being performed with modesty and attention; then face the sanctuary, invoke peace upon the lord of the exalted tomb and pray in the following words: 'Lord of mankind and of Jinn, aid me, grant me the accomplishment of my request and relieve me of my burden.'

"Aid me, 'Abd al-Qâdir, restorer of the faith; aid me, O holy, 'Abd al-Qâdir; aid me, O Sultan 'Abd al-Qâdir; aid me, O King of Kings 'Abd al-Qâdir; aid me, O teacher and master 'Abd al-Qâdir.

"O most excellent arch-saint, O Unique Saint 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jîlânî, thy slave, thy devotee, thy miserable, helpless suppliant who looks to thee who art all things to him in his religion in this world and in the next."

*Bagdad 1078-1166. An ascetic, author of some of the best extant Muslim sermons. He is as much invoked in Morocco as in India, but his name is not often heard on the lips of the populace in Egypt.

My correspondent adds that there is in the same district a tomb called after Shah al-Hamîd who is supposed to have been a son of Saint 'Abd al-Qâdir. This tomb the Indians approach with the reverence with which they approach God. Moreover, in every town and village in India, there is a shrine copied from that of Saint 'Abd al-Qâdir, so that it is the Qiblah towards which the Muslims in that country face for prayer and their sanctuary in times of trouble. They spend on the upkeep of servants and retainers and saints' days and other festivals sums of money which, better employed, would serve to enrich the poor of the whole world.

Now God is my witness that when I read that letter of my correspondent, the empty universe revolved upon me and darkness came upon the earth and I saw nothing of what was around me. Such was my grief and horror at the condition of Islam in the hands of people who have denied it after they had accepted it, debased it after they had exalted it and used it for purposes that were not its own and had nothing to do with it.

How could eye not weep at the horrifying sight of Muslims bowing down in worship before the thresholds of tombs whose inmates lived perhaps less worthy lives than some of those who are amongst the worshippers and had done less to merit worship after death?

What heart could bear to remain a moment longer in its body and not forsake it horror struck, when Muslims, guardians of the religion of the Unity of God, reveal themselves worse than idolators in associating human beings with God, in multiplying divinities and increasing the number of objects of worship? What right have Muslims to find fault with the Christians for worshipping the Trinity; to bear them malice and controvert and fight them, when they are less sunk in idolatry than the Muslims themselves?

Christians believe in three Godheads. Being, however, aware of the oddness of this multiplicity and feeling that it is difficult to understand, they explain it by saying that the three are to be considered as one. Muslims on the other hand have adopted a thousand divinities, most of them tree-trunks or dead men's corpses or bits of stone "whence they know not."*

**Quran*, 39.26; 16.28.

Now the mind of man is full of matter which he ignores; he is unaware of many beliefs which lie hidden in his soul. I can only suppose that this is the case of those Muslims who turn for aid in their troubles and desires to the inhabitants of the tomb, humbling themselves before them as man should only humble himself before God, the one object of worship. For when reproached, they reply that they are not worshipping these persons but simply making them their intermediaries with God. They do not seem to realise that they are worshipping; that the clearest sign of divine worship being paid to a God is the presence of his servants in humble intercession before him, imploring his aid and his generosity, and that they are in fact worshipping those dead men "whence they know not."

Islam inculcated the belief in God's unity so that Muslims should be increased in nobleness of soul, in self-respect, dignity and wise enthusiasm; so that the weak should be freed from the tyranny and oppression of the great, and there be no ruler in authority over them save in truth and equity. In the early centuries, the noble belief in the Unity of God had its effect upon the Muslims; they really were modest and dignified, self-respecting and enthusiasts. They struck away the hand of the man in authority if he acted unjustly and forbade the monarch to go beyond the limits of his authority. "Keep your place! Think not that your importance is greater than it is! You are a servant of the Creator, not a lord to be worshipped; so know that there is no God but God."

Such is a picture of Muslim character in the days of the belief in the Unity of God. Today, they have become pagans consciously or unconsciously. Therefore they have been humbled, their heads are bowed, their self-respect is gone, they are not enthusiasts, they have accepted a life of ignominy, they are content with the humblest positions in this world.

So their enemies have marched upon them and overcome them, and taken charge of them and their goods and their houses and their countries and "they have become of those that lose."*

By God, the Muslims will never recover their former high position nor attain the tranquil, prosperous conditions

*cf. *Quran* 5.58.

which they desire until they have first regained their belief in the Unity of God. The sun's rising in the West and the river's remounting to its source are more probable than Islam regaining its majesty while the Muslims continue to stand before Al-Jilâni as they stand before God, and say to the former as they say to the latter. "Thou art the Dispenser of the Universe; thou art Lord of the earth and of the heavens."

God has more self-respect than to help people who despise and neglect him; who place themselves before him and in times of calamity and distress invoke the aid of stone before they invoke his aid, and call upon tree-trunks before they call upon him.

To whom shall we turn for help? where look for salvation in this overwhelming disaster? Shall we ask aid from the 'Ulama¹ of Egypt, who hurry to the Imâm's tomb on the occasion of the "Sweeping," like flies falling on a bowl of wine.² Or the 'Ulama of Stamboul who put to death Jamâl ed-Dîn al-Afghâni, a glory of Muslim learning, and let live Abu al-Huda as-Siydâi, head of the Dervish order of the Rifa'iya,³ Or the 'Ulama of Persia, who set pilgrimage to the tomb of the Imâm above the pilgrimage to Mecca. Or the 'Ulama of India who include the author of the pamphlet from which I have been quoting?

Something more I have to say to the leaders and guides of the people. We make excuses for the idolatry and corrupt beliefs of the populace, saying the uneducated have not the necessary power of vision to picture divinity unless they see it represented in the form of idol or statue, monument or tomb, but we cannot pardon you who read the Book of God, have learnt what attributes and qualities belong to God, and understand the meaning of the All-Highest's words: "None knows the unseen save of God alone,"⁴ and his warning when

(1) Religious leaders of Islam, professors of theology and Canon Law.

(2) Annual festival beside the tomb of Imâm Shaf'i, founder of one of the four orthodox sects, at Cairo.

(3) The Rifa'iya are a Dervish order whose members, having worked themselves into a state of frenzy, chew glass and run iron spikes into their flesh. The 'Ulama of Stamboul are said to have caused the death of Jamâl-ed-Dîn by means of a poisoned toothpick, but this has not been proved.

(4) *Quran* 27.66. "None in the heavens or the earth know the unseen save God alone."

he addressed the Prophet: "Say, for myself I have no power to benefit nor power to hurt."¹ and his words: "It was not you who threw when you threw, but God that threw."²

You never tire of repeating morning and evening, coming and going, that all virtue consists in imitating the great examples of early Islam, and all error in adopting the innovations of later generations. Where then did you learn that the first Muslims spent their time in whitewashing tombs and seeking intercession from them? Is it related that any single one of them ever stopped beside the tomb of the blessed Prophet or by the tomb of any one of his Companions or relations to beg fulfilment of a wish or relief from distress? Do you suppose that Ar-Rifa'i or Ad-Desuqi or Al-Jilani or Al-Badawi are more precious in God's sight and more potent intercessors than the Prophets and Apostles and the Companions of the Prophet Muhammed and their immediate successors?

Do you suppose that when the Prophet forbade the setting up of pictures and statues he did it idly or for a joke? Was it not that he feared they would return to their former ignorance? What is the difference between statues and pictures on the one hand and monuments and tombs on the other, when their every association is an inducement to idolatry and a denial of belief in God's Unity?

By God, it is not that you are ignorant of all this. It is that you have chosen the life of this world in preference to the life of the next world; and God has punished you with the loss of your well-being and the destruction of your commonwealth; He has given your enemies dominion over you, to rob you of your country, to enslave you and to overthrow your houses, "for God is severe in punishment."³

(1) *Quran* 7.1888; 10.50.

(2) *Quran* 8.17.

(3) *Quran* 3.9; 5.3, etc.

NEVILL BARBOUR.

(*To be continued*)

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

THE EARLY YEARS OF ISLAM*

IN our last issue, when noticing Mr. Khalid Gauba's book, "The Prophet of the Desert," we remarked on its un-devotional tone as sure to be unpalatable to many Muslims and as certain to prove attractive to non-Muslims. We have now before us two works of which the tone is distinctly devotional and though they are the fruit of wider reading and much deeper study, we feel here, as we felt when reading Mr. Gauba's work, that the weak point is the intrusion of the author's subjectivity. Not that there is any sign of weakness in Maulana Muhammad Ali's presentment; indeed his two books, together, constitute the most complete and satisfactory history of the early Muslims hitherto compiled in English; but just as Mr. Gauba's exposition obscured the spiritual aspect of our Prophet's mission, so we feel that the devotional exposition of Maulana Muhammad Ali of Lahore hides a good deal of its human aspect—for instance, the Prophet's sense of humour which was wide and genial, and his perfect understanding of the men and manners of his time.

The Prophet understood the nature of a man like 'Abdullah bin Ubeyy, for instance, better than this author has understood it and could make allowances which the latter fails to make. 'Abdullah bin Ubeyy could not have been among the worst of hypocrites, as here depicted, although he was their reputed leader, or the Prophet would not have prayed at his graveside in view of the clear prohibition in the Qur'ân. In Ibn Hishâm's *Sîrah* the character of 'Abdullah is clearly legible. He was simply the Moderate in religion and politics. He regarded the zealots of Islam as dangerous extremists and bad advisers of the Prophet, whom he revered as much as it

* (1) Muhammad the Prophet (2nd Edition) Price Rs. 3.

(2) The Early Caliphate, Price Rs. 3.

(By Muhammad Ali, M.A., LL.B., Anjuman-i-Isha'at-i-Islam, Lahore.)

was in his nature to revere anyone. On the occasion of the battle of Uhud the Prophet, after agreeing with 'Abdullah's "moderate" and safe proposal to defend the city, afterwards gave way to the "extremists" and went out to give battle to the enemy; which accounts for 'Abdullah's behaviour on that day. He was, besides, a pompous, self-conceited man who found it difficult to accept a second place where he had once stood first. Long after the Prophet had become all in all to the people of Al-Madīnah, 'Abdullah bin Ubeyy would get up in the Mosque before the Prophet's sermon and ask the people to listen to him quietly and with respect. Many of the Muslims were annoyed with him for so doing, but not the Prophet.

We have always been of opinion that a good translation of Ibn Hishām's *Sīrah* (omitting the long Asnāds or relegating them to an appendix) would be the most impressive and just presentation possible of the Prophet's life-story to English readers. Ibn Hishām contains all the earliest reports and if Maulana Muhammad Ali had followed him exclusively he would not only have done more justice to 'Abdullah bin Ubeyy but would have seen the battle of Badr in its true perspective, which depends on recognition of the fact that the command to fight was revealed to the Prophet at Mecca when Qureysh resolved to take his life, after the second pact of 'Aqabah but before the Hijrah. That explains why none of the Ansār were ever chosen to take part in any of the reconnoitering expeditions which went out from Al-Madīnah in the first year and why, on the eve of Badr, the Prophet gave them the option of withdrawal when it became clear that it was not the caravan but the Meccan army they were going to face. Fighting in the field was not included in their oath of allegiance.

The author seems to us to forget Arab custom and mentality, and even sometimes to deride received authority in his desire to make his narrative conform to modern European taste.

In his "Early Caliphate" this tendency is still apparent, though in a less degree, and here there is more scope for explanatory conjecture than in the life-story of the Prophet. He has dealt admirably with the series of events which led up to, accompanied and followed the murder of the Khalīfah 'Uthman—which will always be delicate ground for the Muslim historian so long as there exists among us a body of

opinion which passionately resents the clearly-written facts of history. The author's sincerity and zeal are always evident and we cannot but admire his work which, though as English it is defective, abounding in Indianisms and unusual phrases which ought to be idiomatic but are not, has eloquence and vigour. Due care has been taken with the transliteration of Arabic words. Each of the books is furnished with an index.

M.P.

ISLAM AND CIVILISATION*

THE weighing of the respective contributions to world civilisation of Islam and Christianity is a talk which has attracted many authors of late years since the very important part played in the past by Islam in furnishing the groundwork and the impetus of modern progress has become generally recognised. The present author has drawn his material almost exclusively from European and non-Muslim writers, who have shown that Islam fostered all the various activities, including cleanliness and sanitation, which are associated with modern Western civilisation while the Christian church was strongly opposed to them.

It is, no doubt, a great satisfaction to Muslims to read such vindications of Islam; they feel that justice is being done and the truth revealed at last; but at the same time they cannot escape a sense of overwhelming shame at the deterioration of the Muslims since the early days which books like this bring out so forcibly. Never mind whether Christianity or Islam can claim the credit of inaugurating modern civilisation the fact remains that the Muslims of today are, on the whole, almost as far behind the Europeans of today in the refinements and the arts of life as the Christians of the Middle Ages were behind the Muslims of Spain or Syria or Egypt or Iraq or Samarkand. The Shra'ah is natural Law. Those who follow it succeed, and those who forsake it fail. And the Muslims have for centuries neglected that part of the Sharf'ah which deals with education, free inquiry and research while the Europeans have adopted it enthusiastically. Muslims have to learn from Europe now, as Europe learnt from Muslims in time past, and it will mitigate the ignominy of their pupillage a little when they know that the present European triumph is largely owing to Islam.

*The Balance of the Crescent and the Cross. In Urdu. By Muhammad Abdu's-Sami Khan, *Nakhah*, Shahjehanpuri, B.A., Bombay, 1933. Price 8 annas.

M.P.

MUBTALA

KHAN Sahib Khâja Khan began his translation of this novel by Maulvi Hafiz Nazir Ahmad Khan of Delhi (whom he describes as "the pioneer of novel-writing in Urdu") forty years ago, as he tells us in his preface. He also tells us that he has omitted passages and chapters which he considered to be discordant with English taste. We deplore the omission because the principal point in the translation of a novel of manners into a foreign tongue is to convey to the foreign reader a clear idea of the taste prevailing in the society described.

The translation is straightforward and neatly turned. The story tells of a rich young man who early took to evil courses, from which his parents sought to reclaim him by marrying him to a first cousin, the daughter of his maternal aunt, whom Mr. Khâja Khan rather surprisingly describes as his *niece*. But, though he had two children by this plain and proper wife, he was not content with her and after a while he took a second wife, more amiable but less respectable. Mr. Khâja Khan describes her as a notorious "flirt" (does he mean "courtesan"?) from Lucknow. With her introduction into the household his ruin begins. There is an attempt to poison the second wife, and a succession of miseries till Mubtala, the hero, dies ruined and neglected, and the first wife, at last repentant follows him to the grave.

The novel is intended to display the evil of having more than one wife, but to our mind it rather shows the evil of wealth combined with idleness in a young man. The characterisation is clear, if somewhat crude, the characters bearing names like labels—Muttaqî for the good uncle, Wafadâr for the faithful servant and so on—and living up to them. Perhaps the most subtle personality is that of the bride's lawyer brother who uses litigation as a weapon cruelly even against his own relations and considers himself justified in any wrong-doing so long as the wrong is done in correct legal form. The scene is Delhi in the eighteen-eighties. We suspect that Khan Sahib Khâja Khan has been too drastic in abridgment, but the novel as translated by him is quite readable.

**Mubtala* or A Tale of Two Wives. An Oriental Novel illustrating the different phases of Musulman life in India. Translated and abridged from the original Urdu of Shams-ul-Ulama Maulvi Hafiz Nazir Ahmad Khan Bahadur, LL.D., of Delhi by Khan Sahib Khâja Khan, B.A., Madras, Hogarth Press, 1934. Price Re. 1.

M.P.

A TURKISH WOMAN'S LOVE-STORY*

FOR years to come, every personal romance in Turkey will be illumined and transfigured—we cannot say “over-shadowed”—by the national romance; for years to come, some of the splendour of Turkey's great refusal to accept the fate of a defeated people, her amazing triumph against all the odds and in the face of reason and of facts, is sure to find its way into even the saddest story by a Turkish writer. The book before us—a German translation by Prof. Otto Spies of the latest novel of a famous Turkish writer, Mufidah Farid Hanum, which is entitled *Af Olunmayan günah* (The Unforgivable Sin)—is an emotional tragedy, describing as it does a woman's passionate love and disillusionment. But the impression on the reader's mind is far from tragic because the nation's triumph and revival form a joyous background to the story and left the vicissitudes in the line of individuals on to the heroic plane.

The heroine and those who suffer with her in these pages seem to us almost as much casualties in their nation's battle for full life as if they had fallen or been wounded in the battle of the Sakariah, of which Mufidah Hanum writes so feelingly:

“It really did need especial courage and endurance in our men to withstand for two months, in flat country, that hellish onslaught of an enemy ten times more numerous and a hundred times better equipped than our army. But it needed also the moral force of the Gazi to make of our small army that unconquerable rock on which the enemy was shattered and destroyed.

“Never shall I forget that autumn morning which brought the news of our wonderful victory of Sakaria. The garden with its pear and apple trees with their crimson and golden leaves was of fairy-like beauty. The little spring of water splashed merrily into its pool. The poplar-leaves rattled like castanets.

“We had gone into the glass verandah looking out on to the garden. On the table simmered my inseparable sam-ovar. There were fresh pistachio-nuts from our garden, pears and Baklava and Börek. We were celebrating the victory.

*Die Unverzeihliche Sunde, von Müfide Ferit, verdeutscht und eingeleitet von Prof. Dr. Otto Spies. Gustav Hohas Verlag, Krefeld 1934.

"We were about ten at the table. Almost all had returned from the Front for a few days. Suddenly the chambermaid burst into the room and cried: 'The Gazi! The Gazi!' We all rushed out, and we saw him go by in a grey, open motor car. He was returning from the battle. Oh, how handsome he was that day!..... He passed silently, the hero of the victory. We had tears in our eyes as we looked at him. Then one of our friends, who today is his bitterest opponent, said: 'I could throw myself at his feet as he passes.....'"

The love-story of the heroine belongs to the era which that victory inaugurated; it could not have taken place in old Turkey. And it belongs to the period of struggle, for it will be impossible in the new Turkey when it is established. She has already been betrothed—legally, married—to a man of her father's choosing in the old-fashioned way, when in conditions now to Turkish womanhood, she meets a man with whom she falls consumedly in love. Yet she retains a kindly feeling for her betrothed—in law, her husband, strong enough to make her unwilling to wound his heart by seeking a divorce.

When the story opens she is a law student in the University. The war for independence interrupts her studies. After the country is reconquered for its people she becomes a practising lawyer and, as the author aptly makes her say has more success than she deserves, because the Turks made much of the first women who entered the learned professions and brought work to them. Her marriage is unconsummated but she does not ask for a divorce.

"You were too much of a Turk and too proud," she writes addressing her lover, "to tolerate the idea of making your friend's wife your mistress—especially not a woman whom you loved and respected and whom you regarded as clean. One day you asked me if I would not let myself be divorced, but even then you were too tender-hearted not to consider that divorce with scandal horrified me. You did not press me."

She lives and works in Istanbul, and he in Angora. He comes to Istanbul occasionally for a week or so, and once a year he goes to Europe for a holiday when she goes and stays in some hotel near him. And that is the position for twelve years; till one day, on a steamer on the Bosphorus an old acquaintance tells her that her lover is devoted to another

woman at Angora. Then suddenly the world goes black for her. She does not wait to verify the statement. For revenge and self-mortification she goes to her husband, but has not the heart to stay more than a few hours with him. Then she decides to join her lover as usual on his holiday in Europe. But her confession of that visit to her husband wrecks her life's romance. The lover, when he knew it, cast her off.

"For the Turk can forgive everything except the infidelity of a woman. That is the greatest abomination, the unforgivable sin." In view of their most tragic and heroic history, their high sincerity and the bewildering world in which they live today, we think the Turks should be forgiven all their sins— at any rate by Muslims.

M.P.

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The Influence of Arabic Poetry on the Development of Persian Poetry.—By Dr. U. M. Daudpota, M.A., (Bom.), PH.D., (Cantab), Professor of Arabic, Ismail College, Jogeshwari, Bombay, 1934. Price Rs. 6 or 9 sh. nett.

Ottoman Statecraft. (Princeton Oriental Texts Volume II). The Book of Counsel for Vezirs and Governors (Nasa'ih ul-vuzera ve'l-umera) of Sari Memhmed Pasha, the Defterdar. Turkish Text with Introduction, Translation, and Notes by Walter Livingston Wright, JR., Assistant Professor History in Princeton University London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1935.



THE DEVIL'S DELUSION OF IBN AL-FAUZI

Account of the way wherein he deludes the Jews

He has indeed deluded them in numerous matters of which we will mention a selection which will serve as a guide to the rest. Among them is their assimilating the Creator to the creature; were such assimilation correct, He would be liable to what they are liable to; our colleague* Abû 'Abdallah b. Hamid records how the Jews maintain that the God who is to be worshipped is a man of light upon a throne of light, having on His head a crown of light, and having the same members as a human being. Another is their assertion that 'Uzair is the son of God; had they understood that filiation belongs to division, and that God is not divisible, since He is not composite, they would not have asserted such filiation. Further, a son is of the same category as his father, and 'Uzair must have been maintained by food, whereas God is the maintainer of things, not maintained by them. Now what suggested this to them together with their ignorance of reality, was that they saw him come back after death and recite the *Torah* from memory; and they talked about this with erroneous fancies. And what shows that these people were far from intelligent is that, having seen the effect of the divine power in the dividing of the sea, then, coming across idols, they demanded the like, saying (Surah vii. 134) *Make unto us gods even as they have gods*. And when Moses rebuked them for this, still the idea remained in their minds, and that which was hidden came to light when they worshipped the calf, a course to which they were impelled by two things; one, their ignorance of the Creator, and the second their wanting something which would appeal to the sense, so dominant was sensation with them, and so far removed were they from reason. Had they not been so ignorant of the object of worship, they would not have dared to use improper expressions concerning Him, saying (Surah iii. 177) *Verily God is poor and we are rich* and (v. 69) *The hand of God is fettered*. God is high above all that!

*i.e., Hanbalite.

Among the delusions that the devil inflicted on them is their assertion that there is no abrogation of the codes. They were aware that the system of Adam permitted marriage with sisters and other prohibited degrees, and working on the Sabbath day; then this was abrogated by the code of Moses. They say: If God enjoin anything, that is wisdom, and it may not be altered.—I reply: At certain times alteration may be wisdom; the change in the human being from health to disease and from disease to death is wisdom, all of it. He has forbidden you to work on the Sabbath day, and permitted you to work on the Sunday: and this belongs to the category of what you disapprove. Further God commanded Ibrâhîm to sacrifice his son, and then forbade him to do so.

Another delusion which he inflicted on them is their saying (ii. 74) *The fire shall not touch us save for a certain number of days*, these being the days wherein they worshipped the calf. Indeed their atrocities are numerous, and then the devil induced them to practise pure contumacy, so that they rejected the description of our Prophet which was in their books and altered it. They had been ordered to believe in him; but they were content to be damned. Their learned men were contumacious, and the ignorant among them followed their lead. It is indeed a marvel that they should have altered and mutilated what had been prescribed to them, and made what they wanted their religion. What place has service with one who neglects the command and acts according to his lust? Further they contradicted Moses and found fault with him, declaring that he had a personal defect and charging him with the murder of Aaron; just as they charged David with seizing Uriah's wife.

The following was told us by Muhammad 'Abd al-Bâqî al-Bazzâz, with a chain of authorities going back to Abû Hurairah. He said: The Prophet went to the school of the Jews, and said: Bring out to me the most learned among you. There came out 'Abdallah b. Suriyah, and they had a private interview. The Prophet adjured him by his religion and God's bounty in feeding them with manna and quails, and causing the cloud to overshadow them, to answer the question: Do you know that I am God's Apostle?—He replied: Yea, by God! And indeed the people know what I know, and that your description and characteristics are clear in the *Torah*; only they are envious of you.—The Prophet said: Then what hinders you yourself?—He said: I am unwilling to go against my people; possibly they may follow you and accept Islâm, in which case I shall do the like.

I was told the following by Hibat Allah b. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wâhid with a chain of authorities going back to Salâmah b. Salâmah b. Waqsh. He said: We had a Jewish neighbour among the Banu 'Abd al-Ashhal, who one day before the Prophet's mission came out to us from his house, and stood in the assembly of that tribe. I (said Salâmah) was at that time the youngest person there, and was lying on a garment in the court of my family. He spoke of the gathering, the resurrection, the reckoning, the scales, paradise and hell, to polytheists and idolators, who did not believe in any gathering after death. They said to him: What? Do you believe that will really happen, that people after death will be gathered to a world wherein are paradise and hell, and will be recompensed there for their deeds?—He said: Yea, by Him by whom men swear one of you would wish that he had one flash of that fire in the largest oven in the house, and that after being heated he should be put into that oven and have it closed upon him, and that he might be rescued from that fire to-morrow.—They said to him: Pray what is the sign thereof?—He said: A prophet who shall be sent from somewhere in these regions, and he pointed with his hand towards Meccah and Yemen.—They said: And when shall we see him?—He said, looking at me, who was the youngest of them: If this lad lives his full term, he will overtake him. Salâmah said: Now by Allah not a day and a night had passed before God sent His Prophet, the man being still alive and among us. We believed in him, but the man disbelieved, out of malice and jealousy. We said to him: Plague on you, are not you the person who told us about him?—He said: I am, only this is not the man.

Account of the way wherein he deludes the Christians

This is of many kinds, one of them being that the devil makes them fancy that the blessed Creator is a substance. The Jacobites, followers of Jacob, the Malekites, followers of the imperial religion, and the Nestorians, followers of Nestorius, maintain that God is a single substance, self-maintained, being one in substantiality, three in personality; one of the persons according to them is the Father, another the Son, and another the Holy Ghost. Some of them say that the Persons are properties, others that they are qualities; others that they are individuals. These persons forget that if God were a substance, He would be liable to those things to which substances are liable, limitation in space, motion and rest, and colours. Then the devil suggested to some of them that Christ is God; Abu Muhammad al-Naubakhtî says: The

Malekites and Jacobites maintain that the person born by Mary is God. To some of them Satan suggested that Christ is the son of God; some of them hold that Christ is two substances, one of them ancient and the other modern. In spite of their saying this concerning Christ they admit that he needed food, neither differing on that point nor on the fact that he was crucified, and was unable to protect himself. They say that this was done only with the humanity; why then did not the divinity in him protect the humanity?

Further he deluded them with regard to our Prophet, so that they rejected him after he had been mentioned in the Gospel. Some of the "People of the Book" admit that he was a prophet, only sent exclusively to the Arabs. This is one of the devil's delusions, wherein he has got them off their guard. For if it be certain that he was a prophet, then a prophet cannot lie; and the Prophet said "I am sent unto all mankind"; and he wrote letters to Cæsar, Khosroes, and the rest of the foreign kings.

*Account of the way wherein he deludes both
Jews and Christians*

An example is their saying God will not punish us for the sake of our ancestors, since of us are the saints and the prophets. God tells us about this saying of theirs (Surah v. 21) *We are the sons of God and His beloved*, i.e., to us belong His sons 'Uzair and Isa. The dispelling of this illusion is that every individual is answerable for God's claims upon him, which no relative can avert; and if love of an individual could be transferred to another in virtue of relationship, hatred also would be transferable. Our Prophet said to his daughter Fâtimah *I cannot avail thee at all against God*. The advantage of the loved one is by reason of his piety, and whoso lacks this, lacks the divine love. Further God's love of a creature is no passion like that of one human being for another; were it indeed like that, then such transference would be admissible.

Account of the way wherein he deludes the Sabians

This name Sabians comes from a verb which means to go out from one thing into another, and is used of stars coming out, and of people bringing others out. The Sabians then are people who "go out" from one religion into another, and scholars have ten views of their systems. (1) That they are intermediate between Jews and Mazdians. This is recorded by Salîm after Sa'îd b. Jubair and Laith after Mujâhid. (2) That they are intermediate between Jews and

Mazdians. Recorded by Ibn Abi Najih after Mujâhid. (3) That they are intermediate between Jews and Christians. Recorded by al-Qâsim b. Abi Barrah after Mujâhid. (4) That they are a Christian sect, only more moderate than the others in their doctrine. Recorded by Abu Sâlih after Ibn 'Abbâs. (5) That they are polytheists with no sacred book. Also recorded by al-Qâsim after Mujâhid. (6) That they resemble the Mazdians. Asserted by al-Hasan. (7) That they are a sect of the People of the Book, reading the Psalms. Asserted by Abu'l-'Aliyah. (8) That they are people who turn in prayer to the Qiblah, worship the angels and read the Psalms. Asserted by Qatâdah and Muqâtil. (9) That they are a sect of the People of the Book. Asserted by al-Suddî. (10) That they used to say *There is no God but Allah*, but have no ritual nor book nor prophet; only the formula which has been quoted. Asserted by Ibn Zaid.

These are the opinions of the commentators on the Qur'ân, but as for the theologians, they assert that the Sabians follow different systems. Some of them believe in the existence of a hyle which is eternal, and that the demiurge has from eternity been forming the world therefrom. Most of them however assert that the world is uncreate; they call the stars angels, though some of them call them gods, and prostrate themselves before them, and build them sanctuaries; they claim that the Sacred House (the Ka'bah) is one of these sanctuaries, being that of Saturn. Some of them hold that God can have no attributes save such as are negative, not positive, so that you may say he is not created, not mortal, not ignorant, not impotent, in order (they say) that there may be no anthropomorphism. They have certain religious practices, e.g., they assert that they are bound to perform three daily prayers, the first, of eight inclinations, with three prostrations for each inclination, the time for it ending with sunrise; the second and third are each of five inclinations. They also are bound to fast for a month beginning the eighth of March, and for seven days beginning with the ninth from the end of December, and seven days beginning with the eighth of February; they terminate their fasts with almsgiving and sacrifices. They taboo camel's flesh with other follies which it would be waste of time to record. They hold that the good spirits ascend to the fixed stars, and the light; and that the bad spirits descend to the lowest of the earths, and the darkness. Some of them hold that this world is imperishable, and that reward and punishment are in transmigration.

Doctrines of this sort do not require trouble to be taken over their refutation, since they are postulates without proof. The devil has also persuaded some of them to take the view that perfection lies in procuring relation between them and the upper spiritual beings by the use of purifications, regulations, and invocations. They occupy themselves with astrology and fumigation, and declare that there must necessarily be some intermediary between God and His creation to furnish knowledge and to guide to what is profitable; only such intermediary must be spiritual not corporeal. We, they say, procure for ourselves a holy relation between Him and ourselves, which serves as a means of approaching him. These people do not reject the resurrection of the body.

Account of the way wherein he deludes the Mazdians

Yahya b. Bishr b. 'Umair al-Nihawandî says: The first king of the Mazdians was Kumart, who introduced his religion. Then there were among them a succession of persons who claimed prophethood, till Zoroaster became famous for it. They used to say that God is a spiritual individual, simultaneously with whose appearance things appeared, being spiritual and perfect; he said "It will not be possible for any other than Me to create the like of this which I have created," and from this thought of His there was begotten Darkness, since this thought involved a denial of anyone else's power. Then began Darkness to strive with Him for victory.

Among the things ordained by Zoroaster were the worship of fire and prayer towards the sun, their explanation of the latter practice being that the sun is queen of the world, and brings day and removes night; gives life to plants and animals, and restores heat to their bodies. They would not bury their dead in the earth out of reverence for it, saying that it is the source of living things, so we must not defile it; nor would they wash themselves with water, out of reverence for that element, which, they say, contains the life of everything, without first using the urine of oxen or the like, nor would they spit therein. They did not approve of the slaughter or sacrifice of animals, and would wash their faces with the urine of oxen, which they regarded as lucky, the luckier the older it was. They approved of intercourse with mothers, holding that the son was the fittest person to gratify the mother's desire, and that if a husband died, his son had the best right to the wife. If there were no son, a man was to be hired at the expense of the deceased. They permitted marriage with a hundred or even a thousand wives, *et si mulier*

menstruans volebat se lavare, dabat denarium magorum principi, qui ducebat eam ad domum ignis, jubebat eam procumbere in manus et pedes, et purgabat eam indice digito.

This system was proclaimed by Mazdak in the days of Qubad, who permitted promiscuous intercourse, and himself married the wives of Qubad, that he might be imitated by the populace, who did the like with their womenfolk. When the turn came to the mother of Anushirwan, he said: Bring her out to me, for if you refuse me my desire, your faith will be imperfect. The king thought of bringing her out; but Anushirwan began to weep before Mazdak and kiss his feet, in the presence of his father Qubad, begging Mazdak to grant him his mother. Qubad said to Mazdak: Do you not maintain that the Believer must not be restrained from his desire? He said: It is so.—Why, then, said the king, do you restrain Anushirwan from his desire?—I grant her to him, he said. Further he permitted the eating of carrion. When Anushirwan came to the throne, he exterminated the followers of Mazdak.

Among the doctrines of the Mazdians is that the earth is infinite downwards, that the heaven is one of the skins of the demons, and that the thunder is the motion proceeding from the snoring of the fiends imprisoned in the spheres after being captured in a war, from whose bones are the mountains, and from whose urine and blood are the seas. A man of note arose among the Mazdians at the time of the transference of the empire from the Umayyads to the 'Abbasids, who misled many people, and about whom there are many stories which it would take too long to recount. He was the last person of distinction whom the Mazdians produced. Some savants assert that the Mazdians had books which they studied and that they invented a religion, but that their books were removed.

One of the most extraordinary delusions wrought upon them by the devil is this: noticing that there is good and evil in actions, he persuaded them that the doer of good does not do evil, whence they assume two gods, one of them being light and wise, doing only good, the other a demon, darkness, who only does evil: a similar doctrine to that of the dualists which we have recorded.

We have already mentioned their fallacies and the reply to them. Some of them say: The Creator is eternal, and from him comes only good; the demon is created, and from him comes only evil. We may say to them: If you

maintain that Light created the demon, then He created the source of evil. *

Some of them state that the Creator is Light, but that he thought an evil thought, saying "I fear that there may come into existence in my realm someone who will oppose me"; this thought of His was evil, and from it there arose the devil, who was content to have evil ascribed to him, after it had been established that he was a partner in the realm. Nau-bakhtî records that according to some of them the Creator doubted about something and from that doubt the devil arose. Some of them, he adds, hold that God and the fiend are two eternal bodies, between whom there was a space. The world was immune from trouble, the fiend being away from it; presently the devil planned to pierce the heaven with his hosts, when the Almighty fled from their doings and sanctified Himself from their language, but was pursued by the devil, who besieged Him and fought against Him for three thousand years, during which he was unable to get at the Almighty, and the Almighty was unable to repulse him; the Almighty then made peace with him on condition that the devil and his hosts should be in the world for seven thousand years. The Almighty thought the best course was to put up with the devil's mischief till the term fixed came to an end, until which time mankind will endure trials. After that they will return to bliss. The devil stipulated that he should be allowed to institute evil things in this world. When the two, he goes on to say, had agreed on the terms, they had them attested by two just persons, to whom they handed their swords, bidding them slay whichever of the two violated his engagement.—There is a lot more rubbish which it would be waste of time to record, and which we have therefore neglected. And indeed this balderdash is only worth mentioning in order to show the lengths to which the devil's delusions go.

It is marvellous that after making the Creator good, they should make an evil thought issue from Him; according to their doctrine, a sovereign, the devil, can issue from a thought. We may ask them: Is it possible that the fiend may keep his promise?—If they say No, then we may say that it is not in accordance with wisdom to keep him alive. If they say Yes, then they admit that good faith (a commendable thing) can proceed from one who is evil. Further how is it that the fiend obeyed the "two just persons," when he disobeyed his Lord? And how can God be assailed? Were it not interesting to study the havoc played by the devil with men's reason, there would be no use nor sense in recording these absurdities.

Account of the way wherein he deludes the astrologers and astronomers

Abu Muhammad al-Naubakhtî says: Some maintain that the sphere is eternal, uncreate; whereas Galen records that according to some Saturn only is eternal. Some hold that the sphere is a fifth nature, having neither cold nor heat, neither moisture nor dryness, neither light nor heavy. Some supposed the sphere to be a fiery substance, which had released itself from the earth by the force of its revolution. Some say the stars are of a body resembling stone. Some that they are of cloud which is extinguished every day and lights up again at night, like coal which blazes up and goes out. Some say the body of the moon is composed of fire and air; some that the sphere is of water, wind, and fire, and resembles a globe, moving with two motions, from east to west and from west to east; Saturn, they say, revolves round the sphere in about thirty years, Jupiter in about twelve years, Mars in about two years, the Sun, Venus, and Mercury in one year, and the moon in thirty days. Some say that the spheres of the stars are seven; the nearest to us is the sphere of the moon, next comes that of Mercury, next that of Venus, next that of the Sun, next that of Mars, next that of Jupiter, next that of Saturn, next the sphere of the fixed stars. There is difference of opinion about the magnitude of the stars, most of the philosophers holding the sun to be the greatest, its magnitude being 160 times that of the earth. That of each of the fixed stars is about 94 times that of the earth; that of Jupiter about 82 times, that of Mars about one and a half times. The distance round and back from any one point in the sphere is 100,664 leagues. Some suppose the sphere to be alive, and the heaven an animal, and that each star has a soul in it. The ancient philosophers held that the stars do good and evil, give and withhold in accordance with their natures, which are lucky or unlucky; that they influence men's souls, and are themselves living and active.

Account of the way wherein he deludes those who deny the resurrection

He has deluded many persons into denying the resurrection and regarding restoration after decay as chimerical. He suggested to them two fallacies; first he pointed out to them the weakness of the material, and secondly the mixing up of the portions that were dispersed in the depths of the earth. They said: one animal eats another, so how is resurrection possible? Their fallacies have been noticed by

the Qur'ân, and God says about the first (xxiii. 37) *Doth he promise you that when ye are dead and have become dust and bones ye shall be brought out?* 'Tis a far cry to that which ye are promised! And with reference to the second He says (xxxii. 9) *What, when we have wandered over the earth, are we to be in a new creation?* This indeed was the view of most of the pagans; one of them says

The Prophet tells us that we shall revive;
But how are carcases and skulls to live?

Another

To live, to die, and then to rise again—
This is, dear lady, but a fiction vain.

The reply to the first of these fallacies is that the weakness of the material, i.e., dust, for the new creation is shown to be no argument against it by the origin and process of the embryo; further the original man, Adam, was formed from dust; and indeed God Almighty invariably creates admirable objects from contemptible material, man from *semen virile*, the peacock from a mouldy egg, the green giraffe from a foulsmelling snake; attention should be directed to the power and might of the maker, not to the weakness of the material. And such attention will furnish the reply to the second fallacy. Further He has shown us by way of a specimen how what is scattered can be reassembled; if gold filings be scattered over a quantity of dust, and a small amount of mercury be thrown over them, the gold which is scattered will reassemble; how much more then can be accomplished by the divine power, one of whose operations is the creation of everything out of nothing? Besides, if we were able to turn the dust into that into which the bodies turn,* this would not affect the man's soul; for the man exists by his soul, not by his body; he becomes thin or stout, changes from smallness to bigness yet is throughout the same.

One of the strongest evidences of the resurrection is that God displayed by the hand of His prophets something even more marvellous than the resurrection; such as the change of a staff into a living snake, and the production of a she-camel from a rock. And by the hand of Jesus he displayed actual cases of resurrection.

This we have further explained in our refutation of the philosophers. The devil has further confused persons who

*This seems to be the sense, but the words are likely to be corrupt.

witnessed the Creator's power, but into whose minds there came the two fallacies which we have mentioned, in consequence of which they hesitated about the resurrection, and one of them said (xviii. 34) *And if I be returned to my Lord, I shall find one better than it for a change* and al-As b. Wâ'il said (xix. 80) *I shall be given wealth and offspring*. They said these things in consequence of their doubts, the devil having confused them on the subject. What they meant was "If there be a resurrection, we shall be all right, since He who has bestowed wealth upon us in this world will not deprive us of it in the next." This, I must observe, is an error, for the gift may be a form of temptation or punishment; a man may guard his son, but allow his slave to indulge his passions.

*Account of the way wherein he deludes the believers
in Transmigration*

He has deluded some people into believing in transmigration, and that the spirits of the good when they depart enter into good bodies and are at rest, whereas the bad spirits enter into evil bodies, and endure tortures therein. This doctrine came forward in the time of the Pharaoh of Moses. Abu'l-Qâsim al-Balkhî states that the believers in this doctrine, seeing the pain suffered by infants and animals both wild and tame, regarded it as impossible that such pain could be for the torture of other beings or for retribution, or for no other reason than that these creatures were held in bondage: hence they concluded that it must have been earned by sins which had been previously committed by them in another state. Yahya b. Bishr b. 'Umair al-Nihawandî states that according to the Indians there are four natures: a composite hyle, soul, reason, and loose hyle; the composite is the lesser lord, and the soul is the lesser hyle, the reason the greater lord, and the hyle also is greater.* When the souls quit the world, they come to the lesser lord, i.e., the composite hyle; if they are virtuous and pure, he receives them into his nature and purifies them till he brings them out to the lesser hyle, i.e., the soul, so that they may proceed to the greater lord, who will draw them out into the greater composite hyle. If a soul be perfectly virtuous, it will remain with him in the simple world; if it be imperfectly virtuous, he will send it back to the greater lord, who will send it back to the lesser hyle, which will send it back to the lesser lord, who will bring it forth mingled with sun's rays till it become a common vegetable, which will be eaten by a man and turn

*This passage seems to be corrupt.

into a man to be born anew into the world, and this will be his course in every death that he dies. As for the vicious, when their souls* come to the lesser hyle they are inverted and become herbs eaten by cattle, so that the spirit enters into a beast and is transformed into another on the death of that beast; it remains transformed, shifting through various diseases, and once in a thousand years returns to humanity. If it prove virtuous in human form it joins the virtuous. Observe, I say, these stages which the devil arranged for them according to his fancy with no support!

I was informed by Muhammad b. Abi Tâhir al-Bazzâr after 'Alî b. al-Muhassin after Abu'l-Hasan 'Alî b. Nazîf the metaphysician as follows:*

There used, he said, to attend lectures with us in Baghdad an Imâmi Shaikh, Abu Bakr b. al-Fallâs. He told us how he had visited a man whom he had known as a Shi'ite, but who afterwards adopted the doctrine of transmigration. I found him with a black cat in front of him, which he was stroking and scratching between the eyes. I noticed that its eyes were dropping tears as is usual with cats. The man was weeping copiously. I asked him why he wept.—He said: Do you not see that this cat sheds tears whenever I stroke her? Doubtless she is my mother, and she only weeps out of grief when she sees me.—He began to talk to her in the style of one who supposed that she understood. The cat began to mew just a little, and I said to him: She understands, does she, what you are saying to her?—He said, Yes. Then I said: Do you understand her mewings?—He said No.—I said: Then you are the transformed, and she is the human being.

Account of the way wherein he deludes our community in their beliefs and religious practices

The devil found his way into the beliefs of this community by two avenues; one of them imitation of parents and ancestry, and the other diving out of their depth. Thus he brought the adherents of this section into various forms of confusion.

As for the first avenue: he persuaded the imitators that evidences admit of doubt, and the truth at times is hidden, whereas imitation is safe. Many people have been led

*This story comes from the *Table-talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, Part viii, § 25.

astray along this avenue, and whole multitudes have thereby been ruined. Jews and Christians have imitated their fathers and their savants. The same was the case with the pagan Arabs. Now the reason which they allege for approving imitation deserves censure: for if evidences admit of doubt and the truth is hidden, imitation should be avoided lest it lead into error. God reproaches those who stand still in imitation of their fathers and ancestry, in the text (xliii. 22) *Nay, but they say: Verily we found our fathers following a system and we are on their footsteps imitating. Say: What and if I bring you better guidance than that wherein ye found your fathers? i.e., will ye still follow them? And indeed God says (xxxvii. 98) Verily they found their fathers astray, and they rush in their footsteps.*

The imitator has no certainty about that which he imitates, and such imitation frustrates the utility of the reason. For the reason was given for the purpose of reflexion and consideration. It would be disgraceful that anyone who had been given a candle to light him should extinguish it and walk in darkness. Now the majority of the adherents of the systems revere some individual in their hearts and follow his saying without reflecting on what he says. And this is the essence of error, since attention should be directed to the saying not to the speaker, as 'Alī said to al-Hārith b. Hut, who had said to him "Is it to be supposed that we shall think Talhah and Zubair to have been in the wrong?" He replied "Hārith, you are under a delusion: the right is not to be known by persons: know what is right and then you will know what persons are in the right." Ahmad b. Hanbal used to say: "A man must be straitened in his knowledge if he imitates the belief of some other man." For this reason Ahmad b. Hanbal accepted the view of Zaid about the grandfather, and rejected that of Abu Bakr al-Siddīq.

If it be said: "Ordinary folk cannot know the evidence, how then can they do otherwise than imitate?" the reply is that the evidence for belief is obvious as we have hinted in our account of the materialists, and the like thereof is not hidden from any intelligent person; only, as for the details of legislation, since their applications are numerous and difficult for the laity to know, so that they are likely to be mistaken about them, the best thing one of them can do is to follow someone who has made a profound study of them; where he has to display independence is in the choice of someone to follow.

As for the second avenue: the devil, having got control of the foolish and plunged them in imitation, driving them like cattle, presently noticed some among them who had some sagacity and intelligence, and so misled these to the extent of his control over them. Some of them disapproved of those who were praised as imitators, and these the devil bade reflect; he then misled each one of them by a particular method. He showed some of them that to rest satisfied with the literal sense of the code was incompetence; so he drove them to the system of the philosophers, and would not leave them alone till he had drawn them out of Islam; we have already dealt with these in our refutation of the philosophers. Some of these he persuaded not to believe anything save what was perceived by the senses; to these we may say: Is it by the senses that you know the soundness of your doctrine? If they say yes, then they will be making an audacious assertion, since our senses cannot perceive what they say, since there can be no difference about what the senses perceive. If they say: By something other than the senses, they will be contradicting themselves.

Some of them were made by the devil to dislike imitation and persuaded to plunge into metaphysics, and study the inventions of the philosophers, in order to remove themselves, as they supposed, from the common herd. The conditions of the metaphysicians varied, most of them being brought by their metaphysics to doubt, while some became heretical; the ancient jurists of this community did not keep silence about metaphysics out of incompetence, but because they saw that this study brought no satisfaction, but rendered the healthy unsound: so they left it alone and forbade the study. So much so that Shafi'i said: It would be better that a man should be afflicted with everything which God has forbidden save only polytheism than that he should study metaphysics. He also said: If you hear a man say "the name is identical with the thing named," then attest that he is a metaphysician and irreligious. My ruling, he said, for the metaphysicians is that they should be beaten with palm-branches, and dragged about the clans and tribes, with the proclamation: This is the punishment of him who abandons the Book and the Sunnah and takes up with metaphysics. Ahmad b. Hanbal said: No metaphysician will ever prosper; the experts in this subject are atheists.

I myself ask: How can metaphysics be other than culpable, seeing that they led the Mu'tazils to assert that God

knows the generalities of things but not the details? Jahm b. Safwan maintained that God's knowledge, power, and life were all created. Abu 'Ali al-Juba'i, Abu Hâshim and their followers among the people of Basrah maintained that the non-existent was a thing, an essence, a soul, a substance, whiteness, yellowness, redness, and that the Creator cannot make an essence essence, nor an accident accident, and is only able to bring an essence from non-existence into existence. The qadi Abu Ya'la in the book *al-Muqtabas* records that the Mu'tazilite al-'Allâf said to him: The bliss of the people of Paradise and the torment of the people of Hell are things which ability to avert must not be ascribed to God. If this be so, God should be neither desired nor feared, since He has, according to this, no power to do good or evil, to benefit or to injure. So, he goes on to say, the people of Paradise will remain motionless and silent, not uttering a word, nor moving, neither they nor their Lord being able to do anything of the sort. For all events must necessarily have an end which they will reach, after which there is to be nothing. God is exalted high above all this!

Abu'l-Qâsim 'Abdullah b. Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Balkhî in his book *Maqalat* states that Abu'l-Hudhail (Muhammad b. al-Hudhail al-'Allâf, a native of Basrah client of the tribe 'Abd al-Qais) was alone in the opinion that the motions of the people of Paradise will come to an end and that they will come to permanent quiescence, and that there is a limit to what God can do, if it came into actuality, which however it will not do. He thought it absurd that there should be ascribed to Him power for aught else. He used to say that God's knowledge is God, and God's power is God. Abu Hâshim said: whoso repents of everything else except of having drunk a draught of wine will be punished eternally with the punishment of the unbelievers. Nazzâm said that God is unable to do any evil, whereas the devil can do both good and evil.

Hishâm al-Ghuti* said: the epithet 'knowing from all eternity' must not be ascribed to God. Some of the Mu'tazilites say that it is permissible that God should lie, only this has not occurred. The Determinists assert that man has no power, but is like dead matter, without choice or power of acting. The Murjites hold that a man who utters the two formulæ of the Creed and then commits every sin will not enter Hell at all: contradicting the genuine traditions which deal with

*Mu'tazilite doctor, whose views are given by Shahrastâni.

the removal of the monotheists out of Hell. Ibn 'Aqil said: It is most probable that the founder of the Murjite system was an atheist; for the prosperity of the world lies in maintaining the threats and the belief in reward. The Murjites, being unable to deny the Creator, owing to people's disapproval and that doctrine conflicting with the reason, annulled the advantage of maintaining the belief in his existence, which is fear and expectation. Thus they demolished the policy of the Code, and they are the sect which does most mischief to Islam.

The author proceeds. Now Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad b. Karram followed and selected the worst of the systems and the weakest of the traditions, and inclined to anthropomorphism, holding that accidents might enter into the person of the Creator; he asserted that God cannot restore bodies and substances, He can only create them. The Salimiyah assert that God will be revealed on the Day of Judgment to everything in its own conception, to man as a man, to a Jinni as a Jinni. They also say that God has a secret, revelation of which would ruin the government of the world.

I personally implore God's protection from studies and sciences which involve such hideous doctrines. The metaphysicians indeed pretend that faith is imperfect without the knowledge of their systems. They are mistaken, since the Prophet commanded men to believe but did not command them to study metaphysics. And under these conditions there passed away the Companions, whom the Lawgiver attested to be the best of mankind. As we have shown, the study of metaphysics was censured in tradition, and we have been informed of cases wherein metaphysicians have withdrawn from their pursuit after seeing the mischief to which it led. I was told by Abu Mansûr al-Qazzâz by a chain of authorities ending with Ahmad b. Sinan that the latter said: Al-Walîd b. Aban al-Karabîsî was my maternal uncle, and when he was about to die, he said to his sons: Do ye know of anyone more skilled than I am in metaphysics? They said No. He said: Do you mistrust me?—They said No.—He said: If I give you a charge, will you accept it?—They said Yes.—He said: Follow the way of the Traditionalists, for I see that they are in the right.

Abu'l-Ma'ali al-Juwainî* used to say: I have traversed the world of Islam and its sciences, sailing the ocean and

*Yusuf b. 'Abdullah, called Imam al-Haramain, ob. 478.

diving into all that has been forbidden them, all in the search for truth and fleeing from imitation; now I have come back from all to the word of truth. Follow the religion of the licit; if God does not cause his loving kindness to overtake me, so that I shall die in the religion of old wives, and my time terminate on the day of my departure with the word of Sincerity,¹ then woe to Ibn al-Juwaini!

He used to say to his friends: Friends, do not occupy yourselves with metaphysics: had I known to what it would lead, I should never have busied myself therewith.

Abu'l-Wafa b. 'Aqil said to one of his friends: I am certain that the Companions of the Prophet died without knowing *substance* and *accident*. If you are satisfied to be like them, be so; but if you think that the path of the metaphysicians is better than that of Abu Bakr and 'Umar, then that is a wrong view. For, he added, metaphysics has brought its followers into doubts, and many of them into heresy: further the odour of heresy is about the casual utterances of the metaphysicians.

The source of this is that they are not content with what contents the codes, and search for realities; and it is not in the power of the reason to attain to the wisdom which God alone possesses. Neither has God revealed to His creatures the realities which He knows; so, he says, having for a lifetime gone to all lengths in the former,² I now retrace my steps to the system of the books.

They only say that the old wives' system is safer, because, having gone to the limit in subtlety of investigation, they found no evidence of those justifications and explanations which the reason rejects, and had to stop at the indications of the code, discarding the theory of motivations, the reason admitting that there is above it a divine wisdom to which it submits; the proof of this is: You say "He wanted to know, He desired to mention," and someone else says "Was He seized with the desire to bestow good, did any motive invite him to shed bounty?" Now it is well known that a motive is something or other that occurs to the person, certain desires of the soul, and all that this means is that some desire enters the person to procure what he has not got, but which he wants; and when this object is attained, the emotion

(1) The reference is to Surah cxii., which is a brief statement of monotheistic doctrine.

(2) The study of metaphysics.

calms, and the motive is weakened. The foolish person who asks these questions is called a "becauser,"¹ and it is well known that the 'Eternal' has ascribed to Him sufficiency, essential independence requiring no addition, subject to no occurrence. Now if we examine His bounty we find it laden with deficiency and sufferings, and pain endured by animals. When the reason would fain find a bounteous reason for this, investigation proceeds and perceives that the Doer can be either kindly or unkindly, and by rational evidence perceives that He is far removed from avarice which would cause Him to withhold what He is able to procure, and from inability to avert the evil which befalls these creatures; being then unable to find causes, it does better to submit. The mischief only came in from the supposition that the Creator enforces what is profitable and averts what is harmful to the extent of His ability; had they introduced into their science the notion that He is wise, they would have been compelled to resign themselves to His will on account of His wisdom, and so would have lived in the comfortable home of committing affairs to Him without opposition.

Certain people have stopped short at the literal sense of the texts, interpreting them in terms of sense; some of them asserting that God is a body (God forbid!), which was the view of Hishâm b. al-Hakam,² 'Alî b. Mansûr,³ and Muhammad b. al-Khalîl and Yunus b. 'Abd al-Rahmân,³ differences arose between them, some saying that He is a body like other bodies, whereas others say unlike other bodies. These again differed, some saying that He is light, others that He is like a white ingot, this last being the view of Hishâm b. al-Hakam he held that God was seven of His own spans (God forbid!), and that what is beneath the earth is seen by a ray stretching from Him to the object of vision. Abu Muhammad al-Naubakhtî records after Jâhîz after al-Nazzâm that Hishâm b. al-Hakam formulated in one year five different views of anthropomorphism, finally deciding that the Deity is seven of his own spans; that some said He is in the form of an ingot, others that He is in the form of a clear crystal sphere, which exhibits the same form from whatever point of view you see it. Hishâm maintained that He is finite in substance, so that a mountain is larger than He. His substance, he added, is known only to Himself.

(1) This seems to be the sense; the word is derived from the preposition which is used for the motive.

(2) Shi'î theologian, died in time of Ma'mûn.

(3) Shi'î theologian.

This view (I observe) involves His possession of quality, which would be inconsistent with monotheism. It is established that the sense of touch can only belong to a member of a class, whom other objects resemble, from which he needs to be separated and distinguished. But God Almighty is not a member of a class or resembled, neither can finiteness be attributed to His essence: not in the sense that He stretches infinitely in all directions, the meaning being only that He is neither a body nor a substance, involving finiteness.

Al-Naubakhtî further states that many metaphysicians assert that Muqâtil b. Sulaimân,¹ Nu'aim b. Hammâd,² and Dawûd al-Hawarî³ maintain that God has a form and members.

Now I ask: How, pray, can these ascribe eternity to Him but not to human beings? Why do not they admit the possibility of the same things happening to Him as happen to human beings, disease and destruction? Then there may be said to anyone who maintains that the Deity has bodily form: By what evidence do you prove that bodies are not eternal?—and thereby we shall prove to you that the god whom you believe to be a create body is not eternal. Some of those who believe that God is a body hold that He may be felt and touched; to these we may say: Then, according to you, He may also be embraced! Some of them say that He is a body which is space, wherein are all bodies. Bayan b. Sam'an asserted that the object of his worship was entirely of light, in the shape of a man, having possession of all his members except his face; he was executed by Khâlid b. 'Abdallah.⁴ Al-Mughîrah b. Sa'id al-'Ijlî⁵ asserted that the object of his worship was a man composed of light, on whose head is a crown of light, with members and a heart whence issues wisdom, his members having the form of the letters of the alphabet. This person maintained the sovereignty of Muhammad b. 'Abdallah b. al-Hasan b. al-Husain. Zurarrah b. A'yan⁶ used to assert that the Creator had not from eternity been knowing, powerful, or living till He created these qualities for Himself (God forbid!). Dawûd al-Hawarî said that He is a body of flesh and blood with limbs and members, hollow from mouth to chest, and solid for the rest.

(1) Ob. 150.

(2) Ob. 228.

(3) His view is given in *al-Farq bain al-Firaq*, p. 216.

(4) Al-Qasri. 119 A.H. Tabari ii. 1620.

(5) Executed at the same time. Tabari *loc-cit.*

(6) Follower of Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Baqir (59-114).

Among those who stop short at sense there are some who say He is on the Throne in His essence as being in contact therewith, but when He descends He shifts and moves; they regard His essence as finite, and their doctrine involves that He has measure and quantity. In proof of their assertion that He is on the Throne in His essence they allege the saying of the Prophet that God descends to the heaven of the lower world: one who descends, they argue, must do so from above. They therefore interpret descent as the sensible act ascribed to bodies. These anthropomorphists are those who interpret the attributes in terms of sensation; We have summarized their doctrines in our work *The road to arrive at knowledge of the Principles*.^{*} Some of them dealing with the vision of God on the Day of the Resurrection imagine Him to be similar to what we see in individuals, representing Him as an individual whose beauty exceeds all beauty. Such a person you may see sighing out of desire for Him, his desire increasing the greater he fancies that beauty to be; he conceives the veil to be lifted, becomes enamoured, thinks on the vision and faints. He hears in the Tradition that He will bid his believing servant approach Him, and thinks of actual propinquity, like one person sitting with another. All this is ignorance of the subject of the attributes. Some say that God has a face which is an attribute over and above His essential attributes, arguing from the text (lv. 27) *And the face of thy Lord shall remain*; and that He has a hand and a finger, arguing from the saying of the Prophet *He shall set the heavens on a finger*, and that He has a foot, etc., as is to be found in traditions. All this has been deduced from interpreting in terms of sense; the correct method is to read the texts and the traditions without interpreting and without discussion. A preferable view to theirs is that what is meant by "face" is essence, not that it is an additional attribute; and this is the interpretation of the text given by scientific commentators, i.e., "the essence of thy Lord shall remain," and similarly they interpret (vi. 52) *they desire His face* "they desire Him." What then is there to assure them that by his saying *The hearts of men are between two fingers* the Prophet meant anything more than an expression referring to the fact that the finger is what holds a thing, and that one who has a thing between two fingers can control it as he wishes?—not that the saying refers to an extra attribute.

My own view is that even this comment had better be suppressed, only it is possible that it may be the meaning,

^{*}See also his work *Daf Shubhat al-tashbih*, Damascus, 1345.

whereas it is not permissible that it should imply a substance capable of division and partition.

One of the most extraordinary doctrines of the literalists is that of the Salimiyyah that the dead man eats, drinks, and cohabits in the grave—a view due to their hearing about delights, and knowing of no other delights than these. Had they only been contented with the words of the traditions that the spirits of the believers enter into the corpse of birds which eat of the trees of Paradise, they would have been safe; only they attributed this to the body. Ibn 'Aqil says: This doctrine has an ailment similar to the terror of the pagans and their idea that the skull would thirst. Discourse with such persons should take the form of mitigating their terror rather than refutation, for resistance might injure them. The devil was able to delude these people only because they neglected to seek for an interpretation which accorded with the evidences of the code and the reason. For when delights and torment were mentioned in connection with the dead it should have been known that attribution to bodies and graves was by way of identification, as though he had said "The occupant of this grave, the spirit which was in this body, is enjoying the delights of Paradise or suffering the torment of Hell."

If it be said: You have found fault with the method of the imitators in the principles of religion and with that of the metaphysicians: what method then is safe from the devil's delusion? The answer is: the method followed by the Prophet and his Companies and their followers, which was to affirm the existence of God and His attributes as mentioned in the texts and traditions without alteration or inquiry into matters which it is not in human power to apprehend: that the Qur'ân is the uncreate word of God. 'Ali, whose face God glorify, said: By Allah, I made no creature arbiter, but only the Qur'ân, which is to be heard, as is said in the text (ix. 6) *until he hear the word of God* which is in the copies of the Qur'ân according to the text (lii. 3) *on fine parchment unrolled*; we do not go beyond the content of the texts, neither do we talk thereon according to our opinion. Ahmad b. Hanbal forbade a man to say "My utterance of the Qur'ân is create or uncreate," lest he should depart from following the ancients into something new.

It is extraordinary that people should profess to follow that Imâm and yet talk about questions which are newfangled.

We have been told by Sa'd Allah b. 'Alî al-Bazzâr a tradition which goes back to Amr b. Dinar.¹ I have, he said, been contemporary with nine of the Prophet's Companions who said "Whoso asserts that the Qur'ân is created is an unbeliever." Malik b. Anas said: Whoso asserts that the Qur'ân is created shall be bidden to repent, and if he repent not, he shall be beheaded. We have been told by Abu'l-Barakat b. 'Alî al-Bazzâr a tradition which goes back to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azîz. He said to a man who asked him about the passions, "You had best follow the religion of the schoolboy and the Bedouin, and neglect all else." Ibn al-Mahdi² adds the following from 'Abdallah b. al-Mubârah³ from al-Auza'i:⁴ 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz said: When you see people discussing with one another matters connected with their religion which are beyond the vulgar, you may be sure that they are on a basis of error.

We have been told by Muhammad b. Abil-Qâsim a tradition going back to Sufyân al-Thaurî:⁵ I have heard, he said, that 'Umar wrote to one of his provincial governors as follows: I enjoin on you the fear of God, and adherence to the practice of the Prophet and rejection of what innovators have introduced after him, of which they had been saved the trouble. And know that the legislator was aware of the error, fallacy, and downward descent attending infringement of his practice; for our predecessors stopped short out of knowledge and restrained themselves out of insight.

According to another tradition which goes back to 'Umar he added: And indeed they were more capable of revealing matters, and the innovators are persons who follow another path than theirs, and prefer their own methods to theirs; some have fallen short of them and manifested it, and others have been too proud to follow them and yet have been surpassed by them.⁶

We have been told by Muhammad b. Abi'l-Qâsim in a tradition which goes back to 'Abd al-Samad b. Hassan⁷ that he heard Sufyân al-Thaurî say: You should do what is done by the porters, the women in the houses, and the lads at school—take instructions and carry them out.

(1) Traditionalist, ob. 126.

(2) Ob. 198.

(3) Ob. 181.

(4) Early Jurist 88-157.

(5) Ob. 161.

(6) This sentence is probably corrupt.

(7) Qadi of Herat, ob. 211.

Now if anyone say this is an attitude for old women, no attitude for men!—the answer has already been given. We have said that to stop short at execution of the commands is a necessity, since those metaphysicians who have dived into the seas have not attained to such motivation as will satisfy the intellect; hence they (the ancients) bade men stop on the beach as we have recorded.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(To be continued)

‘THE KORAN AND THE SWORD’

(A LESSON FOR MUSLIM YOUTH)

UNTRUTHS untruthful minds will haunt,
The false with false accord;
We smile to scorn the idle taunt,
“*The Koran and the Sword!*”

To facts that history reveals
Let folly give the lie.
When knowledge treads on Error’s heels
Truth will untruth defy.

What truths the Arab’s heart did stir
Were in his book of Faith;
His trusty sword was arbiter
To him of life and death.

As in his tent or thatched home
These two beside him lay,
They were, where’er he chose to roam,
Companions of his way.

The book was held, the sword was swayed
By one who brought relief
To men and knew that book forbade
Compulsion in belief.

The book had power to win the heart,
The sword but kingdoms won:
And that, he knew, would ne’er depart,
These vanished ’neath the sun.

Islam, then in its glorious youth,
Was generous, true and bold;
Went forth to win the world to truth,
And not for land and gold:

Held out a brother’s open hand
To such as hailed its light;
Held in the sheath the Conqueror’s brand
For those who chose to fight.

It proffered those that did obey
And fain would tribute yield
And peaceful live beneath its sway,
The shelter of its shield.
And thus the marvel came to be :
By faith unknown before
Arabia marched o'er land and sea,
Islam from shore to shore !
Romanus* an imperial knight,
Lord of an ancient town,
Custodian of Rome's martial might,
And of her dread renown,
Whose heart had known the hidden woes
Rome's power could not allay,
From error fled, from darkness rose
To greet the rising day.
Of faith was Arab justice born,
It graced their deeds of arms,
And faith with mercy did adorn
Their troth midst war's alarms.
Of this he'd heard, and rumour spoke
Of generous acts of grace
By warriors wild who never broke
Faith with an alien race.
An envoy to the Arab Chief
The Roman's greetings bore,
Whose heart avowed the true belief
And friendship did implore.
Not seldom thus the invaded land
Did Islam's advent hail ;
Saw power and justice in the hand
Of faith that did not fail.
Its tolerance of every creed,
Its faith tow'rd friend and foe,
Its righteousness in will and deed
Proud nations learned to know.
'Twas thus the marvel came to be :
By ways unknown before
Arabia marched o'er land and sea,
Islam from shore to shore.

NIZAMAT JUNG.

*See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. (vi) pp. (406/7).

ZUFÂR IN THE MIDDLE AGES

ZUFÂR (Zafâr, Dhofar), to be distinguished from the old Himyaritic capital, is a small oasis on the south coast of Arabia about half way between Aden and Masqaṭ. Under Islam it can never have been a prominent place, but at one time it was much more important than it is now.

Recently Mr. Bertram Thomas has much improved our knowledge of Zūfâr. He has explored the neighbourhood and spent some time in the fertile mountain region behind the maritime plain in which are the few small towns or villages where the settled part of the population have their homes. His "Arabia Felix" contains an interesting account of his experiences there. Chiefly by means of the frankincense collected in the mountains, the inhabitants of the isolated little province are still able to carry on a small foreign trade, but altogether their resources are modest. The income of the government is small; the place is stagnant.

As regards Islamic history up to the 14th century, it should be noted that any distinctive name that may have been used for the province does not appear to be mentioned by the Arab historians or geographers. The coast of South Arabia from a point opposite Ḥaḍramaut to another about the same distance from Masqaṭ as the first is from Aden, was known as the coast (bilâd) of Mahra or Esh-Shihr.¹ Mas'ûdî, indeed, extends the coast (ard) of Esh-Shihr further East to the extremity, Ra's el-Hadd.² But Esh-Shihr occurs also for the still existing town situated at the western end of this long strip of littoral and again in a third sense for the district of Zūfâr. The last of these three meanings is used clearly by Ibn Khurdâdhbah in one passage³ where he places Esh-Shihr next in order to the east of Mikhlâf Kinda, the latter representing the province of Ḥaḍramaut, which was inhabited largely by Kinda.

(1) Ibn Hauqal, p. 33.

(2) *Murûj*, Cairo, 1, p. 64. Ra's el-Jamjama, 50 farsakh from Masqaṭ represents this point.

(3) p. 147.

Elsewhere, however, by Esh-Shih̄r he refers to the town of that name.¹

A story that one of the kings of Malabar, having accepted Islam at the hands of some Arabs, travelled with them to Esh-Shih̄r, and dying there was buried at Zufār, may have some foundation, as it appears that in the 16th century his tomb was well known and venerated there. The date of this event is indicated vaguely as probably after 200 of the Hijra.² From Hamdānī one learns that in his time a party of the tribe of Judaid, a branch of the Azd of 'Umān, had been driven out by their neighbours from a stronghold at Raisūt in Zufār and had afterwards recovered it; and that members of this tribe had been the first to migrate to Raisūt and settle there among the original inhabitants, the Bayāsira, and afterwards had been followed by people from various other tribes.³ Bayāsira in 'Umān at the present day is the name of a community or tribe of inferior status.⁴ Mirbāt, at the other end of the bay, was known to Hamdānī, but he does not mention the town of Zufār. It is said that Mirbāt was built by Persians and that the Persian Minjawī family ruled from there, but no indication of the date of the building of the town is given.⁵ One of this family, Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Minjawīya, was ruling at Mirbāt in 540 (1145).⁶ Probably the Minjawīs remained in power until the time of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad el Ḥabūdī, who was a rich merchant known as En-Nākhūda or the sea-captain, and came into such favour with the ruler of Zufār that he made him vizier; and when his patron died Aḥmad took his place.⁷ He was the first of the dynasty after which Zufār is sometimes called, so as to distinguish it, Zufār el Ḥabūdī, and seems to have been a native of Ḥaḍramaut.⁸ He is said to have destroyed the town of Zufār in 618 (1221) and built nearby a new town called El-Mansūrah.⁹ Ibn Khaldūn, whose authority for this region is doubtful, says that he destroyed both Mirbāt and Zufār in 619 and called the new town El-Aḥmadīyah.¹⁰ In

(1) p. 60.

(2) *Tuhfat el-Mujāhidīn*, Ch. 2.

(3) p. 51.

(4) *Admiralty Handbook*, 1. p. 145.

(5) Ibn el Mujāwir in Sprenger, *Die Poste und Reisen-Routen*, p. 145.

(6) Bib. Geo. Arab. 4, p. 432.

(7) In Kay, *'Umārah*, p. 133.

(8) Habuda = Qaryat Shibām. *Qāmūs*.

(9) Ibn el Mujāwir in Sprenger, p. 144.

(10) *loc. cit.*

660 (1261) an Amîr of Hurmuz, Maḥmûd ibn Aḥmad el-Kûsî, attacked and pillaged Zûfâr. He made his way thither by sea and on his arrival slew a great number of people and took abundant plunder. He returned by land to 'Umân, his ships being loaded with his heavy baggage (doubtless the booty for the most part), and on the journey back his army suffered seriously from scarcity of provisions and water, so that he lost five thousand men or even more.* The last Ḥabûdî ruler, Şâlim ibn Idrîs, endeavoured to possess himself of Ḥaḍramaut. Khazrajî relates that he advanced money to the people of Ḥaḍramaut in order to relieve them in a famine that had occurred and in return was allowed to occupy all the fortresses of the place. At the first opportunity, however, the inhabitants recovered the fortresses, either by surrender or by force, so that his expenditure went for nothing. So as to recoup himself for this loss, it is said, he laid hands on a vessel which was carrying an envoy from El-Muzaffar, the Rasulid Sultan of Yaman, with valuable presents for some Persian princes and had been forced into Zûfâr by stress of weather. This act of piracy led to hostilities in the course of which Sâlim put to sea and raided up to the coasts of Aden. El-Muzaffar then fitted out a well organised expedition against him and by it Zûfâr was conquered and added, with Ḥaḍramaut also, to the Rasulid dominions in 677 (1278). Unusually full details of this campaign are given. The army was formed in three divisions, the main body going by sea, with a second division consisting of some 400 men marching along the coast in touch with it. The third division, numbering three hundred men, fought its way from Şan'â' through Ḥaḍramaut. The whole when assembled at Raisût amounted to five hundred horse and seven thousand foot and the third division, which had taken five months on its march, had then been reduced to one hundred men. In the battle at 'Auqad near Raisût, where the people of Zûfâr were defeated and Sâlim lost his life, three hundred of them were killed and eight hundred were made prisoners. El-Muzaffar then appointed a governor to Zûfâr. In 692 (1292) he gave this post to his son Ibrâhîm who held the title of El-Wâthiq and remained at Zûfâr until he died in 711 (1311). Khazrajî records that El-Wâthiq presented a member of the Rifâ'î family (from Baghdad) who put into Zûfâr for three days with 1,000 dînârs on every day of his visit; also that he struck a coinage of his own. Nabîlah, a sister of El-Wâthiq's (+718/1318), according to the same authority, built a madrasah at Zûfâr, probably to commemo-

**Tuhfat el A'yân* 1, p. 304. Cf. Badger, *Salîl ibn Razîk*, p. 38.

rate her brother.¹ El-Wâthiq and his successor El-Fâ'iz appear to have paid an annual tribute to the Rasulid Sultan, but the practice was discontinued by El-Mughîth son of El-Fâ'iz some time before 730 (1329). The name of "offering (*hadîyah*)" by which this tribute was designated is enough to show that its value was not very considerable.² Zufâr then became independent, but possibly it returned later to its allegiance to the Rasulids.³ In any case, it was too far from the Rasulid capital for their power over it to be more than nominal.

One may turn to the geographers and travellers. Several of them allude to the ambergris collected at Esh-Shihr⁴ and to the strange language spoken by its inhabitants, the Mahra or the S(h)ahra.⁵ Here they may be supposed to be speaking of the whole of the coast and not only the particular part of Zufâr. The ambergris is mentioned in only one of the later reports and may have ceased to be of importance by the 13th century. Specimens of the language which are given are merely examples of mannerisms in Arabic. Where the frankincense of Esh-Shihr is referred to, that of Zufâr must be meant, because the mountains of Zufâr were the only place where frankincense was to be found in Arabia.⁶ In saying that the district of the town of Esh-Shihr produced frankincense, Marco Polo, who had not visited the place himself, is doubtless mistaken, and Muqaddasî, who writes as if he was not well informed about Esh-Shihr,⁷ has been misled also with regard to the same point. Some indications are given as to the extent of the frankincense country at Zufâr. They are not precise but sufficient to show that in the 13th and 14th centuries it was not substantially larger than it is now.⁸ Ibn el-Mujâwir, who was at Zufâr somewhere about 618 (1221) is the first to mention the coco-nut palms and other exotic plants that are grown in its gardens. He says that Raisût was a large town and from Baghdad to Raisût there was a road by which caravans used to bring Baghdad fabrics

(1) Khazrajî, index.

(2) Ibn Batûtah, I, p. 160.

(3) Khazrajî, 5, p. 285.

(4) *Murûj*, I, p. 64; *Silsilah*, p. 138, Ya'qûbi, p. 66; Yâqût, 3, p. 313.

(5) *Murûj*, I, p. 64; *Silsilah*, p. 135; Ibn Hauqal p. 32; Ibn el-Mujâwir, Spr., p. 146.

(6) Yâqût 3, p. 576.

(7) p. 87.

(8) Ibn el-Mujâwir, Spr., p. 144; Yâqût, 3, p. 576.

and take back Indian products, such as brass, cinnobar, rose-water, silver and the like. He says also that there was a road from Baghdad to Mirbât and Zûfâr, passing by Kûfa, as it appears, and having a branch to El-Ahsâ and Qatîf, and that by this road the Badwins used to bring horses twice a year and return with stuffs and perfumes, and that this road had been closed on account of disturbances and was reopened in 616.¹ Marco Polo writing about 1290, says that many horses are collected at Zûfâr from the inland country and bought by the merchants and carried to India where they make a good profit by disposing of them, and in speaking of Maabar (Tinnevely, Madura) he gives some particulars of the numbers of horses purchased annually by its king and his brothers from merchants of Zûfâr and other places and the prices paid for them. He says, too, that the port of Zûfâr was frequented by many ships. Ibn Baṭūṭah came to Zûfâr for the first time in about 730 (1329) from Kilwa and writes about this visit. Among his remarks are that all the people were merchants and had no other means of livelihood, that mosques were numerous, that good horses were exported to India, that the rice which formed the principal food of the people and the cotton of which their clothes were made was brought from there, and that good silk, linen and cotton stuffs were made in Zûfâr.²

Zûfâr was distant from India about one month. Ibn Baṭūṭah had performed the journey from Calicut in 28 days with a fair wind—the rate is under 2 knots an hour. By land the distance to Aden was one month, to ‘Umân, 20 days, and to Shibâm in Ḥaḍramaut, 16 days.³

It will be noticed that in the above there is nothing to suggest that in the early days of Islam Zûfâr was of any account at all. There is no sign that any trace remained of such a degree of former civilisation as is implied by the temple of Diana known to have existed there or by the apparently still earlier inscribed stones and remains noticed by Mr. Bertram Thomas. The district had doubtless lapsed back long ago into the hands of the coast tribes, the Mahra, who were at a remarkably low level in their way of life. Their cattle were camels and goats, they had no cultivation or date-palms,⁴ they had no villages, and they lived in squalor and in misery.⁵ Migrations from ‘Umân and elsewhere would

(1) In Sprenger, pp. 144, 146.

(2) p. 156 seq.

(3) p. 156 seq. and Sprenger, 142 seq.

(4) Ibn Hauqal, p. 32.

(5) *Silsilah*, p. 135.

have meant a step forward, even though the colonies established in "strongholds" such as Raisût are likely to have been often at variance with one another. Another step would have been the union of the whole district under a single government, and it is very likely that the Minjawî family who appear ruling at Mirbât in the 12th century made this alteration besides making other improvements in the way of buildings and useful works. Every ancient relic in the place is still credited to them.¹ In the 13th century Zûfâr was flourishing; its rulers were affluent, it was a busy, thriving place. It is probable that the frankincense and the few other local products of the place remained much the same in quantity throughout.

The advancement of Zûfâr to the position it reached as a trading centre may perhaps be explained by a general increase in the trade between Arabia and India and Africa, such as may be believed to have occurred in consequence of various changes, for instance the shifting of the centre of Islam towards Egypt beginning in the 10th century with the decline of Baghdad and the establishment of the Fatimid Khalifate. It is clear that in the 13th century the trade of Aden and the Persian Gulf was extremely active. The Rasulid Sultans possessed immense treasures derived from its exports and imports, the latter including Chinese goods which came by way of India. On a single consignment of silk, musk, jade, porcelain, and stuffs brought to Aden by a merchant from China in 703 (1303) the duty paid amounted to 300,000 dirhams, say £10,000.² The numerous public buildings recorded as having been erected in Yaman by the Rasulid Sultans, and the fine objects of art bearing their names which are still preserved, are evidence of the wealth which they acquired by such means.

Zûfâr is shown to have participated in this trade to some extent and it doubtless did so also in ways to which there is no express allusion. From the raid of Sâlim on Aden it may be inferred that it possessed sea-going vessels of its own. Under the conditions of navigation then obtaining, the facilities that it offered for ships on passage were valuable, and it could have been used, too, with advantage in certain circumstances for transshipping goods or for forwarding them by land to and from places besides those to which its commerce is said to have extended. It was for the latter reason, perhaps, that special efforts were made to attract ships by treating their officers

(1) *Arabia Felix*, p. 117. Dr. Carter noticed the same tradition.

(2) *Khazrajî*, 4, p. 350.

and owners with extraordinary honour and by entertaining them and their crews.¹

It is remarkable that the inland trade of Zūfār involved crossing the great southern desert of Arabia continually. The routes across the desert may have continued to be used in the fourteenth century, for without them it is difficult to see how Zūfār can have served for the export of horses. At any rate the statements as to their use in the 13th century do not seem to be open to question. It can be seen from recent exploration that it would be possible to cross the desert from Zūfār to Yabrin and Yamâma, the line that the trade routes must have taken, but while this journey could be performed by a party lightly equipped it would be difficult for a caravan burdened with merchandise, and for horses the southern sands through which the way would pass are said to be quite impracticable.² This line appears to fall within the part of the sandy tract known to Yâqût as Raml el-Juz', and from various statements which he preserves it appears the sand was resorted to by Arabs of the tribe of 'Uqail, who penetrating into it from the direction of Wâdî ed-Dawâsir on its northern side, would meet after a journey of a month and a half the boundaries of the Mahra tribes who wandered in it from the southward. The direct road from Yaman to 'Irâq, which was in regular use in the 13th century, and led into the wilderness from Barâqish (near Ma'in),³ would, it seems, have cut through Raml el-Juz' not far from its western edge. Altogether it seems not improbable that since the 13th century there has been some change in the conditions making travelling in this region rather more difficult.

The plates represent three marble stelæ of the 14th century from Zūfār which have recently been acquired by the South Kensington Museum. The inscriptions on these stones include the following:

On stone B(1):

انتقل مولانا سلطان الاسلام الملك الوائق نور الدين ابراهيم بن الملك المظفر الى
رحمة الله يوم الاربعاء العشرين من المحرم سنة احدى عشر وسبعائة صلى الله
على محمد وآله وصحبه

(Departed this life our lord the Sultan of Islam, El-Wâthiq, Nur ed Dîn Ibrahim, son of El-Malik el-Muzaffar, on Wednesday, 20 Muharram, 711 (8 June, 1311);

(1) Ibn Batûtah 1, p. 157.

(2) See Khazrajî, under Barâqish, 4, 99, 100.

(3) "No horse could possibly negotiate these southern sands."

On stone C:

هذا قبر الشيخ الزاهد الورع العابد صائِن الدين مختار الاسلام محمد بن ابي بكر
بن سعد بن علي (الدمريني)؟ تغمده الله بالرحمة والرضوان واسكنه في دار الجنان
وكان وفاته بكرة الجمعة اول يوم من شهر ذي الحجة سنة اربع تعد (ش) ر
من الهجرة النبوية صلو (ا) تالله على صاحبها وسلامه.

(This is the grave of the abstemious, devout, God-fearing Shaikh, Šâ'in ed-Dîn, Mukhtâr el-Islâm, Muḥammad ibn Abî Bakr ibn Sa'd ibn 'Alî [ed Damrîni(?)], God cover him with His mercy and favour and let him dwell in Paradise. He died on the morning of Friday, 1 Dhû el-Hijjah, 714 (7th March, 1315). The spelling اربع تعد (شر) for أربعة عشر is very remarkable.

In addition they include religious texts as follows:

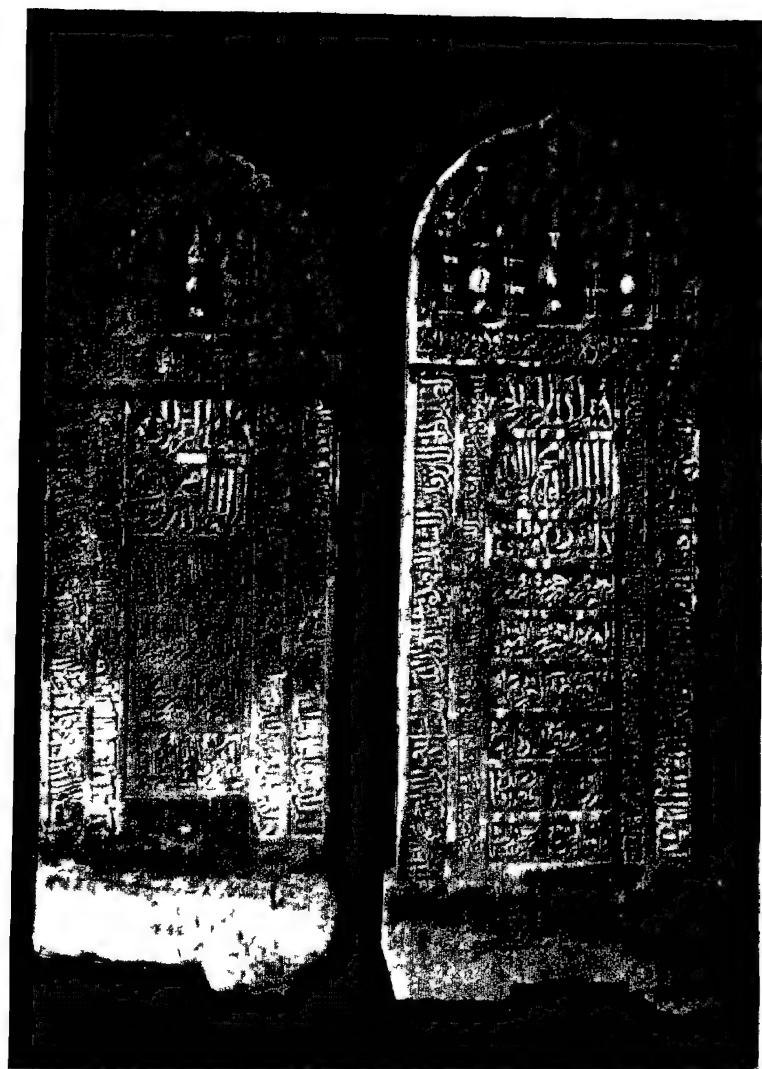
The basmala' and the Islamic creed are inscribed on every engraved face and the following verses from the Qur'ân appear; viz., on stone A (1) Ch. 2, 255-7, Ch. 3, 18-9, 26-8, 185, Ch. 9, 22-3, 29, 39, 74, on stone A (2) Ch. 1, 1-5, Ch. 2, 285-6, Ch. 59, 21-4, on stone B (1) Ch. 41, 30-5, Ch. 67, 1-5, on stone B (2) Ch. 2, 255-7, Ch. 3, 18-9, Ch. 39, 74, on stone C, Ch. 2, 255-7, Ch. 3, 18-9, Ch. 9, 22, Ch. 59, 22.

The Shaikh whose name is engraved on one of the stones is no doubt identical with the personage whose shrine was visited by Ibn Baṭūṭah, the difference in the names being due most probably to a corruption in the text of Ibn Baṭūṭah's travels. In the book the shrine is described as that of Abû Muḥammad *ibn* Abî Bakr ibn 'Îsâ, but the two sons of this individual are called Ibnai Abî Bakr, as if Abû Bakr had been the name of their father and not, as according to the first name given, their grandfather. The Shaikh had died not very long before Ibn Baṭūṭah's visit in 730, seeing that he was able to meet his sons. The shrine was near the town of Zufâr in the midst of its gardens and was a highly venerated sanctuary. Close to it was the mausoleum of the predecessors of the Sultan of Zufâr then reigning, of whom El-Wâthiq was one, so that the other stones would have come from this building. All three stones are fine examples of the epigraphic decoration so characteristic of the art of Islam. While the ornament includes devices consisting of lamps suspended from arches flanked by date palms, the Arabic texts form the principal element. The characters used are plain and regular and

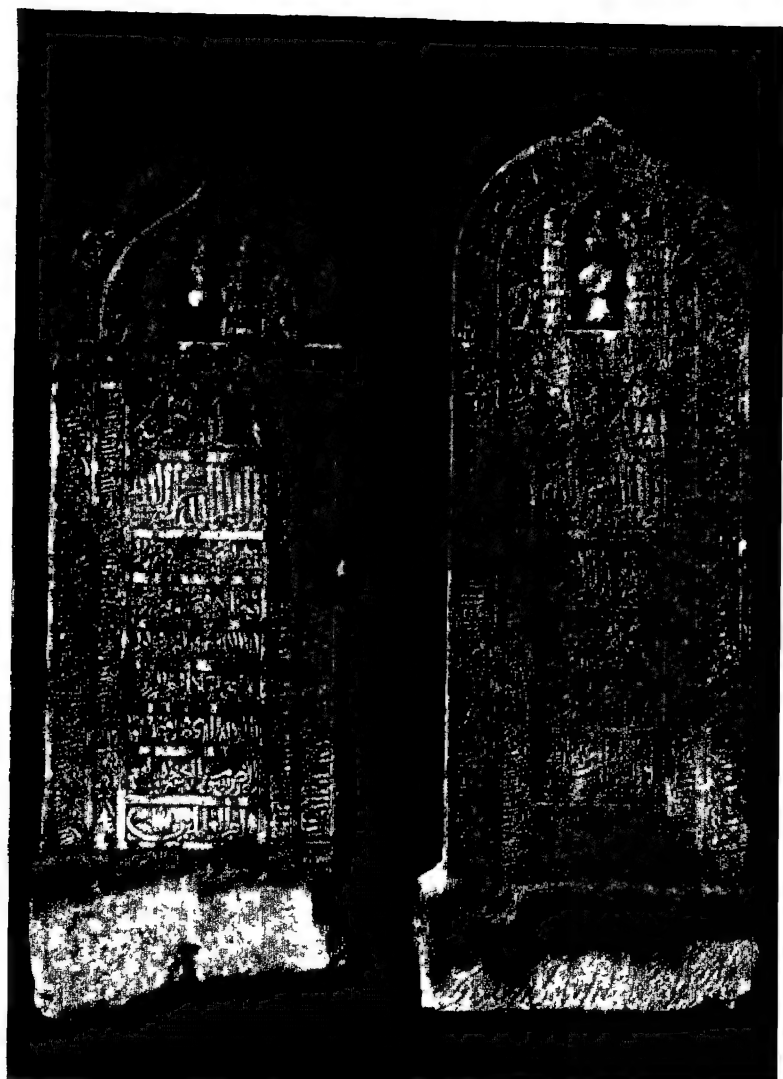
hardly ever accompanied by any ornamental addition, but by skilful combination and arrangement the effect of a delicate and intricate pattern is produced. It seems unlikely that such carving in marble can have been practised in Zūfâr as a local industry even in the 14th century. The work may have been done by foreign artificers, who are known to have been employed in Yaman at this period. On a palace near the capital completed in 708 (1308) after being under construction for seven years, among those who had been at work throughout the time were seventy foreign craftsmen, among whom workers in marble are mentioned specially.*

R. GUEST.

*Khazraji, 14, p. 377.



PLATES (A-1) AND (B-1)



PLATES (A-2) AND (B-2)



PLATE (C)

A TREASURY OF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF GREAT MEN

ذخیره الخوانین

(*Dhakhiratu'l-Khawânîn*)

A SIDELIGHT ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE NOBLES TO ARTS

I

THIS unique and most important manuscript containing the biographical sketches of great men, comes from the valuable private Library of Maulvi Abdul Haq, Professor of Urdu in the Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan, at Aurangabad. It entered the royal library at Khujasta Bunyad (Aurangabad) in 1069 A.H. or 1169, A.H. as is quite manifest from the autograph by the librarian of that time on the fly-leaf:—

ذخیره الخوانین تالیف شیخ فرید ولد شیخ بتاریخ دهم ذیحجه
سنه ۱۰۶۹ هـ در بلده محفوظ خجسته بنیاد حرسه اقه داخل کتابخانه

It has 230 folios and only the last page is missing. This becomes evident from the list of contents. It has three chapters and each chapter has its contents before it begins. All the three chapters are devoted to the contemporaries of Akbar, Jehângîr and Shâhjahân respectively. Its size is about 6×9 inches and each page contains about 21 lines written in fairly good *nastaliq* style. It was compiled by one Sheykh Farîd son of Sheykh Ma'rûf, District Officer of Bhakkar. The period covered by this work extends from the reign of Akbar to 1060 A.H., i.e., the reign of Shâhjahân. He has dedicated it to Nawab Sha'ista Khân* as mentioned in the preface.

*Mirza Abu Tâhir, son of Yamînu'd-Daulah Asaf Khân, brother-in-law of Shâhjahân, received the title of Sha'ista Khan during the 21st year of the reign of Jehângîr. On the elevation of Shâhjahân to the throne he came to the capital, Agra, with his father from Lahore and was raised to the honour of *Panj Hazari*. His activities both as a military genius and statesman in the Deccan, Patna, Bihâr, Allâhâbâd,

I give below the substance of the preface:—

“After offering praise to the Almighty God and asking blessings on the Prophet, Sheykh Farid son of Sheykh Ma'rûf *Sadr Sarkar Bhakkar* (District Officer of Bhakkar) says that volumes have been devoted by historians to accounts of the former and the present Sultans. But accounts of the *Khawânîn* (Great men attached to the court) showing their various activities such as would serve as an example to humanity, no-one has ever cared to compile up to this day. The present writer, having a little leisure at his disposal and having but little competence to do justice to the subject, has nevertheless, entirely depending upon God, compiled this work under the name of *Dhakhîratu'l-Khawânîn*. The contents of this treasure of knowledge are dedicated to the highly honoured Nawab Sha'ista Khân. It is free from any sort of exaggeration, misplaced statement and disorderly presentation. The compiler is full of confidence that this book of biographical sketches records remarkable occurrences and wonderful traditions which are very much valued by the Nawab who has consequently honoured the present writer.”

Ma'âthiru'l-Umarâ is another work of the same nature compiled in 1194 A.H. by Nawab Samsamu'd-Daulah of Aurangâbâd, exactly 134 years after the *Dhakhîrah* was written. The *Ma'âthir* is quite well known to scholars and is erroneously supposed to be the only extant work of its type and is regarded as an authoritative one. Its author seems to have had every facility to utilise all the available material of the Mughal period, for he gives a very full and comprehensive list of his sources. The Bengal Asiatic Society of Calcutta published it in 1888 A.D. The author of the *Ma'âthir* mentions in his introduction the name of the *Dhakhîrah* as one of his sources and it appears that no work exclusively on biography excepting the *Dhakhîrah* of Sheykh Farid was written by that time. The compiler of *Ma'âthir* has thus expressed his opinion regarding the *Dhakhîrah*:—

“.... Although at present a book named *Dhakhîratu'l-Khawânîn*, compiled by Sheykh Ma'rûf Bhakkari containing

Ahmadâbâd, Malwa, etc., during the reigns of Shâhjahân, and Aurangzêb, are well known. When Aurangzêb held the reins of empire in his hands he (Nawab Sha'ista Khan) received the title of Amir-ul-Umara and a *Mansab* of Seven Thousand. He showed remarkable skill in dealing with the Mahrattas in the campaigns of 1070 A.H. The date of his death is 1105 A.H. and he lies buried in Burhanpur. He spent enormous sums of money on the building of inns, mosques and bridges, all over the country, wherever he was stationed.

biographical sketches of *Umara* is available, many of its statements are added in the *Ma'âthir*, yet *Dhakhîrah's* sources are simply hearsay and therefore cannot be relied upon as authentic by historians. The sources of the *Ma'âthir* are, however, reliable....."

How presumptuous it is, for a man who writes his work after 134 years to regard his own work as more authentic than a work which not only records contemporary events but is also based evidently on personal observation and knowledge, for the writer of the earlier work was a personage who had held various and important offices about the time and in the environments which he so vividly describes. The following is an example of how he writes, being extracts from his account of the *Khawânîn*:—

- (۱) اعتماد خان شیخ فرید بھکری را بانہا رابطہ بود
(۲) داتم این مجموعہ شیخ فرید بھکری ۳.... کہ مسودہ این اوراق
شیخ فرید بھکری
.....

from these and other similar quotations Sheykh Farîd's own eventful life, as far as it was concerned with the Mughal nobles and even emperors, can easily be reconstructed. One cannot help concluding that Sheykh Farîd either knew those people well or was at least personally acquainted with them. He does not aim at elaborations. His treatment is almost always to the point. In not a few cases he has written about an important noble. This all goes to indicate that he was trying to record only what he knew to be absolutely true, from personal knowledge. Had he depended on hearsay he could have filled volumes with very interesting, readable matter. A study of the *Ma'âthir* will reveal that its author has referred to the *Dhakhîrah* only twice by name, viz:—in the account of Amanat Khân Mirak Mo'înu'd-Dîn Ahmad¹ and 'Abdullâh Khân Feroze Jang.² It is surprising to see that he has confused Sheykh Farîd with his father Sheykh Ma'rûf. The mistake may possibly be due to an oversight by the editor of the published edition, as I have not consulted any manuscript of the *Ma'âthir*.

Though the contents of both the *Ma'âthir* and the *Dhakhîrah* are almost identical it is to be noticed that the author of the latter has recorded the account of some persons twice, and their names, common knowledge at that time, are

(1) *Ma'âthir*, vol. II, 788.

(2) *Ma'âthir*, vol. III, 644.

given without any ceremonial titles, showing either that he based his account on personal acquaintance or that further information was available later on. I regret to say that no other MS. of the *Dhakhîrah* is extant for collation:—

This MS. dwells much on some important historical events which took place in the presence of the author or concerning which he had reliable sources of information. In this respect it can add much to our knowledge which in many cases will have to be revised in the light of the new information provided by the *Dhakhîrah*. Perhaps owing to this conflict of historical fact the author of the *Ma'âthir* has regarded the *Dhakhîrah* as being based on hearsay, finding it not in agreement with the records of his own time, which form the basis of his work. The important cases are:—

- (a) The activities of the family of Bairâm Khân.
- (b) Nûrjahân's family and her becoming Jehângîr's queen.
- (c) Shâhjahân's accession to the throne.
- (d) The dealings of Nûrjahân, her brother Asaf Khân and Shâhjahân.
- (e) The Deccan wars between the Mughals and Malik Ambar.

As I am especially interested in the cultural history of the Indian Muslims I leave discussion of the *Dhakhîrah* from view-points outside my sphere of interest to others better fitted for the task. What I have written is in order to arouse the interest of scholars in the work, which is, as far as I am aware, unpublished and even perhaps unnoticed. I have taken brief notes from it which show the contribution of the nobles to Art.

The following notes of the accounts of various Khawânîn in the *Dhakhîrah* concerning their contributions mainly to the arts can be supplemented either from contemporary histories or from *Ma'âthiru'l-Umara*.

Architecture

Experts in the art of building are trying to classify the existing monuments of India into different groups by approximate attribution to the monarchs during whose reigns they were built. None hitherto has ever cared to view the subject from the citizen's point of view, and it is unusual even to find mention of the buildings of the nobles of different periods. Thus the style of living of the average man has not come to our knowledge. Because the mass of the people had no

connection with the State therefore their dwellings have perished for want of proper preservation and through the general devastation brought about by invaders. At present only in the Deccan and in Gujarât are some ancient private dwellings brought to the notice of visitors, from which we can derive some knowledge of the life of the citizens of old days. The author of the *Dhakhîrah* furnishes us with information of this kind not to be found in other books.

The marvellous account of Râja Mansingh shows that he was at various times entrusted with almost every responsible post by Akbar the Great in different parts of India. The author Farid Bhakkari states that when he was in Orissa he saw with his own eyes that every year fire broke out in the jungles and for the same reason it was called اگر
Ag Nagar "the City of Fire." The real native place of of Marwar. He was generous and used to treat Hindus and Râja Mansingh was Amber (Rajputâna) on the western side Muslims alike. He and his father built a grand mosque in Lahore, which the author of the *Dhakhîrah* mentions as existing in a state of perfect preservation in his day. The Râja had established a charity for free distribution of food to the pious people who lived there. Even on grand trunk roads temporary mosques and baths of cloth curtains were erected to facilitate the regularity of prayer. At all the five times of prayer the mu'azzin used to come before him for the call to prayer. If any Muslim would not attend the prayer, he was dismissed from the Râja's service. He used to say, 'had he been a Muslim he would have dined with the Muslims at least for one meal.'

Murtaza Khân Sheykh Farîd Bukhârî Dehlovî built mosques, Rabâts—inns, small villages, Khanqahs, tanks, etc., in Lahore, Akbarâbâd, Gujarât, Delhî and Faridâbâd which were named after him. In short, wherever he went he built these useful institutions and appointed imâms, mu'azzins, sweepers, etc., for them to be looked after and used properly. The sale-proceeds from the bazaars and small villages were spent to defray the expenses of the people who were lodged there by him. As the town of Pherowal was conquered by Sheykh Farîd he had the town re-planned and named it Fathâbâd. He was elevated to high rank at court with honorific titles. All the culprits who had sided with Sultân Khusro son of Jehângîr in the political troubles of that time, were ordered to be hanged on gallows as a lesson for others. The gibbets were set up in Lahore on both sides of the road from the gardens of Mîrzâ Kamrân to the gates of the fort.

Jehângîr entered the city while Sultân Khusro on an elephant's back passed between the rows of gibbets so that he should witness the fate of his companions and repent of his deeds. Sheykh Farîd left for Gujarât where he erected many buildings which were named Bukhâra. He also built there a mosque and the mausoleum of Sheykh Wajîhu'd-Dîn of Gujarât which he hoped would remain till the day of resurrection. He added much to the beauty of Delhî and Farîdâbâd by erecting there many fine buildings, and tanks for the supply of water.

Nawâb Miân Muhammad Khân Niâzî died (1037 A.H.) in the town Assi Berâr, where he had planted a garden, built a lofty mosque and a grand mausoleum for his late father Miân Ahmad Khân Niâzî. Although the work had been going on for twenty-three years the construction was still in progress and had become a public haunt for its beauty.

Qalich Muhammad Khân had his land in Jaunpore in the year 1000 A.H. His brother Bairâm Qalich's son Muhammad Sa'id had a post of three hundred and sixty horse. He was very much absorbed in meditation and in works of charity. Qalich Muhammad Khân intended to erect a lofty building in Jaunpore. In the course of digging the foundation of that building the top of a dome appeared from the ground, after which an ascetic was found there and many extraordinary things were revealed—e.g., that the ascetic was an incarnation of Ramchander—which one is reluctant to believe.

Sâdiq Muhammad Khân's native place was Dholpore at a good distance from Agra where he had erected lofty buildings and in the neighbourhood had set up villages and built his own tomb with a high dome which was still intact.

Mîrzâ Jâni Bêg Tarkhân had repaired with pacca bricks the old fort which is situated on the summit of the hill in the bed of the Punjab (Sind) river and he added a fine lofty rest-house for the officials, which was still in existence.

Shâh Qûli Khân was in the service of Bairâm Khân. Narnoul was his property and there he had made his home, adorning it with grand buildings and spacious tanks for water-supply.

Farîd Bhakkari has mentioned in the account of Shâh Mansûr Shêrâzî that when the royal retinue left for Delhî Mîrzâ Muhammad Hakîm went to Lahore and entered Mahdî Qâsim's gardens. Mansingh, Sa'id Khan, and Râja Bhagwan Singh were shut up in Lahore fort while the royal retinue had reached Pani-pat.

Sa'îd Khân Chugbatta was one of the eminent courtiers of Akbar. He built buildings—bridges, inns, etc.,—in Patna. He peopled the village Anktah and built its four walls which enclosed many other fine buildings made by him, and named it Bilâlâbâd. He had full access to the court of Jehângîr. In Agra City towards the Madar Gate he built high seemly buildings. When Jehângîr entered Agra City, he visited his mansion which he liked very much.

Mîr Abu'l-Qâsim Khân Tamkîn was granted the district of Bhakkar as a Jagir for the first time in 1004 A.H. He built a grand mosque in the heart of Sakhkhar and went on extending the same year after year. Also he built a mosque and an Idgah both in Sakhkhar and Lahore.

Mîr Muhammad Ma'asûm Nâmi Bhakkarî compiled a history of Sind. He had a great inclination for building and was himself an elegant inscription-writer. From the boundaries of Abarwân, Nakhshavân, Tabrêz, and Isfahân to Kandhar, Kâbul, Kashmîr, Hindustan, and the Deccan his inscriptions are found. In short, wherever he went he wrote his own couplets in stone and left them as his memorial. Accordingly, on the façades of the fort of Akbarâbâd, the congregational mosque of Fatehpur Sikri and elsewhere his inscriptions in special script were placed. In many places he built mosques, inns, asylums for the poor, wells and tanks for water-supply. In particular he adorned his own native place Sakhkhar with five edifices and planted banyans and other shady trees. In the bed of the river Punjâb (Sind) which is round the fort of Bhakkar, he erected a building and named it Sînâ. It had no rival on the surface of the earth for its characteristics. He composed its date of completion

کنبد در بامے 1002 A.H. (The Dome of the river). He

established his own family cemetery on the top of the hill with garden looking over the Punjâb river. This also was unequalled. Before it there was a high minaret or pillar as at Delhî and Mandû having one storey of bricks (*rekhta*) and in its vicinity there was a *choukhandi*—a cubical block built of large stone slabs “which would never fall into ruin even to the day of resurrection,” and under it, the tombs of his father and brother were located. Also in the same dome he made his own tomb and inscribed on the sarcophogus suitable quotations from the Qur'ân and the traditions of the Prophet as well as the ninety-nine names of God. The author mentions that it was sixty years since that building was erected and it was still in good repair.

Shâh Badagh was raised to the dignity of Amîru'l-Umara. He constructed a blue house on the hill Darrah. Ma'sûm Bhakkari inscribed on it with his own hands one of Omar Khayyâm's quatrains.

چندے دیدم نشسته در صبح بگاہ بر کنگره مقبرہ شروان شاہ
فریاد کنان ز روئے عبرت میگفت کو آن ہمہ حشمت و کج آن ہمہ جاہ

Raja Todar Mal built lofty monuments in Jhansi but the course of time had destroyed them.

Muzaffar Khân's real name was Muzaffar Âli. He was in the service of Bairâm Khân. He constructed a congregational mosque in Akbarâbâd and it was expected that its foundations would remain for years.

I'timâd Khân, the eunuch, was one of the nobles of Salîm Khân. He restored the big tank and other buildings and also prepared his own tomb during his life-time.

Khudawand Khân of the Deccan built the congregational mosque of Rechtak of a fine quality.

Nawâb I'timâdu'd-Daulah of Tihirân erected a mosque and a bath, near the Nîm Gate in Akbarâbâd and an inn between Akbarâbâd and Hilâlâbâd. In Akbarâbâd, at the entrance of the Lahore Gate, he made a water tank. In Mathra he set up a village Gowardhan Nagar and in Ujjain he also built a hospice and a tank. The suburb Khari on the Ganges banks was his native place which he had named Gowardhan Nagar. In the beginning he constructed high buildings in Akbarâbâd which developed some defects in their construction and he handled the matter very carefully sparing no pains to rectify them. He died in the eighteenth year of Jehângîr's reign.

Sheykh 'Abdu'r-Rahîm erected gardens, villages, inns, shops, tanks and mansions of a high order.

Nawâb Yamînu'd-Daulah Asaf Khân, son of Nawâb I'timâdu'd-Daulah Tihirânî, built houses both in Lahore and Akbarâbâd on which he spent almost forty millions of rupees. It was expected that their foundations would remain "till the Day of Judgment."

Nawâb Allâh Vêrdi Khân was in the province of Berâr during the viceroyalty of Islâm Khân of Mashhad. He afterwards made Delhî his home, where he built a mansion for himself and restored other buildings. Also he planted a garden there.

I'tiqâd Khân Shahpur son of I'timâdu'd-Daulah served as provincial governor for years in Kashmîr and Bihâr where he constructed thousands of mansions in artistic styles.

Khwâjah Mîr-Mîr Mîran laid out parks. In Delhî he constructed a grand inn and bridges over the Delhî river and the canal.

Khwâjah Jahân Kablî Bakhshî—Khwâja Dôst Muhammad erected high buildings in Akbarâbâd which were first-rate of their kind.

Mu'tamad Khân Bukhârî—Muhammad Sharîf's brother Muhammad Ashraf planned in Lucknow the suburb Ashraf-âbâd and built there lofty buildings. He retired there from the world. These buildings in the time of the author were still *in situ*. Mu'tamad Khân also planted there a garden which became a public resort. The date of its completion was inscribed on its gate *بوستان دوستان* 1040 A.H. (The garden of friends).

Lala Narsingh Dev Bundela constructed a tank, some lofty forts and grand buildings in his native town.

Khwâjah Vais Irânî was the Dîwân of Sarkâr to prince Sultân Parvez. He first constructed a bath and a small garden in his mansion on the banks of the Jamna in Akbarâbâd which were generally appreciated. Mîrzâ Hidâyatu'llâh, his son, was the diarist at Allâhâbâd.

Râja Mukand Das Kaisth of Narnoul was in the service of Mîrzâ Abu'l-Hasan Asaf Khân son of I'timâdu'd-Daulah. He was in charge of the whole sum to be spent on the constructions of Abu'l-Hasan's splendid houses. He also built out of this sum his own buildings.

Rai Gowardhan Singh Daj was a native of Khari on the banks of the Ganges. He built new buildings and completely overhauled the houses of the citizens.

Nawab Islâm Khân of Mashhad—Abdu's-Salam—willed on his death-bed the construction of a garden with a pacca enclosure round it.

Nawâb Ja'far Khân was uncle's son and son-in-law of Yamînu'd-Daulah Asaf Khân. He was very fond of finery. He did his best to erect fine buildings.

'Alî Mardân Khân son of Ganj 'Alî Khân dug out a canal whose length is estimated at about two hundred miles

which watered the Shalimar Gardens at Lahore planted by Shâhjahân, and many adjoining villages. Thus the barren land of the Punjâb was fertilized for agricultural purposes. The canal rejoined the same river (Râvi) from which it was cut out.

Painting

Similar is the case with painting, the history of which in the books concerns itself mainly with patronage by the ruler and no-one else. The nobles did, as a matter of fact, contribute greatly to Art. Many instances can be found in history of portraits having been of great help in political affairs, but the following instance from Jehângîr's time, when his forces were at war with Malik Ambar in the Deccan, will be of interest as showing that even in those days during wars artists were employed not only to illustrate events but also to sketch personalities. When Jehângîr became angry with Khân Jehân Lôdhî, then Subedar of the Deccan, he transferred him to Thanesar. Khân-i A'zam was appointed Subedar of the Deccan. Jehângîr ordered him to send the portraits of the grandees in the custody of 'Abdullâh Khân Bahâdur by way of Nâsik. Jehângîr took first Nawâb 'Abdullah Khan's portrait and inscribed it, "Who has today high parentage like you? And, despite such grandeur, qualities, access to the court, a superfluity of wealth and men, it was not worthy of you to run away from the war, therefore you are entitled *کریز جنگ* (*Deserter from war*)." Secondly, he inscribed the portrait of Seyf Khân and said, 'Your forefathers never ran away from war. What a pity! In spite of such great stature of your body, you ran away and paid no regard to the title of *سیف خانی* (*Lord of the Sword*). I hope that very shortly, you will bid farewell to this universe!' Accordingly at the beginning of the next year he met his death. Thirdly, he inscribed the portrait of Râja Râm Dâş and said: 'You were an ordinary servant, but Akbar the Great favoured you and raised you to the rank of nobles. You have tarnished the spirit of the Rajputs because you did not care for the title of Râja Karan, I am sure that Almighty God will not grant you favours in this universe.' After which he was appointed to the expedition of Bangash where he went away. It is believed in the Hindu religion that whoever crosses the Sind river and reaches the other side, certainly goes to hell. Fourthly, he inscribed the portrait of 'Alî Mardân Khân and said, 'Bravo! Your ultimate resort is heaven. Your noble descendants are attached to the relatives of the great Chughattas in this

universe. They are worthy of respect.' Even Khân-i-A'zam could not effect the conquest of the Deccan. After all it was accomplished at the hands of the prince Shâhjahân.

The author of the *Dhakhîrah* has mentioned in his account of Muhammad 'Azîz Kôkal Tâsh entitled Khân-i-A'zam (d. 1033 A.H.) the well-known breach between him and Amîru'l-Umara Mohammad Sharîf. Subsequently they were reconciled. When Amîru'l-Umara came to his house for dinner in the company of other great nobles, Khân-i-A'zam, with a view to secure his favours and regain his love, pointed to the decoration of his *Khilwat-Khânah*—private chamber, which was the work of Amîru'l-Umara's father Mullâ 'Abdu's-Samad the famous illustrator of Dastân Amîr Hamzah. This pleased the audience very much.

Mîrzâ Barkhurdâr Khân-i-'Alam Chughatta son of Mîrzâ 'Abdu'r Rahmân was sent to 'Irâq as an envoy by Jehângîr. At the court of Shâh 'Abbâs Safawî, Khân-i-'Alam was paid due respect and on his return was given numerous precious gifts by Shâh 'Abbâs for Jehângîr. The best of them was a group picture of Sâhib-i-Qirân Amîr Timûr. The portraits of Sâhib-i-Qirân, of his noble descendants, and of great Umara were painted in all the panoply of war. The name of everyone portrayed was noted below. It contained forty-two figures. The painter had signed his own name Khalîl Mîrzâ Shâh Rukhî, i.e., in the service of Shâh Rukh. His workmanship was of great merit. Jannat Makânî Jehângîr saw the picture and remarked: 'It bears all the qualities of Ustâd Bihzâd's brush. Had the artist not signed his name, there would have been room enough for doubt to call it the work of Bihzâd.' Because it was much earlier than Bihzâd, therefore it is probable that Bihzâd was one of the Khalîl Mîrzâ's pupils and practised on his lines.

Calligraphy

Kafâyat Khân Muhammad Ja'far son of Muhammad Muqîm was a great calligraphist during the days of Shâhjahân. He is the real inventor of the *Shikasta* style in India. Although he used to write in *Ta'liq* and *Shikasta* styles yet the latter was his great achievement in those days. He was very much favoured by the Emperor for the same reason as he was entitled Kafâyat Khân. He held the office of Dîwân for a long time, which he discharged with success and honesty. This style of writing sometimes is called Kafyât Khânî after his name.

Mirzâ Muhammad Ashraf was both a great scholar and a calligraphist. He made some distinction in dealings with the public at large. Also he was not good at heart with his elder brother. He is also mentioned above under Mu'tamad Khân.

Music

Mirzâ 'Isa Tarkhân's only son was very old and he had a great inclination for Indian and Sindhi music. He himself was a fine prose and poetry writer. He could make musical instruments.

Hindustani Writers

Many specimens of Hindî writings are given by the author in the course of his accounts of various nobles. I mention here only their names without the specimens.

Bairâm Khân had mastery of the art of poetry and prose-writing in Turkish, Persian, and Hindustânî. He had popularised the couplet:—

محمد عربی کا روئے ہر دوسراست کسی کہ خاک درش نیست بر سراو

It has been proved by Prof. Mohammad Shafi' in the extracts from *Tuhfa-i-Sami* in the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, Feb. 1933 that this couplet was by Hilâlî of Astarâbâd. After 'Abdu'r-Rahîm Khân Khânan's death a Hindî book was found in his house which was priced fifty thousand rupees being fully gilded and with gems inset. Many poets composed Persian and Hindî poems in his praise. Murtaza Khân Sheykh Farîd, mentioned above, who died in 1025 A.H., once wrote with his own hand some Hindî proverbs current in those days. Râja Râm Dâs was a good writer of Hindî. 'Abdu'r-Rahîm Khân Khânan's son Nawab Shâh Nawâz Khân, who died in 1028 A. H., used to cite Hindî verses. Mirzâ Muhammad Ja'far's writings in poetry are numerous and are sometimes in Hindî. Similarly the accounts of Qalîch Khân and Qâzi Shukar Narnûlî include specimens of Hindî as used by them.

Mirzâ Iwâz Bêg son of Sayyid Yûsuf Khân was a great scholar and had a taste for hunting. He composed a fine autobiography which he named چ (Chach). Hakîm Khûshhâl Khân and Hakîm Hâziq were the sons of Hakîm Hamâm. Hakîm Hâziq was a good poet. He composed a *Pâdshâh-Nâmah*.

M. ABDULLA CHUGHTAI.

MUSLIM COLONIES IN INDIA BEFORE THE MUSLIM CONQUEST

IN *Tuhfatu'l-karâm* the names of the following Kings and their period of rule are mentioned:—

SL. No.	NAMES OF KINGS.	PERIOD OF RULE.
1.	Sômrah (سومره)	For a long time.
2.	Bhongar (بهونگر) bin Sômrah I.	15 years died 485 A.H.
3.	Dûdâ I bin Bhongar (دودا اول)	24 years died 485 A.H.
4.	Sanghar (سنگهر)	15 years.
5.	Hafif or Khafif (حفيف يا خفيف)	33 years.
6.	'Umar	40 years.
7.	Dûdâ II	14 years.
8.	Pâthû (پاتھو)	33 years.
9.	Ganahra I (گنہرا اول)	16 years.
10.	Muhammad Tûr (محمد نور)?	15 years.
11.	Ganahra II	A few years.
12.	Dûdâ III.	14 years.
13.	Tâ'i (تائی)	15 years.
14.	Cheynsar (چینسر)	18 years.
15.	Bhongar II	15 years.
16.	Hafif or Khafif II	18 years.
17.	Dûdâ IV (دودا چہارم)	25 years.
18.	'Umar Sômrah	35 years.
19.	Bhongar III	10 years.
20.	Hamîr (Amir) (امیر)	Last king.

The few doubtful years of the eleventh King and the period of the last King are not included in the reckoning. If these few years be added their period of rule is at least 375 years, and if the beginnings of their rule be traced to some time after Sultân 'Abdu'r-Rashîd (i.e. 444 A.H.) the date of the end of their rule will be 819 A.H. But it has been mentioned above that the end was reached during the time of Mohammad Shâh Tughluq in 752 A.H. Hence the period of their rule seems to be 67 years ahead of the period mentioned.

THE END OF THE SÔMRIS

During Muhammad Shâh Tughluq's time began the conflict between the Sultân of Delhi and the Sômrîs. In the last days of Muhammad Shâh Tughluq a Mughal named Taghî (طغی) revolts in Gujerât and on the King approaching flees away to Thath (ثاث) and takes refuge with the Sômrîs. The King goes on chasing him and reaches Thath (ثاث). Here he encounters a united army of the Mughals and Sômrîs. Suddenly the King goes off his head and dies there. The kingless army suffers severe hardships at the hands of the Mughals and Sômrîs and finds a way out of this two-edged difficulty by electing Fîrûz Shâh as their King and goes back to Delhi. This is an event of 752 A.H.*

But a few years after when Fîrûz Shâh comes here in 762 A.H. he finds here the Kingdom of the Jâms (جام). Jâm Unar (جام انر) and his nephew Bânhabnah (بانہبنہ) become rulers. Jâm was the title of the Kings of the Samah (سمہ) dynasty. This shows that this is the period which marks the end of the Sômrâhs and the beginning of the Samahs. 752 A.H. is given as the date of the beginning of the Samahs in *Tuhfatul-karâm*—which shows that this revolution took place after the invasion of Muhammad Shâh Tughluq. And, according to Firishîta, the Muslims had a large share in it. It appears that, after the revolt of the Ismâ'îlis or Hindu-looking Sômrâhs the Muslims in general thought it advisable to destroy the Sômrîs through a native tribe newly converted to Islam. A leader of the Samah tribe named Unar (اوز) murdered the last ruler of the Sômrîs named Hamîr (ہمیر) (Amir) whose verbal version is Armâ'il (ارمانل) and established his sway.*

**Târikh-i-Fîrûz Shâhi*—Ziya Barni, pp. 523-525 (Calcutta).

The list of Sômrî Kings and the fixing of their period of rule from the critical point of view need a lot of research work. It behoves our Indian historians to exert themselves a little. For instance, when a year or two before 620 A.H. Sultan Jalâlu'd-dîn Khwârazm Shâh fled away from the Tartars to Sind, the Sômrî King named Jalsi (جلىسى) was fleeing away, and, having loaded his goods in boats, took refuge in some island.* This name 'Jalsi' is not found in the list. The Nawalkishore edition cannot be relied upon. It is possible that 'Jalsi' is the corrupted form of 'Chanêsar' (چينسر) the 14th number in our list. Likewise in 734 A.H. at the time of Ibn Batûtah's arrival in Sind the King was 'Unâr' (اونار). This name, too, is not found in that list but it is possible that it is the same name which occurs as 'Umar in the 18th number.

SAMAH

The Samah who held possession over Sind after the Sômrîs had their capital at Thath (ثاٲه), called Deybal (ديبل) by the Arabs.

Persian historians write the plural of Samah (سمه) as Samagan (سمگان) and English authors as Sammas, forming the plural by adding an s. Hence some people have been deceived into describing their name as 'Sammas.' They were Muslims by religion though it is a matter of dispute whether they were Muslims from the beginning or were converted later on.

Their capital was Thath (ثاٲه). Jâm was the official title and the name was a mixture of Indian and Arab elements. For example the name of a famous Samah King was Jâm Nanda Nizâmu'd-dîn (جام نندا نظام الدين). They were so powerful that they held out against the Sultân of Delhi for a long time. They ruled over Sind for one hundred and seventy-five years from 752 A.H. to 927 A.H.

There is a lot of divergence among historians regarding the origin of this class too. Some historians of Sind have recognised them to be of Arab descent and hold that they were descended from Abu Jabal. Later Persian historians, Firishta

*Firishta, vol. 2, p. 316 (Nawalkishore).

and Abû'l Fazl (*A'in-i-Akbari*) have called them the descendants of the Persian King Jamshed simply on the score of their title, Jâm. But this baseless theory is due to the resemblance between Jam (جم) and Jâm. European historians like Elliot,¹ the writers of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*² and the *Encyclopaedia of Islâm*³ call them Rajputs converted to Islâm.

But none save the last-mentioned have taken the trouble of backing their statements by arguments. The pith of the argument of the last-mentioned is only this much—that Jâm was the title of the Rajput Râjas of Cutch and Nawanagar. The truth is that this theory is backed even by the statements of some old historians. It is written in *Târîkh Ma'sûmî* (تاریخ معصومی) that Samahs came from Cutch to Sind.⁴ It appears from *Chach-Nâmah* that the Samahs were settled down in Sind even before Muhammad bin Qâsim (96 A.H.). When Muhammad bin Qâsim reached their settlement they greeted him with songs and music and were highly pleased. Muhammad Qâsim appointed as their chief one named Kharîm (خریم) son of 'Umar.⁵ *Târîkh-i-Tâhiri* says that thus the country on the sea-coast came into the possession of the Samah whose progeny exists even now. Rai Bhâra (رے ہارا) Jâm Sahta (جام سہتا) Chhôtâ (چھوٹا) and the Rajâs of Cutch belong to this clan.⁶

But I came across a sentence in *Târîkh Balâdhari*, a book of 297 A.H. Its translation runs thus:—

“Then Daûd bin Yazîd bin Hâtîm was appointed Governor of Sind. With him had gone the father of Samah (سمہ) who holds Sind under his control nowadays. He is a slave set free by the Kandah (کنده) clan.”⁷

Should it be understood that the descendants of this very Samah (سمہ) came to be known as the Samah clan and that quite possibly they might have settled down in Cutch and that they snatched away Sind from the Sômrâhs in 752 A.H.?

(1) *Tarikh-i-Hind*, vol. 1, p. 497.

(2) The article on Sind, vol. 25, p. 143 (Eleventh Edition).

(3) The article on Samma.

(4) *Ma'sûmî* (Elliot) p. 223.

(5) *Chach Namah* (Elliot) p. 191.

(6) *Tâbri* (Elliot) p. 268.

(7) *Balâdhari* p. 445 (Leiden).

SAMAH KINGS

The Samahs appeared on the scene at a later time, that is, when the Muslim Government was firmly established in Delhi. Therefore the names and titles and dates of Samah Kings are more definitely known. According to Firishta the detail of these Kings is as follows:—

“During Shâh Mohammad Tughluq’s reign the efforts of Mussalmans made the Government of Sindh slip out of the hands of the Sômrîs into those of the Sammas. Many chiefs of this clan were Muslims and often they owed allegiance and paid tribute to the Sultâns of Delhi. Sometimes they raised the standard of revolt. The first person who became their King in Islamic times was Jâm Afzâ (جام افزا) Unâr or Wanâr (اٹار یا ونار).¹ He was very wise and ruled for three years and a half. After him ruled his brother Jâm Jûna (جام حونا) who was a lover of justice. He was succeeded by his son Jâm Mânî (جام مانى) who revolted against the Sultân of Delhi. In 762 A.H. Sultân Firûz Shâh attacked him. At first he was unsuccessful. Then on coming back from Gujerât the Sultân attacked him. At last Jâm Mânî made peace.²

The account of this war and treaty has been detailed by the historian Sirâj ‘Afîf who saw things with his own eyes. He has written the name of the then Jâm as Unar (اونر) and has mentioned his nephew Bânhabnah (بانہبہنہ) as the joint ruler. The power of the Samahs can be estimated from the fact that he encountered Firûz Shâh, the Sultân of Delhi, with forty thousand infantry and twenty thousand cavalry. Owing to lack of commissariat the Sultân was unsuccessful and, leaving Sind, he went to Gujerât. Next year when he came back he again attacked the Jâm who was constrained to make peace. This is an event of 762 A.H. (1361 A.D.).

Sayyid Jalâlu’d-dîn Huseyn Bukhârî, who was a pious and God-fearing man and whose name has occurred in the religious account of the Sômrîs, lived in Uch (اچ). The Jâm, after holding consultations, sent a messenger to him asking him to come and request the Sultân to forgive his

(1) In the Nawalkishore Press edition of Firishta the name of this Jâm is Afzâ (افزا) but this is a mistake of the copyist or the MS. The correct word is Unâr (اٹار) or Wanâr (ونار) or Onar (اونر) as is found in Ibn Batûṭah and *Sirâj Afîf*.

(2) *Târikh-i-Firishta*, vol. 2, p. 317 (Nawalkishore Press).

fault. The Sayyid (peace be on him) came, and the King received him with the fullest devotional favour. He gave hopes to both sides. Taking the Jâm and the joint ruler Bânhabnah with him he introduced them to Firûz Shâh and the terms of armistice were laid down.*

NAMES OF SAMHA KINGS

Mîr Ma'sûm and Firishta have written the names and the period of Samah Kings. There is a slight difference between the two regarding some early names. For example, the name of Kheyru'd-dîn is not mentioned in Firishta but in its stead Jâm Mânî is written. It is possible that Mânî and Kheyru'd-dîn denote one person. There is slight difference regarding some last names too.

NO.	NAMES OF KINGS	PERIOD OF RULE
1.	Jâm Unâr اوناړ or Wanâr اونړ or Unar	3 years six months.
2.	Jâm Jûna, brother of Jâm Unâr bin Bânhabnah جام جونابرادر اوناړ بن بانهنه	14 years. Contemporary of 'Alau'd-dîn Khilji.
3.	Jâm Tamâjî جام تماجی	15 years do.
4.	Jâm Kheyru'd-dîn جام خيرالدين	16 years do.
5.	Jâm Bânhabnah جام بانهنه	..
6.	Jâm Tamâjî جام تماجی	..
7.	Jâm Salâhu'd-dîn	11 years.
8.	Jâm Nizâmu'd-dîn bin Salâhu'd-dîn	2 years and a few months.
9.	Jâm 'Alî Shêr bin Nizâm- u'd-dîn	6 years and a few months.
10.	Jâm Karan bin Jâm جام کرن بن جام تماجی	One day and a half.
	Jam Unâr's dynasty having had its day, another dynasty of the Sammas sat on the throne. The name of the first King of this dynasty was Fath Khan.	
11.	Fath Khân bin Sikandar	15 years.
12.	Jâm Tughluq bin Sikan- dar, brother of Fath Khan	28 years.

*See for details 'Târikh-i-Firûz Shahi'—*Shams Siraj Afj* pp. 240, 241.

13. Jâm Mubârak (a near 3 days.
relation of Jâm Tugh-
lûq)
14. Jâm Sikandar bin Jâm 1 year six months.
Fath Khan bin Jâm
Sikandar
15. Jâm Râ'i Waran جام رائے وارن Came from Cutch in 858 A.H.
ورن (he was a Mus-
lim)
16. Jâm Sanjar (a chief of 8 years and a few months.
the Samma clan)
17. Jâm Nanda Nizâmu'd- 62 years.
din, جام نندا نظام الدین
18. Jâm Fîrôz bin Jâm Last king.
Nanda

In 890 A.H. during the reign of Jâm Nanda, Shâh Bêg Arghûn came from Qandahar and invaded Sind; but success did not crown his efforts. After Jâm Nanda there was warfare between Jâm Nanda's son named Jâm Fîrûz and another relation-claimant, Jâm Salâhu'd-dîn for the throne. Jâm Salâhu'd-dîn was the paternal cousin of the wife (Bêgum) of Sultân Muzaffar, ruler of Gujerât. Sultân Muzaffar of Gujerât helped Jâm Salâhu'd-dîn. Jâm Fîrûz sought help from Shâh Bêg Arghûn who, taking opportunity by the forelock, conquered Sind in 927 A.H. and exterminated the Sammas for ever.¹

The dates of the Kings mentioned above total 192 years but the period between 752 A.H. and 927 A.H. is only one hundred and seventy-five years. Perhaps the years of Jâm Nanda's rule are given more than the actual period enjoyed by him. One cause why there are so many names is that two persons of that dynasty ruled jointly, for which we have the testimony of Sirâj 'Afîf.²

RELIGION OF THE SAMMAS

The Sammas were Muslims but it is still a mystery as to when they embraced Islam and to what sect of Muslims they

(1) Firishta, vol. 2, p. 320 (Nawlakishore).

(2) *Târikh-i-Fîrûz Shâhi*, pp. 199, 247 (Calcutta).

belonged, and no attempts have as yet been made to unveil it. Historians have ascertained the history of their religious changes by means of their Indian and Arab names.

For example, Firishta has taken the first four Kings whose names in serial order are Jâm Unar (جام اوزر) Jâm Jûna (جام جونا) Jâm Mânî (جام مانى) Jâm Tamâji (جام تماجى) to be Hindus and is of opinion that the chain of Muslim Kings starts from Jâm Salâhu'd-dîn. He writes:—

”وازانام جماعت مذکور خصوص از نام تماجى چنين ظاهرى شود كه آنها زنادار بودند (ج ۲ ص ۳۱۵ نولكشور)“

“And from the names of the persons mentioned and from the name of Tamâji (تماجى) in particular it appears that they wore the sacred thread (i.e., were Hindus).” Vol. 2, p. 318 Nawalkishore Press.

But the truth is that one should not be misled by the character of their names. The first name is Jâm Unar. We have already learnt from Ibn Batûtah's statement that the Sâmrî at that time whose name was Unâr (اوتار), was not a Hindu and thought himself to be a Muslim. He was so much offended at Hindu suzerainty that he revolted against the Sultân of Delhi and adopted the royal title of Malik Fîrûz. The Jâm whose period of rule has been specially commended in *Târîkh-i-Tâhîrî* was Jâm Nanda and his father's name is mentioned as Bânhabnah¹.

Jâm Râ'î Waran (جام رائے ورن) is an entirely Hindu name but when he came from Cutch and conquered Thath (ٹھٹھ) he proclaimed that he had come only to defend the territory of the Muslims.²

It appears that in the beginning they kept their original tribal names but later on adopted Arabic titles like Salâhu'd-dîn in imitation of the Sultâns of Delhi. The Jâm who adopted the title of Kheyru'd-dîn had lived with his father for a pretty long time at the Court of Delhi.³ The last king, Jâm Nanda, combines both Indian and Arab elements in his name. Nanda seems to be the tribal name and Nizâmu'd-dîn the Arab royal title. The name of the Jâm who fought

(1) *Târîkh-i-Tâhîrî* (Elliot), p. 273.

(2) *Târîkh Ma'sûmî* (Elliot), p. 231.

(3) *Ibid* p. 225.

against Sultân Fîrûz Shâh has been mentioned by Shams Sirâj as Râ'i Unar (راے اونر).¹ It is a Hindu name but circumstances indicate that he was not a Hindu but a Muslim by religion. It is evident that if the opinion that they were Arabs is correct, they must have been Muslims from the very beginning. If they were Hindus, I guess that they did not become Muslims after climbing the throne but that they were Muslims long before gaining the throne and were Sunnis. Before describing the circumstances which lead me to think so, I want to describe the pious person and his chain (of followers) through whose efforts this clan entered the pale of Islam. Arnold has written merely by guess-work that this tribe became Muslim through Arab merchants.² But I personally think that the motive cause was Sûfism instead of commerce.

SHEYKHU'L-ISLAM BAHÂU'D-DIN ZAKARIYA AND SAYYID
JALÂLU'D-DIN BUKHÂRI

It has already been mentioned that, after the Kingdom of the Habâri dynasty which ruled over Sind was stamped out, a few people of that family migrated to Multân. Among them was the blessed man of immortal fame known as Sheykhul-Islâm Bahâud-dîn Zakariya.

He flourished from 578 A.H. to 666 A.H. He had visited the great Islamic countries and it was due to his efforts that Multân became a centre of learning and spirituality. Sayyid Jalâl Bukhâri, a famous Sûfi, came from Bukhâra to Multân and became Sheykh Bahâud-dîn's disciple. The name of Makhdûm-i-Jahânyân Sayyid Jalâlu'd-dîn Huseyn Bukhâri, grandson of Sayyid Jalâl Bukhâri, has occurred above twice (born 707 A.H. died 800 A.H.). It was a custom with the great Sûfis of those times to send their able and seasoned disciples far and wide to guide people and serve their spiritual needs. Sheykhul-Islâm Zakariya Multânî thus sent Sayyid Jalâl Bukhâri I to Uch (اوج), a town in Sind. Those were the last days of Sômra rule in Sind. You have heard how the Sômra Governor of Uch came to have faith in him and how he became his Murîd.

It is evident from *Târîkh-i-Tâhîri* that Sheykhul-Islâm Makhdûm Zakariya Multânî had relations not only with Sind

(1) *Târîkh-i-Fîrûz Shâhi—Shams Sirâj 'Afîf*, p. 199 (Calcutta).

(2) *The Preaching of Islam* (Urdu translation) p. 292 (1907 A.D.)

but with the Sammas [Tâhiri has written Sômrâh (سومره) instead of Samma but it should be Samma in view of the period he mentions] and perhaps the secret of sending one of his greatest disciples to this district lay here. The following is a summary of the passages of *Târikh-i-Tâhiri*.

"From 700 A.H. (1300 A.D.) to 843 A.H. (1439 A.D.) for a period of 143 years a Hindu clan named Sômrâh (Samma) ruled over Sind. The capital was Muhammad Tûr. Not only I but many others have seen its ruins in the district of Vîrak (ویرک). After its destruction, many inhabitants migrated and settled down in the district of Sokûrâ (سکورا) (Sukkur) which was populated during the time of the Jâms of Samma. They populated a village here and named it Muhammad Tûr. Sheykhush-Shuyûkh Makhdûm Bahâu'd-dîn (Zakariya), Mulla Khalifah Sindhi, who is very famous in India, eminent people and big Zamindars live in this village."¹

The other incident has been mentioned above—how the Sômrâh Governor of Uch (اوج) received bey'at (بیعت) at the hands of Jalâlu'd-dîn Huseyn Bukhârî (707-800 A.H.), grandson of Sayyid Jalâlu'd-dîn Bukhârî, who was given the spiritual leadership of Sind by his spiritual teacher Makhdûm Sheykh Bahâu'd-dîn. According to Firishta

“بمسجد رفت و پائے سید بوسیده از درویشان بمعذرت خواست و مرید کشته از مقبولان گردید“

“He went to the mosque, kissed the feet of the Sayyid, apologised to the dervishes, became a Murîd (a disciple), and became one of the chosen ones.”²

Sayyid Bukhârî always used to preach in Sind. Great and eminent people were moved by his utterances.³

From the biography of the Sayyid (peace be on him) it transpires that the incident of the Sômrâh Governor's discipleship dates back to 750 A.H. or near about. A few years after, the Sammas replaced the Sômrâhs and took the reins of Government. It is just possible that the Sammas, the next ruling people, too were devotionally inclined toward the Sayyid.

(1) *Târikh-i-Tâhiri* (Elliot), p. 257.

(2) Firishta, vol. 2, p. 416 (Nawalkishore).

(3) *Ibid.*

When Muhammad Shâh Tughluq invaded Thath, (ٹھٹھ) the capital of the Sammas, in 752 A.H. he died suddenly and when Fîrûz Shâh Tughluq invaded it the first time, he was unsuccessful and went to Gujerât. This the people ascribed to the blessings of the 'Sheykh' and they made a sentence in Sindhi.

برکت شیخ تھیا، ایک مو ایک تھیا

Barkat Sheikh thiya, ek mooa, ek tâha.¹

That is, it was due to the blessings of the Sheikh that the one died and the other fled away unsuccessful. In this sentence 'Sheykh' refers either to Sheykh Bahâu'd-dîn Zakariya Multâni or Sayyid Jalâl Bukhârî.

Next year when Fîrûz Shâh, after returning from Gujerât, invaded Thath for the second time, Jâm Unar جام اوزر and Bânhabnah saw no other way save sending a messenger to Jalâlu'd-dîn Huseyn Bukhârî at Uch اوج requesting him to take the trouble of coming and getting an armistice arranged. The Sayyid (peace be on him) came and arranged a treaty which contained suitable conditions. He told the Sultân that there was a very pious lady in Thath whose blessings saved the country from being conquered. She had died the day before yesterday.²

All these events clearly indicate that the Jâms of Sama had a deep feeling of devotion to Sheykh Bahâu'd-dîn Zakariya and Sayyid Jalâlu'd-dîn Huseyn. They point out not only that they were Muslims but also that they were Sunnis. It appears that this Suharwardy family was for them the light of guidance.

These events are connected not with the last days of the Sammas but with their early period. This is evidence for my claim that the Sammas became Muslims from very early times. It becomes all the more clear if we link up this point with the fact that the Muslims had a large share in bringing the Sammas to the head of Government. The words of Firishta are:—

”در آخر عهد شاه محمد تغلق شاه بسی و امداد مسلمانان دولت از خاندان طبقه سومرگان بفرقه سمنکان منتقل شده و اکثر حکام ایشان بدولت اسلام اختصاص یافت“

(1) *Târikh-i-Fîrûz Shahi*—*Shams Sirâj 'Afif*, p. 231 (Calcutta).

(2) *Târikh-i-Fîrûz Shahi*, p. 241 (Calcutta).

"During the last days of Shâh Muhammad Tughluq, on account of the efforts and help of Muslims, the Kingdom slipped away from the hands of the Sômrâh class into those of the Samma class, and the majority of their officers were endowed with the wealth of Islâm (i.e., were Muslims)."¹

If the Sammas were not Muslims, why this Muslim sympathy?

Besides Multân and Mansûrah there were small Arab States and settlements whose traces are found till the end of the 4th century A.H., that is, till the time before Mahmûd Ghaznawi.

Some were conquered and annexed by Sabuktagin, father of Sultân Mahmûd, and most of them by Sultân Mahmûd.²

Of these towns the names of the following are found with special reference in the accounts of Arab travellers of the fourth century.

DEYBAL OR THATH

It was a famous port, and, as I have mentioned above, the Arabs called it Deybal and Persian historians called it Thath. This town was the capital of the Sammas and it was attacked by Fîrûz Shâh, Sultân of Delhi, without success. At last through the mediation of Hazrat Sheykh Jalâlu'd-dîn, successor of a disciple of Hazrat Sheykhul-Islâm Zakariya Multânî, a treaty was arrived at.³ Eminent 'Ulama and traditionists flourished here and they have been described by 'Allâmah Sam'âni (d. 562 A.H.) and *Kitâbu'l-Ansâb*.⁴ By virtue of its being a port, it was the centre for Arab merchants. Its population can be estimated from the fact that in 280 A.H., during the time of the 'Abbâsid Khalifah Mu'tamad an earthquake took place, resulting in the destruction of many buildings. The number of people who were crushed to death under the ruined buildings in this catastrophe numbered one hundred and fifty thousand.⁵ Bashshâri (375 A.H.) has written: "Round about there are a hundred villages. The Hindus form the majority of the population. All are traders and merchants. The languages spoken by them are Sindhi and Arabic. The revenue is very large."

(1) *Firishta*, 2nd volume p. 317 (Nawalkishore).

(2) *A'in-i-Akbari* (Sind).

(3) *Târikh-i-Fîrûz Shâhi*—Shams Siraj 'Afif (Calcutta) p. 241.

(4) *Kitâbu'l-ansâb*, photographed edition—word 'Deybal' (دیل).

(5) *Târikh-i-Khulafâ* by Suyûti (edited in Calcutta), p. 380.

‘ASIFAN عسیفان

Balâdhari described it as situated between Multân, Kashmîr, and Kâbul—a fact which may not be very correct. But names resembling it are found in Sind.

Dr. Arnold, when writing *The Preaching of Islam* could not locate it¹ and made researches into it with the help of the late Maulâna Shîbli.² But I personally guess that the origin of this name is Asîwân (اسیوان) which may be called Sîwân (سیوان) too. Towns of this name are found between Delhi and Sind. This name occurs in Persian historians.³ Ibn Batûtah has also mentioned Sîhwân (سیهوان) and now it exists in the Karachi district. Some have supposed Sayûstân سیوستان and Sîwân (سیوان) to be one and the same. However, in the beginning of the 3rd century A.H. (during the reign of Mu‘tasam, d. 227) there was a population of Muslim merchants.⁴

TANBALI تنبلی

There was a place named Tanbali in Sind. In 375 A.H. there were some Muslims settled here.⁵

BUQAN بوقان

Balâdhari has mentioned a place in Sind known as Bûqân بوقان (or Bukân بوکن) and has written that in his time all the inhabitants were Muslims.⁶

QAZDAR قزدار

Some have written it as (قزدار). Its name is found among the conquests of Sabuktigin.⁷ It was situated near the Indo-Afghan frontier. There was a population here of Khârîji Muslims and they ruled over it. Perhaps in the middle of the

(1) *Da‘wat-i-Islam*. (The Urdu translation of “The Preaching of Islam”) p. 291.

(2) *Makâtub-i-Shîbli* (Letters of Shibli) vol. 2, p. 17.

(3) *Khazâ’inu’l-Futûh* by Amîr Khusru.

(4) Balâdhari, p. 446.

(5) Bashshârî, p. 480.

(6) Balâdhari, p. 345.

(7) *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 7 (Calcutta). (طبقات ناصری)

4th century A.H., when a Mu'tazali theologian controversialist named Abû'l-Hasan 'Alî bin Latîf arrived here, he found here a population of the Khârijis who ruled over it. He says that perfect peace reigns over the land. There is no theft committed and people do not lock their houses. Should a traveller leave his belongings in the mosque, nobody will touch them. Here he met a Muslim tailor. There was a mosque too in the town.¹ Bashshârî² describes it as situated on the coast inside the length of Makrân at a distance of 12 manzils³ from Tez the harbour of Baluchistân. Another Arab geographer says that "it is at a distance of 20 manzils from Multân."⁴

Ibn Hauqal says "Qazdâr is a city connected with which are many villages and hamlets. The name of the ruler is Mu'în bin Ahmad but the Khutbah is read in the name of the Khalifah of Baghdad. His palace stood in Bâkaznân باکزنان." Bashshârî Maqdisî, who came in 375 to this part of the country, says:—

"Qazdâr is the capital of Tûrân. It stands in a desert. Between the two parts into which it is divided there is a valley in which there is no bridge. In one part is the King's palace and the fort too stands here. The name of the other part is Bûdîn بودین. Here there are houses of merchants. It is very clean. The city is small but useful. People come here from Khurâsân, Persia, Kirmân and towns of India. But the water here is not good..... The water of the canal is drunk."⁵

In short, it was a small Islamic State. Amîr Sabuktagîn, Sultân Mahmûd's father, thought it advisable to conquer the frontier States before marching upon India. Some time between 375 A.H. and 387 A.H., the date of Sabuktagîn's death, he conquered this city and made the Muslim ruler of it pay tribute.⁶

TOORAN طوران

At the time of Ibn Hauqal it was an independent State. He says: "In Western Sind is Tûrân ruled over by Abû'l-Qâsim who was an inhabitant of Basrah. He is a ruler, judge

(1) *Ma'jamu'l-buldan* by Yâqût, vol. 7, p. 78 (Egypt).

(2) *Ahsanu't-taqasim*, p. 385.

(3) *Manzil* means a halting place (Translator).

(4) *Taqwimu'l-buldan* by Abu'l-Fida, p. 349.

(5) *Ahsanu't-taqasim* by Bashshârî, p. 478 (Leiden).

(6) *Târikh-i-Firishta* (Nawalkishore) vol. 1, p. 19.

and general in one, though he does not know the difference between 3 and 10 (i.e. he is illiterate).

VAIHIND

It is a famous and ancient town of India. It is mentioned in connection with the Ghaznawi conquests. Mahmûd conquered it in 393 A.H. after his conquest of Peshawar.¹ In this town too there was a Muslim population in the pre-Mahmûd days. Bêrûnî has written its description in the *Qânûn Mas'ûdi*, "It is the capital of Qandahar and it lies in the Sind valley."² Mr. Vincent A. Smith in *The Early History of India* locates the capital named Ohind (اوهند) near the river Sind and writes that after the Muslim conquest of Kabul in 256 A.H. the capital shifted to Ohind which was situated near river Sind and was the capital of the Hindu ruling dynasty.³

At the end of the 4th century (in 375 A.H., that is, fifteen or sixteen years before Mahmûd's invasion) Bashsharî says: "I made inquiries from one of the pupils of Abû'l-Heysham Neyshâpûrî ابوالهشام نیشاپوری and from a scholar of Shîrâz who had toured the country pretty well. On inquiry I found Vaihind was the name of the capital and that the towns under its control were Wadhân (وادهان) Batîr (بتیر), Nawj Lawâr نوج لوار Samân Kûj سمان کوج, etc."⁴

In the territory of Vaihind there was a fairly large Muslim population and there was established a State of theirs. The Hindus had their own Raja and the Muslims their own ruler. The Hindus formed the majority of the population.⁵

QANNAUJ قنوج

Apart from the famous Kannauj of Hindustan, there was another Qannauj on the border of Sind and Punjab, often mentioned by Arab travellers. There was a Muslim population here too. After 300 A.H. this city came into Muslim possession. When Mas'ûdî saw it in 303 A.H. he found it annexed to Multân and under the Islamic Government.⁶ Bashshârî came here seventy or seventy-five years later. At that time it was an autonomous State. He says that it is a large town and has rampart-walls all around it. Meat is sold

(1) *Ẓaynu'l-Akhbar* by Gurdezi (edited in Berlin) p. 66.

(2) *Taqwimu'l-buldan* by Abu'l-Fida, p. 357 (Paris—1840 A.D.).

(3) *The Early History of India*, vol. 1, p. 345.

(4) *Ahsanu't-taqasim*, p. 477.

(5) *Ibid*, p. 485 with marginal notes.

(6) *Mas'ûdi*, vol. 1, p. 372 (Paris).

in plenty. There are very many gardens. The water is good. Trade is extensive. The inhabitants are handsome. There is a Jâmi' mosque inside the rampart-walls. The Muslims live on wheat. Respectable people and eminent scholars live here.¹ Further on he says that, though the Muslims form the majority of the population, the Hindus have their own ruler.

Arab travellers and geographers were familiar even with the Kannauj in Oudh. Mahlabî, Vizier of Egypt, (about 386 A.H.) describes in his geography Kitâb al-'Azîzî (کتاب عزى) "Kannauj is among the most distant cities of India. It lies West of Multân. Between Multân and Kannauj there is a distance of 282 farsangs.² It is the capital and the largest city of India. The reports about Kannauj are very much exaggerated and overdone. It is said there are three hundred shops of jewellers only; that the Raja has two and a half thousand elephants. There are gold mines too."

Idrisî, who wrote his geography in Sicily in 548 A.H., says, "It is a very handsome city. It is the emporium of trade. The Raja is also called by the name of the town Khannuj." Idrisî describes the extent of Kannauj going right up to the Punjab and even to Kashmir. The geographer of Morocco Ibn Sa'id Maghribî (585 A.H.) says: "This city lies on both sides of the Ganges."³

NEYRUN

Among the coastal towns of India was one named Neyrûn نیرون; some have wrongly read it as Beyrûn بیرون and described Abû Reyhân Bêrûnî as a native of that place.⁴

It lay between Deybal and Mansûrah, and was at a distance of 15 farsangs from Mansûrah. Mahlabî writes in the fourth century in his geography, "The inhabitants of this place are Muslims."⁵ Elphinstone says in his 'History of India' that Neyrûn was the old name of the modern town of Hyderabad in Sind.⁶

(1) Bashshârî, vol. 1, p. 485.

(2) A farsang covered 3 miles according to the old reckoning. According to modern reckoning it equals nearly 8 miles (Translator).

(3) *Taqwimu'l-buldan* by Abu'l-Fida, p. 360 (Paris).

(4) *Taqwimu'l-buldan* by Abu'l-Fida, p. 349 with reference to Ibn Sa'id Maghribî and *Tarikhu'l-Atibba* by Ibn Abî Useybi'a, vol. 2, p. 20 (Egypt).

(5) *Taqwimu'l-buldan* by Abu'l-Fida, p. 349.

(6) *History of India* by Elphinstone, vol. 2, p. 493, dated 1867 A.D. (Aligarh).

MAKRAN

It lies on the border of Sind. At the time of Ibn Hauqal the Arab ruler of this place was A'isa bin Ma'dân عيسى بن معدان. The seat of his Government was 'Kanîr' (کنیر) which was half the size of Multân.

MUSHKI

Near it was another Arab State whose name was Mushkî and whose ruler at the time of Ibn Hauqal was Mazâ'hir bin Rajâ' مظاہر بن رجاء. It was so large a State that its whole extent was traversed in 3 days. In the Khutbah the name of the Khalifah of Baghdad was mentioned.

We are tired of roaming the desert of Sind. Let us for a moment refresh ourselves by seeing the image of Paradise.

KASHMIR

This is the land of which it can be aptly said that it was conquered not by the swords and stratagems of Muslim kings but by the spiritual efficiency of Muslim saints and theologians. Arab geographers and tourists came near it but did not go inside the country. They have described the difficulties which assailed the tourists. They called the whole territory from the sea to the chain of Kashmîr mountains by the name of Sind. After the Arabs, Sultân Mahmûd assailed the rocks but in vain. But at the same time we find Muslim merchants and traders going to and coming from Kashmîr. In 424 A.H., three years after the death of Sultân Mahmûd, Sultân Mas'ûd Ghaznawi invaded it. The inhabitants, including the Muslim merchants there, shut themselves in the fort.*

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages I have tried to show my readers pictures of the mutual relations which existed between Arabia and India, Islam and India, before the advent of Muslim conquerors through the Khyber. It will give an idea of the places where Muslims were settled before the Muslim conquests, and will serve to show how deep and many-sided were the relations between them and the Hindus, and how old is the connection of Islam with India.

*Firishta, vol. 1, p. 41. (Nawalkishore).

ما قصه سکندر و دارا نه خوانده ایم
از ما بجز حکایت مهر و وفا پرس

"I have not read the story of Alexander and Darius
"Ask nothing of me but the romance of love and fidelity."

SUPPLEMENT

After finishing the work a few important facts present themselves. It seems desirable to incorporate them.

سوپاره SOPARAH

A famous old town of Gujerât has been mentioned by the Arabs as Sôbârah (سواره). Istakhrî (340 A.H.) mentions it among the famous towns of India and, later on, the traveller Bashshârî of Jerusalem mentions it as situated near Khambâyât. According to him there is a distance of four manzils between Khambâyât and Sôbârah. He says "Sôbârah is at the distance of one farsang (8 miles) from the sea."¹

The archæological researches into the antiquities of Gujerât carried on during recent years point out a town of the name of Sôbâra. This is the very town which has been described by Arab travellers in their times.

In the Sunday issue of the Bombay Chronicle dated February 2, 1930 (pp. 31, 32) an article appeared concerning the archæological research of Sôpârah سوپاره. Its pith is as follows:—²

"It appears from archæological researches that traces of this city are found during the time of the famous Raja Asoka of Magadh. A commemorative edict of Raja Asoka has been found by our archæologists. Sîpârah سِپاره is still an obscure station in the B.B.C.I. Railway which has been so named because near it lies a town of that name. The late Bhagwan Lal Indarji had discovered this commemorative edict. Now this place lies in the Bombay Presidency three or four miles north of Bassein situated on the sea-coast and thirty miles off Bombay City.

"In 250 B.C. it was one of the famous and flourishing cities of India. That is why it was one of the few lucky towns selected for the commemorative edict. The edict of Sopara

(1) Each farsang was three miles on the old reckoning. The old mile equalled four thousand yards, each yard equalling sixth the distance between the little finger and the thumb. A farsang=nearly 8 miles of our days (Translator).

(2) As I could not get the required issue, I have translated the Urdu rendering of the article (Translator).

was taken away and is now lying in the Prince of Wales Museum (Western India). There are ten lines, four of which have been defaced. Its script is the parent of Devanagiri and other Hindi scripts and the European research scholar Bûchner has expressed his opinion that it came by the Commercial route from 'Irâq to India seven or eight centuries before Christ (vide the book).

"Dr. Bhandarkar says that Sopârâ was a famous port in the district of Thana in the Bombay Presidency. Its name in Mahabharat is Soorpapka and Ptolemy has in his geography written its name as Sopârâ. It was a sacred place and the capital of Apârantâ.

"The modern village of Sopârah (سوپاره) lies where the famous ancient city existed. It lies on the left side of a gulf which seems to turn and twist between the Railway bridge on the Bassein Gulf (خليج بسين) and the river Witarna (وڑنا). In ancient Sopârâ there still remain traces of old buildings and houses. There is also a Ram Kund (a pond dedicated to the memory of Ram) which is a proof of its being a place of pilgrimage.

"When in 1881 A.D. this commemorative edict was discovered there were hardly six hundred homes here, and there were nearly two thousand people, Brahmans, Indian Christians and Muslims. Among the Muslims there were Arabs and Persians who settled down here seven centuries before the virtue of commercial relations."

This summary will show that Muslims were settled down here as in other coastal towns of Gujerât. If the edict of Asoka and Ptolemy's geography point out the trace of this town two hundred years before Christ, the statements of Muslim Arab travellers point to its existence a thousand years after Christ.

JAT PHYSICIANS IN ARABIA

Mention has been made in these pages of the Jâts having settled down in 'Irâq and Arabia but only their military qualities have been described. But we get to know a meritorious achievement of the Jâts. Imâm Bûkhârî (d. 256 A.H.) has written an event of the period of the Sahâbis in his book *Kitâbu'l-Adab-ul-Mufrad* (كتاب الادب المفرد) that once when the mother of believers Hazrat 'Ayesha fell ill, her nephews sent for a Jât physician for her treatment.*

**Al-adabu'l-mufrad* by Imâm Bukhârî—the chapter on *Bey'u'l-Khadim*, p. 35, (Egypt).

ROYAL SHOES OF SIND

We have mentioned the shoes of Khambâyat. These shoes went from Mansûrah (Sind) to Baghdad, the 'Abbasid capital in 'Irâq. Very recently a short book of Imâm Ahmad bin Hanbal (d. 242 A.H.) named *Al-Wara* (الورع) has been published in Egypt with the help of a seven century old MS. found in Algeria. It is proved that the shoes of Sind were so handsome and showy that serious-minded people did not like to wear them and they were deemed fit to be worn only by princes.*

SULEYMAN NADVI

(Concluded)

**Kitabu'l-wara'* by Ibn Hanbal, the chapter on "*Libasu'n Na'ali's-Sindiya*h or the wearing of shoes from Sind, p. 101, Egypt.

THE KITĀB MA'ĀNĪ ASH-SHĪR OF IBN QUTĒYBAH

SOME years ago I pointed out that the second volume of this important work, perhaps the largest work as regards size by the author, was preserved in the library of the India Office (No. 1155), and expressed the opinion that this codex might be actually the second volume of the same manuscript as the one preserved in the library of Aya Sofia in Constantinople. Through the kindness of Prof. A. Fischer I have had the loan of photographs in his possession of the latter manuscripts and, having them in my hands for more than a year, have been able to make a complete copy and collate it with my copy so as to make sure it was identical with the original. My supposition that the two manuscripts are by the same scribe has turned out to be correct, because the script in both volumes is the same as also the general arrangement. At times, but not always, the names of poets are written in larger letters. The Constantinople manuscript has however many marginal notes of a kind not found in the India Office copy. They point to the fact that the two volumes got separated before these notes were written. The notes are apparently by a Turk, certainly not an Arabic scholar, who has attempted to understand the work. From his marginal notes it is certain that he has not been very successful; because in very many cases, misreading the original, he has added explanation of words taken from the dictionary of Al-Jauharî, which do *not* explain the words he did not understand. In some cases the words lacked points in the original or the Glossator read only half a word and then looked this up in his dictionary. I have only copied a few of these notes, because they show the curious results which may ensue from such a method.

The writing in both volumes is beautiful and supplied with many vowels and the script is what biographers call "al-Khatt al-mansûb" which might lead the reader to place great reliance upon the text for correctness. This, unfortunately, he cannot do; but errors of the scribe vary, some pages are remarkably correct, while others abound in errors, due largely to an attempt at substituting well-known words for words less

common. The scribe certainly was a man who spoke Arabic. I should like to date the manuscript as having been written in the eighth century of the Hijrah and probably in Egypt. The scribe certainly had a very good original to copy from, and that original had marginal notes introduced by the letter 'Ain, which he also copied faithfully. These notes are by an early scholar who besides his signum only once discloses his identity when he says that he had dealt with the case in question in his "*Kitâb at-Tamthilât*." Unfortunately I have not been able to trace a work with such a title; I am nevertheless of opinion that we have in these notes the work of Abû 'Umar'az-Zâhid, the famulus of the Kûfi grammarian Tha'lab, who made it his business to search through the works of others to find out their errors and gained in this way a great reputation for learning. His remarks are as a rule very short—for example on p. 65 of the first volume he says: "This verse is not by Al-Bâ'ith, nor is the Riwayah like this," and leaves it to us to find out the rest. Another time he simply says: "This is a very bad explanation," leaving it again to the reader to find out the correct commentary. He corrects many errors committed by the author himself, but once is corrected by another scholar who calls himself Mahmûd. To prove that he is not correcting the scribe but the author himself he states that the error was found in the autograph of Ibn Qutaibah.

'Abd Allâh b. Muslim b. Quteybah, who died in Rajab 276 A.H. is too well-known for me to enlarge on his biography. He studied professedly under the chief scholars of both the Basrî and Kûfi schools, as is evidenced by the Isnâds in several of his works, especially the '*Uyûn al-Akhbâr*', which has recently been issued by the Press of the *Dâr al-Kutub* at Cairo. In the *Kitâb al-Ma'ânî* he mentions only a few of his direct informants: Abû Hâtim as-Sijistânî, Ar-Riyâshî, 'Abd ar-Rahmân, nephew of Al-Asma'î, etc., but generally he refrains from citing his authorities and the general tenor of the work reveals that he has used *books* only, but these he does not name. The Mufaddaliyât he has used in a recension similar, or identical, with the one contained in the manuscript of the *Ikhtiyâreyn* (MS. India Office No. 1161), as he cites the commentaries word for word as found in that manuscript for poems otherwise unknown *in extenso* like poems by An-Nazzâr al-Faq'asî, Ibn Fassah, etc. Another work upon which he has drawn is the *Kitâb al-Ma'ânî* of Al-Bâhilî, the citations of this work in the *Lisân* agree also word for word with those found in the *Kitâb al-Ma'ânî*.

Ibn Quteybah's works are numerous and many of considerable size. Most of his surviving works have been edited and he has long enjoyed a great reputation, especially in Europe. The opinions of Arab critics concerning his merits were much divided. Al-Hâkim, referring to his position as a traditionist, is very outspoken: "The whole community concurs that Al-Quteybî is a confirmed liar." Ibn Hajar, who quotes these words, is shocked at this judgment and says: "This is a nasty conjecture and the utterance of one who does not fear God!" Another judgment is that he *claimed* the foremost rank as a scholar in his time, an opinion which was not shared by his contemporaries who gave the palm to Abû 'Ubeyd al-Qâsim ibn Sallâm. Against this judgment must be set the opinion of many others who freely admit him to have been a learned and competent scholar. The most correct estimate is, perhaps, that of Al-Azharî in the Introduction to his dictionary *At-Taḥdhīb*: "I have known nobody who refuted his trustworthiness as regards his statements on the authority of Abû Hâtim as-Sijistânî, ad-Dibâsî, Abû Sa'îd ad-Darîr, but he often omits names in his chains of authorities; guesses continually and makes conjectures concerning things about which he is not well informed or knows nothing at all."

The last opinion is only too well founded and the *Kitâb al-Ma'âni* contains a fair amount of such guesses. We must however take into consideration that he probably blindly followed the statements he found in the books which he used and the misinterpretations can really not be laid at his door. The first accusation of Al-Azharî requires further investigation and I have alluded before to the fact that he rarely cites his authorities in the work under consideration. I believe that the one and real reason is that he had no direct Riwayah or Ijâzah, but that he plundered the works of his older contemporaries without acknowledgment or scruple. Prof. Brockelmann, in the notes to his unfinished edition of the *Uyûn al-Akhbâr*, cites frequent references to the works of Al-Jâhiz, and perhaps would have said something about it in his introduction. Exactly in the same manner parallel passages in the *Kitâb al-Ma'âni* and the works of Al-Jâhiz are innumerable, where Ibn Quteybah has drawn more than freely upon the *Kitâb al-Ḥayawân*, but never once mentions his source. The only difference is that, while Al-Jâhiz, after his own manner, jumps from one subject to another, Ibn Quteybah is more methodical and the various verses dealing with the same or a similar subject are nicely placed side by side. That Al-Jâhiz in many cases has *more* verses or a *longer*

narrative appears to be an almost certain proof of Ibn Quteybah's piracy. Not infrequently Al-Jâhiz offers in well-known verses readings which differ from those found in the *Dîwâns* or other philological works, and almost invariably these same readings are found in the *Kitâb al-Ma'ânî*. This has compelled me to make a complete index of all accessible works of Al-Jâhiz to enable me to trace with greater facility such plagiarisms.

This does not mean that Ibn Quteybah has drawn his material entirely from the works of Al-Jâhiz; we have in the *Kitâb al-Ma'ânî* the earliest preserved commentaries on many verses of the Mu'allagât, very large extracts from the *Dîwâns* of Al-Kumeyt Ibn Muqbil, Abû Zubeyd and many ancient poets of renown whose works are at present considered as lost. The two volumes contain at least 7000 to 8000 verses, all of poets of the so-called classical period. As regards historical information, we find practically none; and the author might never have written the *Kitâb al-Ma'ârif*. As regards the explanation of the verses cited the author frequently gives glosses upon the most trivial and well-known words and passes over in silence strange expressions, which hardly could have been familiar to all his students and readers, and for which the large dictionaries have no *Shâhids*, but merely explain or mention them. I believe that in such cases the sources from which he drew also had omitted a commentary. Such a case is the very difficult poem of An-Nazzâr taken from the *Kitâb al-Ikhti'yâreyn*.

With all these defects the book is a great mine for the understanding of the more difficult verses of ancient poetry and for scholars who like to collect a quantity of evidentiary verses for certain ideas will be a great treasure.

The manuscript, as it exists, has no *Introduction* at all, so contrary to the usual verbosity of the author in his other works, especially his *Adab al-Kuttâb* which has been named "*a preface without a book*." The reason is that we possess after all only a portion of the work, though the manuscript numbers the section of the two volumes as *Al-Kitâb al-Awwal*, etc., and concludes with the seventh *Kitâb* which on the title-page is stated to be the last book of the whole work.

The author of the *Fihrist*, in the case of this work, apparently attaching special value to this book, has given a fairly detailed description of the *twelve* *Kitâbs* into which it was divided, indicating how many chapters were contained in each *Kitâb*. According to the numerical reckoning five

Kitâbs are lost, but in addition the books followed in a different order to that found in the existing manuscripts. Both Ibn an-Nadîm and the Constantinople manuscripts begin with the "*Kitâb al-Faras*," as it is called in the *Fihrist*, or the *Abyât al-Ma'ânî fî'l-Kheyîl* as is written on the title-page of the manuscript. After this should follow the book on camels, *Kitâb al-Ibil*, which is missing in the existing manuscripts. That this book once formed part of the original copy from which the two manuscripts are derived is evident from several remarks of the author in the first volume. On page 13 he says: "About the sweat there is a chapter in the *Kitâb al-Ibil* in which are the *Abyât al-Ma'ânî* about the sweat of camels." He again mentions the *Kitâb al-Ibil* on pages 72 and 134 as having preceded. In like manner he refers to the *Kitâb al-Khalq* on pages 7 and 31 and to the *Kitâb al-Anwâ'* on page 346. Both these books are not found in the manuscripts. The latter is perhaps identical with the *Kitâb ar-Riyâh* which was the sixth book according to the *Fihrist*, but such a book is also missing in the manuscripts. The former may be identical with the *Kitâb al-Ghurûr* which takes the fourth place in the *Fihrist* and also has no place in the manuscripts. Other Kitâbs not found in the manuscripts are the *Kitâb an-Nisâ'* and the *Kitâb Tashîf al-'Ulamâ'*, each of which contained only a single Bâb. The last-named books, being the twelfth according to the *Fihrist*, may have been lost at the end of the second volume, which is incomplete and very difficult to read on the last existing leaf as it is much damaged by damp and rubbing. However the title-page of the last Kitâb in the manuscript does not mention anything about a *Kitâb at-Tashîf*.

Even then it is difficult to reconcile the data given by Ibn an-Nadîm with the findings of the manuscripts. The following is a list of the books as given in the *Fihrist* as compared with the contents of the manuscripts.

- I. *Kitâb al-Faras*, 48 Bâbs (MS. has 53).
- II. *Kitâb al-Ibil* (missing in MS.)
- III. *Kitâb al-Ḥarb*, 10 Bâbs (MS. has 11).
- IV. *Kitâb al-Ghurûr* (missing in MS.).
- V. *Kitâb ad-Diyâr* (perhaps part of Book 3 in MS.).
- VI. *Kitâb ar-Riyâh*, 31 Bâbs (missing in MS. but freely used by Al-Marzûqî in his *Kitâb al-Azminah*).
- VII. *Kitâb as-Sibâ'*, 17 Bâbs (which agrees with MS.).

VIII. *Kitâb al-Hawâmm*, 14 Bâbs (MS. has 15).

IX. *Kitâb al-Aimân wa'd-Dawâhî*, 7 Bâbs (MS. has only 5 partly repeated in the *Kitâb al-Ḥarb*).

X. *Kitâb an-Nisâ' wa'l-Ghazal*, 1 Bâb (missing in MS., but it may only be part of the 3rd book in MS.).

XI. *Kitâb an-Nasab wa'l-Laban*, 8 Bâbs (missing in MS., but perhaps part of the 3rd book in MS.).

XII. *Kitâb Taṣḥîf al-'Ulamâ'* (missing in MS.).

The very brief indications of the *Fihrist* make it difficult in many cases to know exactly if certain portions are really lost or, as will be seen from previous remarks, some are included in the manuscript under different sections. As an example, the third *Kitâb* in the manuscript has the title *Kitâb ad-Diyâfah wa't-Ta'âm* contains chapters on fire, wine, relationship (*Qarâbah*) dress of kings, etc., but also on *Madh* and *Hijâ'*, chapters which one would hardly expect in this book. Another peculiarity of the work is that in certain chapters in several *Kitâbs*, the same verses and commentaries are cited, sometimes in the same order, but also differently arranged with additions and omissions. From these parallel passages it is frequently possible to make sure that certain readings are really those of the author, and not due to errors of the scribe. At the end of the *Kitâb al-Ḥarb* is a short appendix, and we are informed that this appendix was found in the handwriting of the author on the cover of this book. This appendix fills nearly two pages of the original manuscript, but the whole contents are also found in the body of the work.

The manuscripts, as they are, must be used with the greatest care on account of the innumerable errors of the scribe. The original manuscript in its two volumes fills 1083 pages of 17 or 16 lines to the page and the number of poets from extracts given amounts to 339, some being named only once but others very frequently, there are exactly 200 extracts from the poems of Al-Kumeyt.

My investigations as to the authors who in later times have made use of the *Kitâb al-Ma'ânî* are not in any way complete, but he is cited several times by Ibn as-Sîd al-Batalyausî in his *Kitâb al-Iqtidâb* and especially another native of Badajoz, 'Āsim ibn Ayyûb, has made continual use of the work in his

commentary upon the *Dîwâns* of Imru-ul-Qais and An-Nâbighah, which are accessible in Cairo editions. In them the words of Ibn Quteybah are repeated without alteration. In many cases explanations of verses found in the *Lisân al-'Arab* and the *Tâj* agree likewise with those of the *Kitâb al-Ma'ânî*, but it is not certain whether these are derived from the *Kitâb al-Ma'ânî* or from the sources from which Ibn Quteybah derived his information.

I have prepared a complete index of all poets and grammarians cited in the two volumes, and an index of rhymes and every word explained. In addition to a large amount of ancient poetry not traced by myself in other sources the book contains many useful commentaries to *Dîwâns* already edited, and many a good reading.

As the possibility of publishing so large a work is rather remote I shall be pleased to give interested scholars all the information they may require concerning poets they desire to know more about and whose verses are cited in the work. Perhaps I may, in the end, deposit my copy in some library where students can have easy access to it.

I have completed the text which is ready for publication but as it requires the most careful vowel-pointing to be of any use to students of Arabic philology it may be a long time before it can see the light of publicity.

F. KRENKOW.

EL-GHAZZÂLÎ ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF POLITICS

[TUS. EL-GHAZZALÎ'S LIFE.—His political background. State machinery of the Seljûqs. Ghazzâlî's works on Politics. Contemporary political thought in Europe. 'Perception' *versus* 'Experience.' 'Mundane' and 'Celestial.' Division of Sciences. Development of the State-idea. State, Law, Constitution and Religion. Biological similes. El-Ghazzâlî's method. Justice. Duties and functions of the Executive. The Sovereign's daily routine. Heads of Revenue. Simplicity of the ideal Sovereign. Slavery. Secret Service. El-Ghazzâlî and Democracy. Counsel. Provincial administration. Ministry. Conclusion.]

Tus

It is said that the great poet, Firdausî, the millenary of whom has just been celebrated, was born in a village named *Shâdâb*, meaning *fertile*, in the district of Tûs in northern Persia; it is not for us to discuss here whether the author of the *Shâhnâmeh* was or was not born there, but there is no doubt that the district which produced Firdausî was certainly one of the most fertile districts of Persia in that it produced a vast number of intellectual giants within a comparatively short expanse of time. The town of Tûs is now practically a heap of ruins, having given place to the more renowned Meshhed close by, the burial place of the eighth Apostolic Imâm, 'Ali er-Ridâ, and of the well-known Abbasid Khalîfah Hârûn al-Rashîd, but the name and work of the *savants* which the district produced will live for ever. The list of renowned men who were born there would be too long for our purpose; suffice it to say that, besides Firdausî it includes such names as Nizâmu'l-mulk, the political theorist and statesman, Nasîru'd-dîn, the mathematician and ethical writer, Abû Ja'far, the legist, and finally, the two Ghazzâlîs, father and son.

GHAZZALI'S LIFE

Abû Hâmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad, surnamed el-Imâm-el-Jalîl, Ḥujjat-ul-Islâm and Zain-u'd-dîn¹ was born at Ghazzâlâh near Tûs in 450 H./1058 C. more than a hundred years after Firdausi's and forty-five years after the great Nizâmu'l-mulk's birth,² and in the short fifty-five lunar years of his life made a mark on erudite thought such as has been the lot of few men in the history of the world. He was educated at Tûs proper in the beginning, moving to Jurjân later on, migrating finally to Naishâpûr to sit at the feet of perhaps the greatest *savant* of his time, Abu'l-Ma'ali Muḥammad el-Juwainî, the Imâmu'l-Haramain, who had recently been invited back from the Hijâz to preside over one of the great colleges founded by Nizâmu'l-mulk. He was at first the pupil and then the assistant of the Imâm till the latter's death in 478 H./1091 C. He was then called to the court of Nizâmu'l-mulk while still in his teens, remaining as his intellectual adviser and chief canonist till 484 H./1091 C., when he was appointed to the great foundation at Baghdâd, being its seventh or eighth President in order of succession. It is related that while at Baghdâd, Ghazzâlî lectured before audiences of three hundred, sometimes even five hundred, great lawyers and *savants* of his day to their complete satisfaction.

Baghdâd did not see very much of Ghazzâlî, and it seems that deep thought, coupled with the murder of his patron, Nizâmu'l-mulk and the death of Malik Shâh³—all these things had a tremendous effect on his psychology. He left Baghdâd, going first to Syria, then to Egypt, Mecca and Medina, wandering here and there for well nigh a dozen years. Politics had taken a serious turn during these years. Malik Shâh was succeeded by his youngest son, Maḥmûd, who was in turn succeeded by his eldest brother, Barkiârûq, while another of Malik Shâh's son, Sanjar,⁴ Governor of Khurâsân, had made Nizâmu'l-mulk's son, Fakhru'l-mulk his chief minister, and he, true to the traditions of his illustrious father, invited Ghazzâlî back to his country, making him the third President (in order of succession) of his *alma mater*, the Academy at Naishâpûr in 400 H./1105 C. But he was no

(1) 'The great Leader,' 'Proof of Islâm,' 'Ornament of the Faith.'

(2) Firdausî born, circa, 329 H-490 C.; Nizâmu'l-mulk born, 408 H./1017-C.

(3) 485 H./1092-C.

(4) Later, Seljûqî Sultân.

more at home with the hubbub of a busy city-life, finally retiring to Tûs and founding a khânqâh and a private school there. The master died on the 14th of Jemadi II, 505 H./19th December, 1111 C.¹

POLITICAL BACKGROUND

It has already been recounted elsewhere² that this epoch was a turning point in the history of western Asia. The Pontifical successor of the Apostle of Islâm was still on the throne of Baghdâd, but this throne had none of the magnificence of Hârûn's or Mâmûn's days, and it had been shorn of all the wordly power which should have been the right of the successors of es-Saffâh. The period of el-Ghazzâlî's life is covered by the reigns of 'Abdu'l-lâh Abû Ja'far Qâim bi Amrî'l-lâh,³ 'Abdu'l-lâh Abu'l-Qâsim el-Muqtadî bi Amrî'l-lâh,⁴ and Aḥmad Abu'l-'Abbas el-Mustazhir bi'l-lâh,⁵ but as has been stated above, since the rise of the Seljûqî power, these Khalifâhs were no more than mere puppets at the hands of the Seljûq Sultâns and had been forced to give over all worldly authority in their hands. Persia and the adjacent countries were ruled directly by the Seljûqîs right through Ghazzâlî's life. He was born during the rule of Ruknu'd-dîn Abû Tâlib Tughrâl Bêg,⁶ lived through the time of 'Adhdu'd-dîn Abû Shuja' Alp Arslân,⁷ Jalâlu'd-dîn Abu'l-Fath Malik Shâh,⁸ Nâsiru'd-dîn Maḥmûd⁹ and Ruknu'd-dîn Abu'l-Muzaffar Barkiârûq,¹⁰ dying in the reign of Ghiathu'd-dîn

(1) *Vide*, Subkî, طبقات شافعية الكبرى vol. IV, pp. 101 ff.,

where his works are described as well as fully criticised, and a complete list of such Apostolic Traditions given as are not regarded as authoritative. Also *vide* Ghazzâlî's letters *Makâtibât Imam Ghazzâlî* [edited by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Akbarabad (Agra) 1310 H.], where we can have an insight in the inner mind of the Master in the evening of his life, and his fearless enunciation of principles even when writing to the Sultân or his Minister. It is a delight to read there communications, most of which are in Persian.

(2) Sherwani: *Political thought of Nizâmu'l-Mulk Tâsi*, Hyderabad, 1934, pp. 1 ff.

(3) 422 H./1031-C.—467 H./1075-C.

(4) 467 H./1075-C.—487 H./1094-C.

(5) 487 H./1094-C.—512 H./1118-C.

(6) 429 H./1037-C.—455 H./1063-C.

(7) 455 H./1063-C.—465 H./1072-C.

(8) 465 H./1072-C.—485 H./1092-C.

(9) 485 H./1092-C.—487 H./1094-C.

(10) 487 H./1094-C.—498 H./1104-C.

Abu Shuja' Muḥammad.¹ The days of his study and authorship were taken up by civil wars among the claimants to the Seljûqî throne after the death of Malik Shâh, instigated by the sons of Nizâmu'l-mulk named Fakhru'l-mulk and Muwayyidu'l-mulk, a civil war which continued for years and which ended in a kind of political paralysis in the Seljûqî dominions, its division in a number of small States and its final extinction soon after Ghazzâlî's death. In fact the end had really been approached in the time of Barkiârûq himself, when only the central portion of what was once the all-pervading Seljûqî Empire had been left to the Sultân.

POLITICAL MACHINERY OF THE SELJUQIS

Here it would be well to give a short account of the machinery of administration perfected by the great Nizâmu'l-mulk during the rule of his Seljûqî patrons. The highest governmental offices were five in number. "The foremost office was presided over by the Wazîr, the second by the Mustaûfî ('Accountant-General'), the third by the Tughrâ-î, the fourth by the Mushrif and the fifth by the 'Âridu'l-Jaish (Controller-General of the Army). [We clearly see that these offices have different names to those current in the time of the Abbasids, the office of the Mustaûfî corresponding to the Diwânu'z-zimâm, that of the Tughrâ-î to the Diwânu'r-rasâil w'al-inshâ, and that of the 'Âridu'l-Jaish to the Diwânu'l-Jaish wa'sh-Shâkiriyyeh. Comp. Von Kremer, *Cuturgeschichte des Orients*, I., 198 et suiv. As regards the Diwânu'l-Mushrif, it seems to have been a part of the Ministry of Finance like the Diwânu'l-Mustaûfî.] These names, however, convey only a vague and hazy idea of the duties of these officers. Thus the word Tughrâ-î signifies one who applies the Tughrâ or the Turkish seal on the ordinances of the Sultân, but his office was really the Chancellory of the Empire, and its chief took the place of the Wazîr when the Sultân was out hunting. Entering the service as a simple *kâtib* or clerk, and having served in the subordinate offices, one was appointed the 'Âridu'l-Jaish, and was promoted to the deputy-Mushrifship and Mushrifship, finally rising step by step to the exalted office of the Grand Wazîr."²

GHAZZALĪ'S WORKS ON POLITICS

It is necessary to bear the political background well in mind because el-Ghazzâlî's political writings have a constant

(1) 498 H./1104-C.—511 H./1117-C.

(2) *Histoire des Seldjucides de l'Iraq*, par el-Bondari, d'après Imad ad-din al-katib al-Isfahani, ed. Houtsma, preface, pp. viii. ff. Also, Arabic text of the same, *Tawârikh Al-i-Seljûq*, Leiden, 1889, p. 100.

reference to them. His *Munqidh minā'd-dalāl*¹ ('Deliverance from waywardness') is really the exposition of the psychological revolutions which took place within him, finally culminating in his great work, the *Iḥyā'u'l-'Ulūm*,² which he completed during his travels, revolutions which were synchronistic with the political turmoil which converted a world-wide Empire into a petty west-central Asiatic State. His *Tibru'l-Masbūk* ('Molten Gold'),³ a politico-ethical handbook for royal guidance, was meant for Ghiathu'd-dīn Abu Shuja' Muḥammad, son of his patron, Sulṭān Malik Shāh. In the same way, although it is related in the introduction to another work, the *Sirru'l-'Ālamain* ('The Mystery of the Two Worlds') that the book was written at the instance of "a number of the kings of the earth in order that I might compose an unrivalled work to facilitate the fulfilment of their ambitions,"⁴ there is much of local colour in it, and it is addressed not to 'kings' in the plural number, but to 'O King' and 'O Ruler,' so that we might rightfully conclude that it was really meant for the edification of the ruler of his native land more than anyone else. Besides these works, which form an infinitesimal part of the labours of the Imām, his political thought is interspersed in a number of other works, such as the *Fātiḥatu'l-'Ulūm* 'Introduction to the Sciences,'⁵ containing a division of the sciences into different branches and their definitions, the *Kimiyā-i Saādat*,⁶ 'The Alchemy of Goodness,' which is really a *précis* of the *Iḥyā*, the *Iqtisād fi'l-I'tiqād*,⁷ 'Moderation in Belief,' on the basis of royal prestige, and *Kitabu'l-Wajīz*,⁸ 'Handbook on the Fiqh,' while references to the political aspect of human life are too numerous to be recounted here.⁹

(1) I'lāmiah Press, Cairo, 1303 H.

(2) Maimaniah Press, Cairo, 1306 H., 4 vols.

(3) Ed. el-Hamzâvî, Castâliah Press, 1277 H.

(4) *Sirr.*, p. 2.

(5) Husainiah Press, Cairo, 1322 H.

(6) The edition used by me is the Bombay edition of 1314 H. There is an English translation by H. A. Homes, printed in N.Y., where the name of the work is wrongly rendered as 'the Alchemy of Happiness.'

(7) Adabiah Press, Cairo.

(8) Cairo, 1317 H.

(9) In this paper we have limited ourselves to the more compact references to Politics and to his more prominent doctrines, which are sometimes repeated in his works. Ghazzālî's works have been computed to nearly 70 books of varying sizes; *vide Makâtibât*, Letters to the King, p. 7.

CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL THOUGHT IN EUROPE

Before going on to the actual political teachings of the Master it will be well to give an outline of the state of contemporary political thought in the West in order to form a correct perspective of his general political outlook. We are now somewhere about the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century of the Christian era, a period which is dubbed by one of the greatest of modern political scientists as "essentially unpolitical,"¹ and the sole question which interested the European peoples seems to have been the eternal controversy between the Pope and the Emperor. The Battle of Hastings had just been fought, the Capetian dynasty set up in France not so long ago, and Frederick II, who was later to try to avenge the honour of the Empire, was still unborn; in fact the only light which brightened the European firmament shone from Muslim Spain. Political thought had almost ceased to exist with the disappearance of a free Hellas, and Rome had done little besides making that thought her own through translations and adaptations, and it was more than a hundred years before even such embryonic political philosophy as that of St. Thomas Aquinas,² and Dante Alighieri³ could take shape, both of whom indulged in the controversy between the Church and State with almost childlike gusto and applied arguments which would seem petty to a contemporary Easterner.⁴

PERCEPTION *versus* EXPERIENCE

Coming back to el-Ghazzâlî, we find that the central pivot of all his philosophical argument is that he replaces the rule of intellectual perception by personal human experience, and rank materialism by spiritual elation. He was against the incursion of semi-Hellenistic trend of thought, and was by nature a sceptic, carving a way out for himself and paying

(1) Bryce, quoted in Pollock, *History of the Science of Politics*.

(2) Dunning, *Political theories, Ancient and Medieval*, *cap.* viii.

(3) *Ibid.*, *cap.* ix.

(4) Thus Dante, while trying to prove the omnipotence of the Holy Roman Empire, argues that as old Rome was competent to judge Christ, who represented all mankind, so Rome's successor, the Empire, proceeds directly from God without the Pope's mediation. *Vide* Pollock, *op. cit.*, *cap.* ii.

little heed to the accepted doctrines of his age.¹ He is thus regarded as a *mujaddid* or 'reviver,' and *Imâm* or leader, by millions of Muslims to-day, for he combated the paganistic trend of his day and was the torch-bearer of rationalistic Muslim renaissance. "The equal of Augustine in philosophical and theological importance, by his side the Aristotelian philosophers of Islâm, Ibn Rushd and all the rest, seem beggarly compilers and scholiasts."² Even when he was barely 20, he began to ponder over the problems of life and death, becoming an absolute sceptic while with Nizamu'l-Mulk, doubting his own senses and even his mental faculties and thus rejecting intellectual perception as the criterion of truth. He thus retraced his steps to the only criterion left for him, i.e., his personal experience and the experience of those who had gone before him and whom he regarded as trustworthy. His ethics, his way of life, his outlook of the things round him, began to be dictated by the writings and sayings of Prophets, saints and *savants* in whom he pinned his faith. Thinking about the problem of life and death more deeply, he clearly perceived the hollowness of the worldly life and the eternity that was in store after death.³ As is natural with a mind like this, and in common with the great writers of his age, he gives a great importance to historical learning, the Traditions of the Apostle of Islâm, the history of the Islâmic peoples and the stories current in those days about Persia and Greece, especially the Greece of the Alexandrine epoch. So far as political theory and practice is concerned, he is clear that Politics are a necessary adjunct to one's life and are closely allied to Ethics, a science which leads to the good of man. But he is perfectly clear that whatever rule of conduct may be set up for man's life in this world, it must necessarily be for a very short space of time, and should, in any case, be taken as the means for the edification and completion of life in order that man may be able to prepare himself for the life hereafter with greater diligence and concentration. Here it must be borne in mind that he is perfectly clear about the happy means

(1) Vide *Munqidh*, p. 4:

تحرك باطنى الى طلب الحقيقة الفطرة الاصلية وحقيقة العقائد العارضة
بتقليد الوالدين والاستاذين

(2) D. B. Macdonald, *Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional History*, Scribner, N.Y., 1903, *cap.* 4.

(3) These mental evolutions are set down in the *Munqidh* with great fidelity.

of conduct which would lead to the betterment of the human race, and refers to the belief of the Apostle of Islâm that a man should not leave off this world nor should he entirely curb his worldly desires, but instead of this, he should find out the real object of everything of this world and should act always in such a way as to have the limited utility of the action in his mind.¹

‘MUNDANE’ AND ‘CELESTIAL’

It is necessary to bear this in mind as it is generally thought that Ghazzâlî's sphere is that spirituality only and he has nothing to do with mundane affairs. As a matter of fact he clearly says that God has made this world “a place for work and labour,” and quotes the Apostle of Islâm, who, beholding a working man, remarked that if he was working to keep himself from begging, or in order to support his aged parents and young children, he was doing something to please the Almighty, while if he was working to compete with others in their wealth and be proud of it, then he would only please the Devil.² He also quotes the Apostle admonishing his Companions to take to trade and commerce, for in it are said to be nine out of every ten parts of our nourishment.³ He goes on to quote the saint, Ibrâhîm Nakhafî who preferred a truth-telling trader to a hermit, and the saint Sulaimân Durrânî who admonished his friends to prepare their food before offering their prayers.⁴ In another remarkable sentence Ghazzâlî interprets the Apostolic precept طلب العلم فريضة على كل مسلمة

to mean that it is the duty of every man and woman who carry on a profession to gather knowledge about that profession in order that they might keep away from all possibility of wrong.⁵ Still, one must have an eye to the fact that this world is merely a passing show, the first home in which is the mother's womb and the last the pit of the grave, so that it is incumbent on every man to live a life of purity and cleanliness to whatever station in society he might belong.⁶ He says that the word ‘worldliness’ has two

(1) *Iḥyâ*, II. 6. v.

(2) *Ibid.*, II. 1. i., quoting a Tradition cited by Abu Dâwûd and Ahmad.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

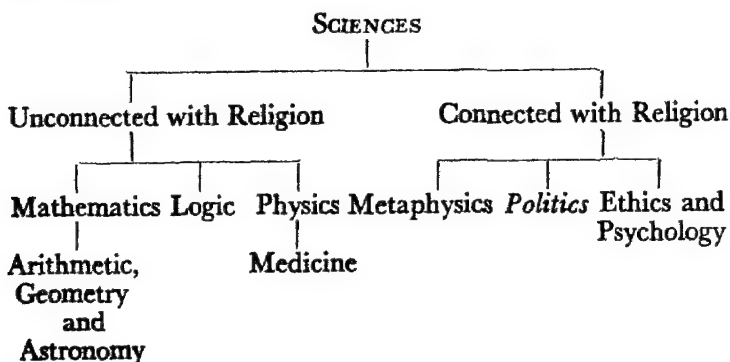
(5) *Ibid.*, II. 1. ii.

(6) *Tibr.*, p. 26.

distinct connotations, one of the meanings attached to it being that the person who indulges in it leads a luxurious and abundant life and is in the habit of increasing his means to much more than he really wants, while in the other case he is content if he is able to get means of his sustenance. The two connotations are really quite distinct to one another, and Ghazzâlî is of opinion that while the first is the very negation of religion, the second is its complement, and without the proper organization and working of mundane affairs, man cannot seek even his celestial happiness, for if there is political turmoil in the land entailing in a lack of law and order there would be no peace of mind to serve the Almighty according to His dictates.¹

DIVISION OF SCIENCES

We now come to his enunciation of the political theory and a detailed justification of the organization of the People into a body-politic. He leaves no stone unturned to explain this in its purest form and to describe his way of political conduct in all its explicitness. His views on Politics are interspersed in a number of his writings, and (as we have seen above) over and above that he has devoted independent works to this science, which shows the importance which he credited to this branch of human life. He gives the science of Politics a proper place in the general scheme of the Sciences, which he divides as follows:²



(1) *El-Iqtisâd f'l-I'tiqâd*, p. 105.

(2) *Munqidh*, p. 13. Also vide *فأحة العلوم* Cairo, 1322 H., cap. iv & v., where the place of Law and Politics and the relation of sciences which deal with man as a person (such as medicine), and with man as a member of a society, is indicated in great detail.

This division may not be complete from our point of view, but viewed from the criterion laid down by el-Ghazzâlî about connection with religion, it is by no means illogical.¹ The remarkable thing is that, writing as he does in the early part of the twelfth century, when the West had not even begun to probe into the niceties of political implications, he has the courage and the breadth of vision to include Political Science as one of the chief sciences. He defines Politics as a science "which deals with the proper order for the State affairs of the mundane category,"² a definition which is as modern as any definition can be. He goes on to say that "It is derived from God's books as revealed to the prophets or from the orders of the saintly persons in the days of yore."³ This perhaps requires a little explanation. We have mentioned above that Ghazzâlî's whole theory rests on the efficacy of past experience, the highest form of which is the experience derived from revealed Divine words. Moreover it must be remembered that in those far-off days the sole impetus to the political awakening of the people had come from the teachings of the Apostle of Islâm and his successors, and it should not surprise us that Ghazzâlî should base his theory mostly upon the precedents set up by the *élites* of God Himself.⁴

DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE-IDEA

Ghazzâlî's enunciation of the necessity of the State is so remarkable and so entirely modern that it would be better to reproduce it here almost *verbatim*. "Man is created in such a manner that he cannot live all by himself but is in constant need of others, wishing that someone else, human like himself, should always be with him. He needs this company for two reasons, firstly, for the sake of procreation, for this is impossible without sexual intercourse with a person of the opposite sex, and secondly, that he might be helped in

(1) Pollock, *op. cit.*, cap. i., has given us a division of the Sciences and this corresponds with Ghazzâlî's division in its basic principles to a remarkable extent.

(2) *Munqidh*, p. 17.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) As we have mentioned elsewhere (Sherwani, 'al-Mâwerdî,' p. 7), this doctrine of basing Law and Politics on God's Word kept on in Europe for centuries, and is actually found in *Year Book* 34, Hen. VI, 50 (1356 C.), quoted in Holland, jurisprudence, p. 64: "*Scripture est comun ley sur quel tous manieres de leis sont fondees*" [The Scripture is the Common Law on which all kinds of laws are based].

the preparation of his effects, food, clothing and proper education and bringing up of his children. Sexual intercourse results in the birth of offsprings, and it is naturally not possible for a person to shut himself up with his wife and children, for this would make life a burden to him. It is therefore in the nature of things that there should be co-operation with a very large number of persons each of whom should indulge in a certain trade or industry. Then again these traders or handicraftsmen cannot be independent of each other; for instance it is impossible for the tiller to till his land independently of others, for he would need instruments of agriculture entailing in the services of carpenters and blacksmiths, while the preparation of food would necessitate the work of the grinder and the cook. All this goes to prove that man cannot live alone but wants others' help at every step."¹ Then again it is necessary to build houses to withstand the elements of nature, and the need for protection against external intruders would make people live together and build walls round their joint habitation. "This means the establishment of Cities,² and it is in the nature of human conduct that when men live together and deal with one another, a certain amount of squabbles and quarrels necessarily follow, and if they were left to their lot they would destroy each other by continuous feuds and wars."³ Moreover there are some who are too old or too ill to work, and it is necessary that they should be looked after. Now if *all* were to be given charge of cases like these, then no-one will be really personally responsible for anyone's welfare.⁴ Under these circumstances a number of new arts and industries spring up, e.g., measurement in order to ascertain the amount of land in dispute, warfare and arms in order to save the City from intruders, Fiqh or canon law in order to organize the people and make everyone keep within proper bounds, and lastly, 'arbitration and Government in order to deal with quarrels and feuds.' "All these things are necessary for the political well-being of the people and each of them requires the superintendence of

(1) This and other extracts in this paragraph are taken from *Ihyâ*, III, 6. v.

(2) *Bilâd*, from *beled*; Greek, *polis*, city, or State.

(3) Cf., the theories of the Englishman, Hobbes and the Frenchman, Rousseau about the warring elements in a condition of pre-State. Both wrote centuries after el-Ghazzâlî. The great difference lies in the fact that Ghazzâlî does not indulge in the fanciful theories of the Social Contract.

(4) This is one of the arguments adopted by Aristotle to combat Plato's theory of communism. *Vide* his *Politics*, Jowett's tr., II. 5.

men of special qualities who should have attained a certain amount of knowledge, discretion and power of guidance. It is natural that when they will be busy in their task they will not be able to indulge in other occupations, and it should be borne in mind that they, like all others want their daily bread."¹ So far as the financial arrangements are concerned, Ghazzâlî is quite explicit that there should be a Collector of revenue who should make the collections 'with leniency and justice,' an Assessor who should ascertain the amount of revenue, a Treasurer who should have charge of the revenues collected, and a Paymaster who should disburse the amounts sanctioned. He says that it is of the utmost importance that a "King or Emîr" should be at the helm of affairs who should be able to make 'appointments to all these offices, to see that justice is done in financial matters, send armies to the fields of war, distribute alms among his soldiers and appoint commanders to lead them. There are a number of other duties to be performed such as the defence of the country, appointment of clerks, writers, magistrates and treasurers, and to fix their emoluments. He goes on to divide the population of a country into (i) farmers, husbandmen and handicraftsmen, (ii) men of the sword, and (iii) those who take money from the first grade in order to distribute among the second, and whom he calls the Men of the Pen. After this he propounds some extremely modern theories of economic exchange and proves the immense superiority of a fixed currency on the old system of barter, going on to the importance of the mobility of commodities in internal and external trade, and then to coinage bimetallism and trimetallism.²

Apart from this, Ghazzâlî gives another reason for the establishment of Kingship. He says that it is impossible to have a permanent organization of worldly affairs without a ruler or a sultân, and as without such an organization it would be impossible to act according to Divine commandments with peace and order, such political organization has the sanction of the Law of Islâm. He says that without a ruler to whom the people should habitually be obedient, there would be "continuous turmoil, a never ending clanging of the swords, a recurring state of famine and cattle diseases and an end to all industries and handicraft." Further, it is natural that men should be divided in different ranks and grades with

(1) This is the Hellenistic ideal. In independent Greek States, the citizen's only concern was Politics and Warfare, while the rest of the work was carried on by other freemen and slaves.

(2) *Ihyd*, III. 6. v.

mental contrasts and varieties in individual opinions, so that it is of the utmost necessity that a strong ruler should sit at the helm of affairs and keep the body-politic properly organized under his control.¹

One is amazed to find the great modernity of the arguments propounded in the synthesis of the State-idea, and it is refreshing to note that after accepting the Aristotelian doctrine of the social nature of Man, Ghazzâlî, instead of falling into the dry heap of a patriarchal theory² faces blunt facts of human association and develops the idea little by little till he reaches the doctrine of Sovereignty with all its implications. Instead of the negativity of Hobbes, Ghazzâlî adopts the positive method of arguing out facts, and while Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and others deal with an imaginary man who really never existed at all, his Man is a living, honest, working man such as meets us every day of our lives. Interdependence, which is in the nature of human beings, is the basis of Ghazzâlî's argument, and this entails a pivot, a centre of the whole machinery, in the shape of a sovereign. The Austinian theory of Sovereignty, propounded nearly seven hundred years after Ghazzâlî,³ was not such a great step forward, and if the Master had done nothing else than propound his theory of the State, he would have deserved to be ranked in the forefront of the leaders of political thought.⁴

STATE, LAW, CONSTITUTION AND RELIGION

He indicates that there are two aspects of human conduct, individual and social, and it is only when man is regarded as a social being that the need of such sciences as Law and Politics arises. He is precise with regard to the distinction between Law, which dealt with the relation among individuals for the settlement of their disputes, and between the Ruler and the People for fixing the criterion of the rule of justice. He says that if men were to exercise justice among themselves there would be no need for Law and lawyers, but instead of that they are led away by their desires without regard for

(1) *Iqtisâd*, p. 106.

(2) *Vide* Aristotle, *op. cit.*, I, i & ii.

(3) For the Austinian theory *vide* Sidgwick: *Elements of Politics*, App. A.

(4) European writers (in common, perhaps with most of the writers on Political Science, both eastern and western), are incognisant of Ghazzâlî's political thought. *e.g.*, *vide* A. R. Lord, 'the Principles of Politics,' preface, where the author is bold enough to assert that "the theory of Politics is the peculiar product of western thought!"

others' right of property and the right to live, with the result that it is necessary to have recourse to a system of Law, 'a science which deals with human affairs, marriage and crimes,'¹ and to a ruler who puts limits to their conduct according to the Law in vogue.² "Thus the *faqîh* is one learned in the law of the administration and he should know how to act as an intermediary between men who might indulge in quarrels; moreover (as one well-versed in Constitutional Law) he is the teacher of the ruler and his counsellor in matters of administrative importance."³ He goes on to indicate the exact relation between the State and Religion and says that they are like twin sisters, Religion being the foundation of human society and the ruler of the State its preserver, so that if the foundation weakens the whole structure would fall down, and if the ruler were to retire there would be no one to preserve the foundation.⁴ Here the interdependence of the two greatest institutions of the social man has been made clear by the use of a simple metaphor, and an equilibrium has been struck which is thoroughly in keeping with the ideal practised in Ghazzâlî's days.

BIOLOGICAL SIMILES

Among the modern notes in Ghazzâlî there is one which reminds us of Herbert Spencer where he likens the different elements of the State to the organs of a living body.⁵ "Friend," he says, "You should consider the city as a Physical Body, the professions its Limbs, the ordering magistrate its Desire, the police officer its Anger, the king its Heart and the minister its Common-sense. The king requires the assistance of all these organs to carry on the work of the State, but Desire, by which is meant the magistrate, sometimes indulges in falsehood and exaggeration and works against the dictates of Common-sense, the minister. This Desire wants

(1) Ghazzâlî, *Fâtîhatu'l-'Ulûm*, *op. cit.*, *cap.* iv.

(2) *Vide* Locke, *Treatises on Civil Government*, Bk. II, *cap.* vii, where he comes very near Ghazzâlî's argument in making Life and Property two of his main foundations of Civil Society. Locke wrote more than 600 years after Ghazzâlî.

(3) *Fâtîhatu'l-'Ulûm*, *cap.* 5. It should be noted here that the Master is perfectly clear about the great importance of Constitutional Law and explicitly indicates its superiority over the ruler himself.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 44. Hobbes, writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, prefaced his 'Leviathan' with a picture, reproduced in the Clarendon Press edition, where the State-monster, the Leviathan, has a sword in one hand and an orb with a cross in the other!

(5) Herbert Spencer: *Principles of Sociology*, vol. I, part 2.

to annex all there is in the State in the shape of revenue. The police officer, Anger, is very sharp and is of wayward habits, always wishing to kill, or at least wound others. The king is in the habit of consulting his minister and keeps recalcitrant magistrates under his control. It is only when the king, Heart, takes counsel with the minister, Common-sense, and control Desire and Anger, making both subservient to Common-sense, then, and only then will the State be managed well. On the other hand, if Anger and Desire succeed in incarcerating Common-sense, then the whole Body politic will be destroyed, and the king, Heart, will have to see a very bad day."¹ It will be seen that these similes are, in a way, superior to those adopted by Herbert Spencer nearly a thousand years afterwards, for while the latter merely compares the Body politic with the Body physical, Ghazzâlî, working under a religio-ethical spell, derives ethical conclusions from the comparison and makes solid political capital out of it.

GHAZZALÎ'S METHOD

Except for analytical passages like this and the argument about the development of the State-idea,² Ghazzâlî mostly adopts the historical method along with so many of his contemporaries. Like Mâwerdî and Nizâmu'l-mulk Tûsî, he gives numerous historical and Traditional instances if he wishes to carry a point he has enunciated, but in contradistinction to Nizâmu'l-mulk, he prefers to probe the truth mostly in the Traditions of the Apostle of Islâm, his Companions and successors, and it is not often that he relies on Greek, Persian or Indian stories, although these are far more frequent with him than with his predecessor, el-Mâwerdî. He is not content with putting before his mind's eye the lessons of the days gone by, but actually admonishes the Seljûqî Sultân that he should "hear the sayings of the kings, ponder over their doings, study their stories as related in books and try to copy their acts of justice and benevolence."³

JUSTICE

It is the transitory condition of the world which Ghazzâlî has in mind when he warns the sovereign that all worldly blessings come to an end at the time of death, and admonishes

(1) *Kimiyâ*, Bombay edition, 1314 H., p. 7.

(2) Vide *supra*.

(3) *Tibr*, p. 48.

him to keep the thought of the Almighty and the orders of the apostles uppermost in his mind, while at the same time making it absolutely clear that it is against Divine orders that one should be unjust or cruel to others. He lays down the noble precept that while dealing with their subjects, kings should feel in the same way as they would wish others to treat them if they had been subjects instead of kings.¹

The doctrine of Justice rightly takes a large amount of space in the work of Oriental political scientists. Ghazzâlî says that the ruler is the shadow of God on earth and should thus be the refuge and asylum for everyone who has been wronged,² and quotes the Apostolic Tradition that on the Day of Reckoning one of the seven sets of persons who would be allowed to enjoy the protection of the Divine Throne would be the set of the kings who have done justice in this world.³ The ruler is the viceroy of God only if he is just, otherwise he is the viceroy of the Devil himself,⁴ and one day of justice is equal to seventy years of continuous prayer.⁵ He enumerates ten rules of the conduct of government chiefly in the matter of justice, which the ruler should bear in mind, viz.,

- (i) In every case he should mentally put himself in the position of the contending parties;
- (ii) He should fulfil the desire of those who have come to him for justice;
- (iii) Justice is possible only when the ruler does not indulge in luxurious food and clothing;
- (iv) The ruler should practise leniency, not harshness, in his dealings;
- (v) He should try that his subjects should be content with the rule of Law; but
- (vi) He should not attempt any conciliation at the expense of the Law;
- (vii) He should supervise the affairs of the people in the same way as if he were to supervise his own household affairs, and should deal with the powerful and the infirm in the identical manner;

(1) *Ibid.*, beginning, 'King's duties,' duty 2.

(2) *Sirr.*, Essay I.

(3) *Tibr.*, p. 10.

(4) *Kîmiyâ*, Element II, base 10.

(5) *Tibr.*, p. 10; But vide *Kîmiyâ*, *op. cit.*, where the length of the prayer indicated is 60 years.

- (viii) He should try to meet the learned as often as he can and should encourage them to have their say;
- (ix) He should see that his servants, magistrates and other officers, perform their duties diligently and well; and
- (x) He should not be overpowered by any false sense of pride.¹

He relates how the Khalifah, 'Umar b. 'Abdi'l-'Aziz asked the definition of Justice from Muhammad b. Ka'b of Cordova, to which the *savant* replied that real justice meant dealing with inferiors like a father, with superiors like a son, and with equals like a brother, and to award punishment only according to the wrong done and the power to bear it.² He quotes the Khalifah 'Alî that the best judge is he who is not prejudiced in his decisions from personal desires, or by any leaning towards his relations, fear or hope, but takes a neutral attitude towards all that comes before him.³

It is this sense of perfect justice which makes Ghazzâlî insist on the absolute neutrality of the ruler in all his acts or words. He should pay equal regard to everything great or small, to everybody high or low, noble or downtrodden, and should put down lawlessness with a stern hand.⁴ He relates how someone once asked the Sasânian minister, Buzurchimihr which of the kings were the greatest, to which he replied that those were the greatest who had the confidence of the good and were the terror of the wicked. He also mentions the story of Alexander the Great, who asked the learned men how he could better his lot, to which they replied that he should eradicate both undue likings and undesirable prejudice, he should not make any decision hurriedly without counsel and should shun all personal inclinations, likes and dislikes at the time of sitting in judgment over others.⁵

DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE

This brings us to the duties and functions of the executive arm of the government centered in the person of the king or

(1) These and other most salutary principles are embodied in a chapter devoted to the art of government, the care of the subjects, and kindred matter, in the *Kimiyâ*, elem. II, base 10.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Tibr*, p. 14.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 4.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 60.

Emîr, and a whole book, the *Tibru'l-masbûk*, is devoted to admonitions to the sovereigns who might care to peruse it. He enumerates the necessary qualities of an ideal ruler, and says that he should have intellect, knowledge, perception, correct proportion of things, chivalry, love for his subjects, diplomatic bend, foresight, strong will-power, and should be well-versed in the news of the day and the history of the kings who have passed away, while he should always see that his magistrates, secretaries, viceroys and other officers did their work well; it is chiefly in these qualities, he says, which go to make a ruler the Shadow of God on earth.¹ He relates how a learned man once told the great Khalifah, Hârûn a'r-Rashîd to beware that he was sitting where Abû Bakr once sat demanding truthfulness where 'Umar once sat, demanding differentiation between right and wrong, where 'Uthmân once sat, demanding modesty and bounty, where 'Alî once sat, demanding knowledge and justice.² He puts forward the case of the Apostle of Islâm, who fed the cattle, tied his camel, swept his house, milked his goat, sewed his shoe, patched his clothes, took meals with his servant, ground his own corn in time of need and did his own marketing.³

THE SOVEREIGN'S DAILY ROUTINE

Ghazzâlî goes even so far as to set down the daily routine of the sovereign which might lead to his success in administration, giving the detail of his food and drink, and of the hours of privacy and desk-work which he considers necessary for him. After morning prayers he should go out riding in order to investigate any wrongs done to his subjects. He should then sit in court and allow all and sundry to have a direct access to him so that he might have a first-hand knowledge of any complaints that might be made. He should make it a point of taking counsel from those excelling in knowledge, intelligence and experience and should himself give interviews to foreign envoys. A ruler should be well-versed in diplomacy and politics and should not be inclined to peace simply through timidity or fear of his enemies.⁴ He warns the ruler against too much indulgence in drink, chess or hunting and says that the best system of life is couched in the maxim,

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 53.

(2) *Tibr*, p. 15.

(3) *Kimiyâ*, elem. iv, base 2, quoting a tradition handed down by Abu Sa'îd Khudrî.

(4) *Sirr.*, Essays II and III.

'Work while you work and play while you play.' He tells the ruler that the good kings of old used to divide their time in four parts, setting apart one for prayers, another for State-affairs, justice and counsel of the learned about the affairs of the realm, the third for food and rest, and the last for recreation and hunting.¹ He is very particular that the ruler should not pay heed to the advice offered by women favourites, and quoted the instance of the Khalîfah 'Umar who actually divorced his favourite wife when he was elected to his exalted office for fear of being influenced by her in State-affairs.² In another place he warns the ruler against the course of a system of favouritism,³ and the only recommendations which he would allow are those where no exaggerated ideas are conveyed to the officer to whom the recommendation is taken, no lies told about the person recommended, the officer to whom the recommendation is made is not unduly praised and the person recommending does not desist from admonishing that officer for any false step he might be taking for any fear of disfavour.⁴ We can well compare the system of recommendations which are the bane of certain governments of the present day with the very high ideal set up by the Master, and can well gauge the standard to which official life would be raised if these salutary principles were to be followed.

HEADS OF REVENUE

Ghazzâlî is very clear about the taxation which can be legally levied, and says that every bit that is collected beyond the amount allowed under the Law is absolutely *ultra vires*, regarding even such ordinary sources as fines and tribute from Muslim potentates as illegal. He goes so far as to say that an honest man who gets an emolument from the royal treasury should see that the amount paid to him does not come from such illegal heads, otherwise all his belongings would be tarnished.⁵ This gives us a clue to the condition of the Budget in those far-off days, where it seems that the income was put down under different independent heads and expend-

(1) *Tibr*, p. 58.

(2) *Kîmiyâ*, elem. II, base 4.

(3) *Tibr*, *Principles of Administration*, Pr. X.

(4) *Kîmiyâ*, elem. II, base 4, Ghazzâlî himself sets an example—vide his speech before the ruler, *Makâtibât*, p. 9 ff. where he admonishes the sovereign while recommending the case of the inhabitant of Tûs.

(5), *Ibid*.

iture earmarked as against those heads, and that, barring exceptions, an attempt not to exceed the bounds of the Law could honestly be made.

SIMPLICITY OF THE IDEAL SOVEREIGN

Of course, with public services to be performed with the limited income at the disposal of the ruler, it would not be possible for him to live a life of plenty and luxury, so that it is only in the nature of things that Ghazzâlî lays it down that he should be as simple in his habits as possible. He gives the instance of the Apostle of Islâm being admonished by God on the fateful day of Bedr because he was standing in shade while his companions were standing in the sun, and taking this as a model he enjoins his sovereign that he should regard himself as only One of the Many, and treat his subjects with brotherly affection.¹ He quotes the Apostle that God would be meek and kind to those rulers who are themselves meek and kind to their subjects.² One of those whom he regards as a model of justice, equality and simplicity was the Umayyad ruler 'Umar b. 'Abdî'l-'Azîz, who once wanted his monthly salary in advance for the 'îd clothes of his daughters but desisted from drawing it from the State treasury because he was reminded by his Finance Minister that there was no certainty of his living for the month for which he wished to draw his pay.³ He gives a number of instances where the good rulers heard admonitions about their duties from the learned, such as that of 'Ata' b. Abi Ribâh who was made to sit next to the Khalîfah 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Merwân on the throne, and requested by him to offer him some advice. The saint thereupon told the Ruler to fear God, tend His creatures, treat the descendants of the *émigrés* (the Muhâjirîn) and the Helpers (Anşâr)⁴ with great care, deal with the borders with leniency, to be considerate to those who came to his palace doors with complaints and never to shut them on their faces. To all this the Khalîfah listening with great patience and said that he would try to act according to these principles. Such was the greatness of the learned in those days that in spite of the honour bestowed upon him, when the Khalîfah asked the saint what he wanted for himself, he replied that he did not

(1) Tibr, Principle V.

(2) *Ibid.*, Principle VIII.

(3) Tibr, p. 49.

(4) *Muhâjirîn*, those who were sorely tried by persecutions at the hands of the Quraish and who left Mecca with the Apostle; *Anşâr*, those who received him at Yethrib (Medînah) and became his helpers.

want anything from any of God's creatures! This and a number of other anecdotes from the history of Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, Hārūn'ur-Rashīd, Mu'taḍiḍ bi'l-lāh and other rulers are given to indicate the respect of the sovereigns for those who excelled in learning, and the sense of equality between the ruler and the ruled which was the ideal set up in those days.¹ In spite of these lofty ideals, Ghazzālī seems to have rightly realised that times had changed since the early days of Islām, and besides honest work there was something else—a certain amount of prestige which was wanted to exert a psychological influence on the people and keep Law and Order in the land, which was the first desideratum of Statehood, and he would desist from doing anything which might result in the disintegration of the State through the lack of these factors.²

SLAVERY

It is in the essence of the Islāmic ideal that all men are equal before the Law, and perhaps arguing from this truth, the Master tells his sovereign that he should deal with the people in such a manner that they should be agreeable to the rule of Law, quoting the Apostolic Tradition the best of the Muslims are those who seek mutual love and respect and the worst those who deal with each other in anger.³ It is this principle which is the basis of the Islāmic theory of slavery, and Ghazzālī quotes the Apostle of Islām again that the masters should feed and clothe the slaves in exactly the same manner as themselves, should immediately sell them off when they are of no use to them and not to keep God's creatures in perpetual agony, always remembering that if it were the will of God, He would have turned the tables making the slaves themselves masters of their present owners. Ghazzālī says that it is the right of the slaves not to be deprived of food and clothes and never to be looked down upon, and if they do anything wrong, it should remind the master of all the sins against God's command which he himself commits every day.⁴

SECRET SERVICE

The ideal king is one who keeps a watchful eye on the innermost affairs of the State, and Ghazzālī very pertinently

(1) *Ihya*, II, 9, iv.

(2) *Ibid.* For the importance of prestige, by means of "dignified elements," vide Bagehot's *English Constitution*, *cap.* 1.

(3) *Tibr*, Principle IX.

(4) *Kīmīyā*, elem. II, base 5.

remarks that a king without secret-service men at his command and without the news of the country constantly coming to him is like a body without a soul.¹ At the same time, however, he sets definite limits to external interference, State or otherwise, in the privacy of the household, and quotes the story of the Khalifah 'Umar who wanted to spy on a man by climbing his wall and who was told by the owner of the house that he had done himself wrong by acting against the precept of the Qur'ân which enjoins (i) not to probe into others' secrets,² (ii) to enter others' houses by the front doors,³ (iii) not to enter any house barring one's own except after speaking to the owner and offering him one's compliments.⁴ We at the present day are fully aware that every government has its secret service to keep it on guard against both internal and external dangers which might be hidden from view, and having lived in the *entourage* of a great minister in his youth, Ghazzâlî gives the institution the importance which is its due, with however, certain limitations which it would be well for even modern governments to follow.⁵

GHAZZALI AND DEMOCRACY

Here it is necessary to digress a little from Ghazzâlî's trend of thought about the practice of Politics. We must remember that his outlook on political organization is different from modern democratic outlook. Democracy with all its attendant consequences demands that there should be a system of checks and balances, and the authority of the ruler should be hedged in by the authority of the Legislature which should encroach more and more upon the Executive power till that power is virtually transferred to the hands of its chosen representatives. In Islâm there is no real kingship, but in Ghazzâlî's time this ideal had given place to the numerous dynasties which had grown up in different parts of what was once the mighty Empire of Islâm. What Ghazzâlî does is to put the two ideas together and to draw his own conclusions as to how kingship can be adapted to the Islâmic ideal of equality before God, and limited by the dictates of the Law. He brings down kingship to the level of the democratic emirate by hedging it with the ideal set up by the Apostle of Islâm

(1) Sirr., Essay 5, on the Organization of the country.

(2) *Qur'ân*, XLIX, 12.

(3) *Ibid.*, II, 189.

(4) *Ibid.*, XXIV, 27.

(5) *Ihyâ*, II, 9, ii.

and his successors. It was an extremely difficult task, for the two institutions were poles apart, and Ghazzâlî realises his difficulty. He possibly knows that the ideal would not be acceptable in the light of the changed conditions of the Islamic world still, like the honest man that he was, he fearlessly puts it forward in order that an attempt might be made to act upon it.

Anyhow, while there seems a great difference between his ideal and the modern democratic notions, if we were to go into the question more fully, we would find that the transition between the two is not so difficult as it looks, for in both cases it is the Law which is uppermost, may it be human or Divine. Both systems are, however, different for modern dictatorships which have sprung up after the Great War, for in this case there is absolutely no limit to the power of the dictator. He is free to act without any legal limit to his power, without any check or balance and without the necessity of counsel. He regards himself supreme above all laws and institutions, a human divinity set up by himself to end chaos according to his own private inclinations.

COUNSEL

One feels that the difference between the democratic and the dictatorial systems is the need for counsel, and Ghazzâlî makes it a requisite for successful kingship. The need for counsel is interspersed throughout the chapters and books which the Master has devoted to Politics. He says that the ruler should take advice from those who are learned or are experts in any branch of the administration.¹ This matter is dealt with great precision in the *Tibru'l-masbûk*, where the very second principle of government, the one after Justice, is said to be the need for counsel, and as has been previously stated the kings who take the advice of the learned are regarded as the best of their order, while the learned men are taught to act independently, never to kiss the king's hand, nor to bow before him except when the king is such as to have earned respect out of his piety or good deeds.² He quotes the saint *Sufiyân-i Thûrî* to the same effect in another place³ and says that the Apostle of Islâm used to take advice of his companions according to definite orders of God as enjoined in the *Qur'ân*.⁴

(1) *Tibr*, Principles of Government, Principle I.

(2) *Kimiyâ*, elem. II, base 1.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 71.

(4) *Ibid.*, cap. 2.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

Ghazzâlî is quite clear in his mind with regard to the duties and functions of provincial governors. He quotes the Letter of Instruction issued by the Khalîfah 'Umar to one of his governors, Abû Musâ el Ash'arî, in which the Khalîfah says that the best governor is he who does good to his subjects, and the worst he who treats them harshly. No governor should issue orders while he is overpowered with anger or lust.¹ He quotes the Sasanian Emperor, Ardashîr who is related to have said that when a ruler cannot reform his principal officers and cannot keep them from committing cruel deeds, he cannot be expected to reform the lot of the people in any way. He wants the affairs of the provinces to be given in charge of the nobles of the land, while there should be a strict supervision of food and water in every fortress as well as of the defence of the land, while the commanders in charge of the fortresses should be good and kind to the soldiers under him, and even the least thing should be given its proper importance and its consequences properly probed into, for,

ولا تحقرن امرا صغيرا فرما * تموت الالاعى من سموم العقارب²

The governor and the commanders of fortresses should absolutely desist from taking any intoxication liquor for it leads to temporary insanity and a hundred other vile consequences.³

MINISTRY

So far as the organization of the government is concerned, Ghazzâlî rightly lays a great stress on the need of an honest minister, and a whole chapter is devoted to the topic in the Tibr.⁴ He says that the worth of the Sultân is increased and his fame spreads far and wide if he has a good minister by his side, for a faithful minister is the guardian of the ruler's secrets and the chief intermediary between him and the rest of his officers. On the other hand rulers ought to respect their ministers, for (such was the accepted ideal in those days) they would correct the rulers' *fauḍx pas* the moment they come across them. Ardashîr, the Emperor of Persia is reported to have said that there are four categories of persons the services

(1) *Ibid.*, Principle III.

(2) "You should not despise a small thing, for it often happens that snakes die from the poison of the scorpions."

(3) *Sirr.*, Essay 6.

(4) Chapter II.

of whom should be commandeered whenever they are discovered, namely, a learned secretary, an honest minister, a kind chamberlain and a good counsellor.

CONCLUSION

We have briefly sketched the political thought of a great *savant* who was, in a sense, superior to some of those who had gone before him in that while he had become perfectly at home in the working of the political machine when he was attending the court of his patron, Nizâmu'l-mulk, and had made a close study of the problem of politics, it was his lot to leave off his luxurious life and compile most of his works from a neutral point of vantage in Syria or Arabia or else in the seclusion of his paternal hearth and home. He is superior to el-Mâwerdî in being analytical as well as comparative in his argument, to the author of the *Qâbûs-nâme* in that his works are either books or else pamphlets written with a rare dignity and grace for his own sovereign, and to Nizâmu'l-mulk himself in that he is far more independent and far more neutral in his analysis than the Seljûqî Wazîr. A student of the history of political theories is aware of the great gap which seems to exist between the decline of Roman thought about the beginning of the Christian era till about the thirteenth century, when thought seems dull, constitutions unscientific and people lethargic and pleasure-loving. Knowledge would be the richer and chains of thought more continuous if that artificial blank were to be filled by such giants of wisdom as Mâwerdî, Nizâmu'l-mulk and el-Ghazzâlî. Even in Oriental thought, Ghazzâlî's place is certain. As has been said elsewhere,* the ways had parted and people had begun to look towards the pagan East for inspiration. Ghazzâlî's greatness partly consists in having successfully refilled the desired outline by brilliant Islâmic colours, although they were not destined to last very long, giving place once again, and finally, to barbaric hues.

H. K. SHERWANI.

*Sherwani: *The Political Thought of el-Mâwerdî*, etc., p. 23.

PIRISM (CORRUPTED SUFISM)

SUFISM, whatever be its real derivation, consists in puritanical abstinence from luxury and enjoyment and aims at attaining spiritual perfection with a view to final absorption in God. Sufism is nothing external to Islam, it is part and parcel of it. It is the evolution of spiritual and mystical elements inherent in the great religion. Islam has two sides—external and internal, and the two sides are interdependent. Neither can be developed without the assistance of the other. The early Sufis, to all intents and purposes, made no difference between the esoteric and exoteric sides of the religion. Junaid of Bagdad (d. 297 A.H. or 909 A.D.) was very anxious to see that all believers—Sufis and otherwise—were following the secular and spiritual aspects of the religion alike. He emphasised that “the external path (Shari‘at) and internal path (Haqiqat) of Islam are essentially the two sides of the same thing, and that they, far from being antagonistic, corroborate each other.”

The degeneration of Sufism began when the Muslims of the later time separated the two halves of the Faith. The secular scholars were too much absorbed in their business to think of the spiritual aspect of the religion, and the Sufis were too much immersed in mysticism to care for the external side. This separation has robbed Islam of its beauty. Another innovation that crept into the ranks of Sufis of subsequent times, was the institution of separate bodies under various chiefs. A number of mystical schools sprang up, which in course of time developed into warring camps. This dissension in the ranks of the Sufis broke the solidarity of Muslim society.

While these two factors were operating for the degeneration of Sufism, Islam made headway in India. The student of Muslim history knows that Islam, which, as a permanent force, entered India through Persia and Afghanistan, was not that pure religion which had been preached by the Great Prophet. Owing to the assimilation of foreign

elements, it had lost much of its simplicity and glory. It was Persianised Islam, as distinct from Arabian Islam, that reigned in India for about eight centuries. The Muslim invaders and administrators, with a few exceptions here and there, were Persians, Afghans or Turks first, and Muslims afterwards. They cared for religion only when there was nothing else to worry about. It is not, therefore, surprising that such half-hearted Muslims fell easy victims to the charms and allurements of India. The Muslims who had conquered India politically were, in turn, conquered by the Hindus socially and morally.

With the establishment of peace and prosperity in Muslim India, Islamic manners and customs gradually made room for Indian ones. Industry and diligence about which the early Muslims were so particular gave place to lethargy and luxury. This corruption on the exoteric side of the religion produced, in course of time, a corresponding corruption on the esoteric side. The Indian saints generally became easy-going and self-indulgent. With some noble exceptions in the early years of Muslim rule, the Indian devotees seldom displayed that active habit which characterised the early Sufis. Self-confidence and self-help, the best means of leading a noble life, were discarded in favour of dependence and inactivity. They passed their lives first as mendicants and then as beggars, depending on the favours of the well-to-do. Thus we see that the saints, who had been saviours of mankind, gradually turned into a host of professional beggars.

In India Muslim saints came in touch with Pandits and Śādhus. Lethargical and inactive as they had already become, they easily fell under the spell of the Śādhus' influence. The saints found in the Pandits some means of protection against the attack levelled against them by the general Muslim class. They, therefore, adopted the customs and practices of Pandits and Śādhus. Sufism, the essence of all that is pure and holy, was dethroned by Pirism, the Devil of all the Devils. The khanqahs or monasteries, which had originally been intended for practical training in spirituality with a view to attaining communion with the Supreme Being, were reduced to temples having a number of semi-gods in the persons of Pirs to be worshipped. Dualism or Pluralism, the eradication of which was the chief object of the Prophet's mission, was allowed to enter the Muslim body curiously

enough, under the auspices of those who professed their devotion to God and none but God.

Tomb-worship and 'Urs ceremonies were introduced. Anyone who is at all conversant with the Muslim Law knows full well that the erection of a *pacca* tomb, prostration before the imaginary inmate of the tomb, visiting *Dargahs* with a view to begging favours, attending an 'Urs for participation in ecstasy or more properly, in speaking, noise-making are entirely un-Islamic practices. Offering sweets, showering flowers, kneeling down before tombs, praying for the favour of a child from or through the inmates of tombs are some of the many innovations that have crept into Muslim society. These practices are certainly not Islamic. They have been borrowed entirely from foreign sources.

The corrupted *Pirs* of India were further influenced by the priestly system of Christianity. Priests, both Catholic and Protestant, regard themselves as above the general run of Christians. They reserve to themselves certain privileges and prerogatives which are denied to the Christians at large. Priests, posing as the spokesmen of God, undertake to perform a task which is beyond their jurisdiction, and for the matter of that, beyond the scope of human activity. They promise their followers to get the latter's sins erased, and offer their services as mediators between the Creator and the created. They undertake to plead the cause of their followers before God in the next world, with a view to helping them to enter Paradise, only if they follow the priests' commands—no matter how serious their sins may be. I do not think that this self-aggrandising spirit of the priests is warranted by the Christian religion. Anyhow this spirit, suiting as it did the degenerated *Pirs*, was accepted by them, and propagated as an article of Faith among their illiterate disciples.

The above is no exaggerated charge against present-day Pirism. It is a fact pure and simple, substantiated by our everyday experience. If, however, anyone challenges this statement, I would only recommend him to pay a flying visit to some of the *Dargahs* and monasteries on the one hand, and temples and churches on the other, and make a comparative study of what is practised in them. Such a visit, I doubt not, will show a striking similarity between the practices of *Pirs*, *Pandits* and Priests.

This similarity between the so-called spiritual ceremonies of *Pirs* and *Pandits* is so remarkable that a number of *Hindus*

are found visiting Dargahs and participating in the functions of 'Urs every day. I do not grudge them such participation but the question arises: What consolation do the unbelievers get in the Muslim monasteries? The answer is quite easy. They find in the monasteries and Dargahs, approximately if not exactly, what they find in their own temples. What the distinctive feature of monotheism absent, the khanqahs have been turned into temples, and the polytheists find no difference between the two.

To recapitulate what has been said above, the Pir system which unfortunately pervades the whole of India, has become a source of degeneration to the Muslim community. It stands on a par with the progressive religion of Islam. It fetters the rising spirit of the believers. It robs them of nobility of purpose, purity of character, freedom of views and independence of action. It kills the initiative power inherent in man.

The above is a sketch of the gradual degradation of Şufism. Let us now turn to the Qur'ân, the holiest and most rational Book ever revealed to mankind, with a view to ascertain whether the activities of the modern Pirs are in any way sanctioned by the teaching of the great religion which they profess. Let us, further, see how many principles of Islam are violated by these self-seekers.

Muslims of all shades of opinion believe without any disagreement that God is one, pure and simple. There is no duality or plurality in and around Him. The Qur'ân abounds in verses which, once for all, remove all possibilities of duality or partnership in God. In one verse He says in unmistakable terms, "Do not believe in two Gods. Verily God is one." In another He says, "Say (O Prophet) God is one, God is independent, He begetteth not nor is begotten, and there is none comparable unto Him." Of all the principles of Islam, belief in the Unity of God is decidedly the most indispensable and important, as the Qur'ân says, "Surely, God will not forgive the ascription of partner unto Him. He forgiveth all save that to whom He will."

The early Şufis carried this Unity to perfection by denying existence to things other than God. They believed that God is the only existing Being, the rest being a mere reflection of that Great Being; and that all is He, and there is nothing but He. Some of the Monotheists proceeded so far as to treat His Essence and Attributes as one phenomenon. They maintained that the Attributes of God are included in the Connotation of His Essence. They do not exist separately

from, or independently of, His Essence. He is merciful as to His Being, He is powerful as to His Being, He is wise as to His Being, etc., etc. Their main argument for holding this view was that the affirmation of the existence of His Attributes as distinct from His Essence might tend to the affirmation of duality of God. The early Şufis' ideal was plain living and high thinking. Their life consisted in the puritanical abstinence from the worldly pleasures and enjoyments. They practised self-effacement and self-annihilation with a view to being absorbed in God. They lived in God and died in God. By means of self-denial they kept the Unity of God intact.

The present-day Pirs have taken exactly the opposite course. Discarding self-annihilation as their Creed, they have adopted self-conceit as a means to communion with God. They have usurped some of the powers of the Supreme Being, posing, as they do, as the Deputies or Agents of the Creator. They, at the outset, presume that they, being spiritual heads, and their descendants, are above the generality of mankind and that they have something in common with the Divinity. They volunteer their services as mediators between the Creator and Creation, though He invites and encourages direct appeal, since He says in the Qur'ân: "I hear the call of the caller when he calls me." Further, Pirs generally declare that they will, on the Day of Judgment, intercede on behalf of their followers and get the latter's sins erased; whereas Muslims, in general, believe that save and except the Prophet, none, however dignified and sanctified, can intercede on behalf of others. God says in the Qur'ân, "Who is there that can intercede before Him save by His leave?"

This meddling with the affairs of God has recently come to such a pass that some Pirs do not hesitate to assure Paradise to some and Hell to others. I am informed that an educated gentleman paid his Pir Saheb a large sum of money with a view to insure his entry into Paradise.

This assumption of the divine powers by the Pirs undoubtedly tends to affirm partnership with God. The ignorant disciples, on whose simplicity and credulity Pirs depend for their success, are apt to take their guides for semi-gods or a connecting link between God and man. On being questioned regarding the validity of their presumptions, the Pirs say that they are only the mediums between God and man, and as such their presumptions do not involve partnership. So did the Christians argue during the time of the Prophet, and the Qur'ân, referring to them, says "They

(Christians) have taken their priests, bishops and Jesus son of Mary as Lords, to the exclusion of God; when they were ordered only to worship God alone. There is no God save Him. He is above those things which they hold as partners to Him." Tradition, in amplification of the above verse, says that the priests and bishops were in the habit of legalising illegal things and banning the legal things, and their followers accepted these actions in preference to their holy book. The reversal of the order of God by the priests and its acceptance by the followers amounted to the affirmation of partnership with God. Now, in the light of what has been said above, what is the difference between the unwarranted presumptions of the priests, and those of Muslim Pirs? There is no difference. Hence the Quranic verse quoted above applies to the present-day Pirs and murîds, as much as, to the priests and their followers.

Of all religions that have been preached from time to time and of all schools of thought that have been introduced in various countries, Islam is decidedly the most democratic. It makes no distinction between man and man or between one believer and another. It has no caste system whatsoever. Fraternity, equality and universal brotherhood are the keynotes of Islamic teaching. The Prophet of Islam came as a blessing to the whole universe, and not any particular community or country, for God says in the Holy Book: "And We have not sent you save as a mercy to the whole universe." In another place the Qur'ân says, "Verily, all believers are brothers." This equality is no mere figure of speech. Islamic brotherhood and equality is real and genuine. The humblest member of the lowest caste, after embracing Islam, enjoys the same position as the noblest member of the most aristocratic family. The only distinction in the eye of Islam lies in actions, as the Qur'ân says, "Verily, the noblest among you before God is in the most virtuous."

The early Sufis generally retained the democratic spirit of Islam intact; but the Pirs have crushed and butchered it. They make distinction between man and man, believer and believer, Pir and Pir, etc., etc. One Pir pounces on another. Disciples of one Pir are sure to condemn and abuse disciples of another. Pirs have introduced the so-called "Brotherhood of the Path" in supercession of the well-established "Brotherhood of the Faith." This sectarian system has caused the destruction of the solidarity of Islam. With "Bai'at" (oath of allegiance) family connection is sought to be imposed between

Pirs and murîds. Pirs at once become fathers, and disciples their sons and daughters. The female disciples are no longer required to observe 'purdah' or even modesty in the presence of their "fathers." This fatherly attitude of a Pir is surely borrowed from the Christian priests who are styled "fathers." Do the Pirs know that the Prophet himself was very particular about purdah, and accepted the "Bai'at" of women from behind the screen? Do they realise that the spiritual relation between Pir and murîd is entirely on a different footing from the family relation between father and daughter or brother and sister? What surprises me most is the fact that the followers of the same Pirs are termed brothers and sisters, but the followers of the same Prophet and professors of the same religion are not treated as such, Quranic command and prophetic tradition notwithstanding.

Saints and spiritual guides command the respect and admiration of their followers in every country. But then this respect and admiration must not exceed the limit. We must take our guide or leader as one of us whom we are prepared to respect and obey, but not as one above us whom we are to adore and worship. The Prophet of Islam himself never claimed any superiority over mankind. He was directed by God to preach: "Say, verily I am a man like yourselves, and it is revealed to me that your God is One God." Islam has laid so much emphasis on this equality of status that while other prophets were designated as "friends of God," "Soul of God," "Choice of God," etc., etc., the Prophet of Islam was designated only as "Slave and Messenger of God."

Contrary to this teaching of Islam, the Pirs put forth their claims to superhuman powers. They undertake to procure children for childless disciples by "mystical means," cure serious and chronic diseases by their "healing balms," procure jobs for the unemployed by some "hidden force," and so on. The khanqahs have practically been turned into dispensaries and service agencies. Needless to say that this assumption of miraculous powers by the present-day Pirs is the most unwarranted and unjustifiable. It will be interesting here to give a short account of a journey as given by one of the visitors to Ajmere (published in a well-known Urdu magazine some time ago). He says in substance that the train for Ajmere was overcrowded and all the doors were blocked up by the passengers within. He besought a number of travellers within to open the door to let him in, but to no effect. "In the name of God I appeal to you to open the door," said he to the passengers inside a certain compartment,

"I shall remain standing and cause you no inconvenience." The appeal was contemptuously rejected. "In the name of the Prophet I appeal to you to open the door" said he in a little despair, but the appeal met no better fate than the first. "Now I appeal to you in the name of the great Saint whose tomb you are going to visit." Suddenly did sensation run throughout the compartment; passengers stood up; the door was opened and a comfortable seat was offered him.

For this overzeal the great saint of Ajmere was certainly not responsible. He was far above it. It is the present-day Pirs and murīds who are to blame for it, because they have created this slavish and un-Islamic mentality among the mass of the people.

Islamic injunctions, commands and prohibitions are universal in their application. No believer is exempted from any of them on the ground of his temporal or spiritual attainments. Offering prayers, giving alms, keeping fast, going to Mecca for pilgrimage, etc., are obligatory on all Muslims without any exception, provided only that they can afford to observe them. The early Ṣufis and devotees were right earnest in the observance of all Islamic injunctions, making no difference between the external and the internal aspects of Islam. By their devotion and enthusiasm they set examples to the mass of the people who tried to follow their guides in all actions.

Let us see the attitude of the modern Pirs towards the laws of Islam. It can be said without fear of contradiction that more than 50 per cent. of the Pirs do not offer prayers, and not even one per cent. attend the congregation in the mosque. They say that they attend the congregation at Mecca every day. Giving alms is replaced by receiving them. Fast is kept mainly to avoid the reprobation of the disciples, who are generally very particular about fasting. As regards pilgrimage, Pirs tell us that they have got their own Mecca in the khanqahs, where they hold 'Urs annually with all pomp and grandeur. With Pirs as Kaaba and a host of visitors revolving round them (as in "Ṭawâf"), the pilgrimage ceremony is complete. Ecstasy, which was only occasionally indulged in by the early Ṣufis, now finds its full expression in hopping, jumping, dancing and merry-making. This is exactly what the Indian Pirs have represented Islam to be. For my part, I bow my head in shame at these innovations which are carried on under the auspices of so-called spiritual heads. What passes my understanding is the fact that, while

the Prophet and his Companions never claimed exemption from any of the Islamic injunctions, the present-day Pirs claim it as a matter of right. They seem to have one code of laws for themselves and another for their followers. They advise the poor disciples to do what they themselves do not like to do.

No impartial critic of Islam will refuse to admit that Islam is the most rational religion ever preached in the world. It has combined and blended the esoteric and exoteric aspects of religion in such a way that the relaxation of one or over-emphasising of the other cannot but rob this great religion a good deal of its charm and beauty. State and church go together. None can be a true churchman without being a good citizen, nor can anyone be a great citizen without being a true churchman. "Wisdom is the lost property of the believers" says the Prophet. It is this rationalistic spirit of Islam which has enabled it to keep pace with the march of events and advance with the advance of culture and civilization. Syed Jamaluddin Afghani is reported to have said that "abandonment of religion" is the sole cause both of the progress of the modern Christians and the decline of the present-day Muslims. No truer statement has ever been made. As Christianity as inculcated by the churches is incompatible with freedom of thought which is the basis of civilization and progress, the reversal of its teachings has led to the progress of the Christians; and as Islam originally is a progressive religion, allowing of free thought the abandonment of it has caused the downfall of the Muslim community.

The present-day Pirs, far from contributing to the advancement of culture and civilization, only try to set back the hand of the clock of progress. They have discarded the temporal side of Islam on the one hand, and spoiled the spiritual side of it on the other. I leave it to the large host of Pirs and murids to say if they have done anything to uplift mankind or benefit any section of it. Ninety per cent. of the Pirs and 99 per cent. of the disciples are unschooled and unlettered, and thus only conduce to the multiplication of miseries and misfortunes. Some Pirs boast of a revenue of over a lakh of rupees accruing to them annually from poor people's pockets, but have they ever cared to establish any Madrasah or school for the education of the children of their disciples? Nay, Pirs oppose the spread of education among murids, as it may prove an eye-opener to the illiterate people and may hamper their self-seeking enterprises. A large

section of the Muslim community in India are ensnared by the self-styled Pirs, and so long as this state of affairs continues, there can be no hope for the emancipation of the Muslims in India.

In conclusion let me make my position perfectly clear. I do not oppose genuine *Şufism*—nay, I commend it and endorse it as a successful means to the attainment of spiritual perfection. In my article on “*Şufism*” published in the *Islamic Review* in 1929, I tried to establish that *Şufism* is the natural outcome of the spiritual development of the early saints and devotees. What I oppose and condemn is the *Pirism* prevalent in India and elsewhere. This system is a disastrous innovation that has crept in among the rank and file of Muslims. I cannot here do better than quote the great *Şufi* of Bihar of the 7th century A.H., *Shâh Sharfu'd-dîn Yahya Munîrî*, better known as *Makhdûm Bihârî*. He says in one of his letters to his disciple, “Whoever seeks this path (*Şufism*) must make his provision from the materials of the *Sharî'at*, so that he may proceed from *Sharî'at* (external path) to *Ṭarîqat* (internal path) and thence to *Ḥaqîqat* (Reality). Whoever is not well versed in *Sharî'at* cannot know *Ṭarîqat* and none can know *Ḥaqîqat* without knowing *Ṭarîqat* That God has never taken any illiterate man as his friend, is the saying of the *Sheikhs*. The *Qur'ân* refers to this idea by saying ‘There is no friend of God who is disgraceful,’ and it is clear that ignorance is the root of all disgrace.”

SYED MUZAFFAR-UD-DIN NADVI.

A CLASSICAL PRAYER FOR THE KING'S USE

ARABIC TEXT

اللهم انى أبرأ اليك من حولى وقوى ، وألجأ الى حولك وقوتك ، أحمدك على أن
أوجدتنى من العدم وفضلتنى على كثير من الأمم ، وجعلت فى يدى زمام خلقك ، و
استخلفتنى على أرضك -

اللهم ! خذ بيدى فى المضائق ، واكشف لى وجوه الحقائق ، ووفقنى لما تحب ،
واعصمنى من الزلل ، ولا تسلب عنى ستر إحسانك ، وقى مصارع السوء ، واكفى
كيدا الحساد ، وشماتة الأضداد ، والطف بى فى سائر متصرفاتى ، واكفى من جميع
جهاتى ، يا أرحم الراحمين !

IBN UL-TIQTQA'S¹ "History of the Musalman Dynasties"² is deservedly very popular and well-known in the East and the West.³ The author completed it in the year 701 A.H./1303 A.D. while staying as a guest of the governor of Mosul, Fakhr'u'd-dîn 'Îsâ ibn Ibrâhîm, and dedicated it to his patron. He, therefore, entitled it "al-Fakhrî."

The work itself is a manual of Muhammadan politics and history in two parts: the first deals with politics and Şultâns, their characters, manners, privileges and duties. The second part is merely historical; the author describes one dynasty after another beginning with the death of the Holy Prophet down to the end of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate of Baghdad, i.e., 11-659 A.H./632-1258 A. D.

(1) Cf. Brockelmann, vol. II, p. 161; Sarkis, *Mu'jam ul-Maṭbû'ât*, Cairo 1346, p. 146; Khairuddîn uz-Zirkîlî, *al-A'lâm: Qâmûs ut-tarâjim*, Cairo 1347, p. 949.

(2) The edition of H. Derenbourg, Paris 1895, is not available to me here; so I use the Egyptian edition, Cairo 1345/1927.

(3) Cf. Ahlwardt, *Al-Fakhrî*, Introduction, p. xxxiv; P. L. Cheikho *Majānî'l-adab*, vol. vi, p. 12; J. Mohl, *Vingt-sept ans d'histoire des études Orientales*, vol. II, p. 326.

In the first part Ibn-ul-Tiqṭaqâ enumerates among other things the qualities necessary for a king and says that the king should know prayers to whisper them to God. Then he continues:

“.....These prayers befit a king, but are not suitable for the common people. There is no harm for me to demonstrate here a part from a prayer for the king. I have chosen the following prayer of which I think no one has any knowledge.....”

So it may be worth while to translate this short prayer which is, I think, unique. Unquestionably, this prayer struck me as one of the most profound, tender and fervent prayers in the world. I desire, therefore, that many people should learn it and admire its beauty.

TRANSLATION OF THE PRAYER

O God! I commit into Thy hands all my power and strength and take refuge in Thy power and strength. I praise Thee that Thou hast brought me into existence from nothing and that Thou hast exalted me above many nations, that Thou hast intrusted in my hands the government of Thy creatures and hast chosen me as Thy Caliph on earth.

O God! So take my hand in difficulties and unveil to me the face of the truth, protect me in executing Thy designs and stay me in the slippery places. Remove not from me the veil of Thy benefit and preserve me against the heavy blows of misfortune, protect me against the deceitfulness of the envious and the triumphant malice of my adversaries. Favour me in all dispositions and actions, and guard and ward me on all sides, O Thou, most Merciful of the Merciful!”

O. SPIES.

(*'AUDATU'R-RŪH*)—AN EGYPTIAN NOVEL*

WHILE the Arabic short story has been established in Egypt for some years past and has reached the point at which the best examples (notably those of Maḥmūd Taimūr) are regularly translated into the principal European languages, the full length novel is only just coming into its own. More than twenty-five years ago, it is true, Muḥammad al-Muwaylḥi published an imaginative work of over 400 pages, entitled "*Ḥadīth 'Isā ibn Hishām*," which is still eminently readable; it is, however, hardly to be classified as a novel, belonging rather to the category of satirical romances such as Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*. The first novel, properly so-called, which attracted much attention was Dr. Huseyn Heykal's "*Zeynab*," published anonymously in 1914. This story of Egyptian peasant-life had a considerable success and provided the plot for a film with the same title which contained some beautiful pictures of life in the Egyptian countryside. There is a good deal of monotony, however, about both novel and film, and the death of the heroine is treated with exaggerated sentimentality.

From that date no other novel of importance was published in Cairo until the young Muslim writer Taufīq al-Ḥakīm, at the time Wakil of the Damanhūr Parquet, produced in the early summer of 1933 a novel in two volumes, with the title '*Audatu'r-Rūh*.'

This book is notable from several points of view. The story concerns the influence exerted on a Cairene middle-class household in the district of Sayyidah Zeynab by the beautiful Saniyyah, daughter of Dr. Aḥmad Hilmī, who lives opposite. The members of the household, including the weak and amiable schoolmaster Ḥanafī, known to his pupils as Abu Zu'eyzī; his irritable young brother 'Abdu, training to be an engineer; his cousin Yuzbashi Salīm, temporarily suspended from the police on account of an amorous escapade

* '*Audatu'r-Rūh*, by Taufīq al-Ḥakīm. Cairo Maṭba'atu'r-Ragha'ib, 1933. 2 vols. P. T. 12.

in Port Said; his schoolboy nephew Muḥsin, and his spinster sister, Zenûbah, are all admirably depicted.

The boy Muḥsin is the central figure of the book; his sensitive nature is profoundly affected by Saniyyah and the account of his relations with the girl are an admirable picture of the torturing love of adolescence. Next in importance comes Zenûbah, the superstitious old maid, never attractive, whom jealousy turns into a virago. The girl Saniyyah, beautiful, lively and intelligent, becomes known to us as much through her influence on the men as through the author's descriptions.

The straightforward and not improbable story is told with a great deal of humour, and in the case of Muḥsin and Saniyyah with sympathetic insight. Considered solely from this point of view, *'Audatu'r-Rûh* is a competent and amusing novel, giving an excellent picture of certain aspects of Egyptian life; apart from an occasional carelessness in chronology or topography, it is well up to the standard of literary workmanship of the West. In this respect it marks a distinct advance in modern Egyptian literature.

The book however claims more than this. At the mid-term holiday the boy Muḥsin goes to visit his parents, wealthy land-owners at Damanhûr, and with them spends several days on their country estate. This episode gives the author the chance to introduce descriptions of country life and to develop a theory that the present-day fellâhîn are the direct descendants of the Pharaonic Egyptians and may be expected to show the same great qualities as their ancestors if once given a suitable leader. This is the idea behind the title *'Audatu'r-Rûh*, the Return of the Spirit.

These discussions and descriptions, though hardly relevant to the main theme, are interesting, and cleverly introduced into the general framework of the story. In particular, they serve to refute the accusation that modern Arabic literature is lacking in ideas.

It may, therefore, be worth while to consider the implications of the author's attitude towards things Arabic and Egyptian in some detail.

The first point of interest is the language in which the book is written. The narrative is given in modern literary or

journalistic Arabic which expresses the author's meaning concisely and clearly, but lacks the charm of a style which is constantly influenced by good classical models, such as that of Dr. Taha Husain in his autobiographical sketch "Al-Ayyâm."

The system of punctuation and the paragraphing are adapted from European practice, are clear and make the book easy to read.

The dialogue, and in this the author follows the example of "Zeynab," is reproduced in Egyptian colloquial, as the first spoken words, "ash-sha'ab lissa ma gash?" show clearly enough. The author's motive in this was no doubt simply to preserve the vigour and freshness of everyday speech. In a work, however, in which dialogue plays such a considerable part, and in which the distinction between Egyptian and Arab is often emphasised, it is not surprising that its use should call forth a certain number of protests. It does not seem, however, that the limited use of the colloquial in a work such as this necessarily implies any damage to the literary tongue, any more than the use of dialect in Dickens' novels implied any damage to literary English. Arabic as a modern language suffers above all from lack of prestige. Foreigners, for example, may fail to acquire Arabic not so much on account of its difficulty as because they suspect that neither its modern literature nor the social forces which it represents are worthy of their attention. The mere difficulty of the language did not deter half the Mediterranean world from learning Arabic in the past, nor would it presumably deter others in the future, if the will was once there. It is not only the foreigner who is affected by this lack of prestige. Many people whose home-language is Arabic think it more genteel to speak to a foreigner in any European language rather than in their native tongue. It is quite difficult for the best-intentioned foreigner to acquire Arabic even in Cairo; in the theatres, large shops and places where he ordinarily goes, the European is more likely to be addressed in any one of three or four European languages than in the language of the country; while even in little shops in side-streets he will often be assumed not to talk Arabic until he gives evidence to the contrary. The position of Arabic is thus not unlike that of Russian at the time (not so long ago) when cultured Russians regarded their own language as something barbarous, suited only for servants and uneducated people.

The growth of a good modern literature then, even if it makes concessions to the colloquial,* is a factor making for the restoration and wider diffusion of the Arabic language and culture in general.

Egypt is regarded by much of the Arabic world as the leader of intellectual progress. Will the limited employment of the Egyptian colloquial in literature affect that position? It is of course true that its use causes a non-Egyptian Arab some slight difficulty; but the student who hopes to profit from Egyptian progress will hardly be put off by that. A Moroccan or 'Irâqî who already knows the classical language and his own colloquial will learn to understand Egyptian as quickly as a Spaniard does Portuguese; and if he is going to study in Egypt, he must do so in any case.

The glorification, in 'Audatu'r-Rûh, of the Egyptian peasant as contrasted with "the Arab" and the author's obvious desire to revive the glories of the Pharaohs certainly raises a more serious problem. There is no denying that while the Pan-Arab ideal is regarded sympathetically in Egypt, it does not rouse the practical interest which it does in some parts of the world. The explanation is not far to seek. Egyptians naturally feel sympathetic towards those who speak the same language as themselves; but politically they are more particularist. They are becoming conscious of their own great non-Arab past, and are convinced that in modern times their political and geographical situation is such that they are capable of a prosperous existence as an independent State.

This state of affairs sharply distinguishes Egypt from, for example, Palestine, Tunis or Morocco, whose present inhabitants do not, and probably never will, look back to any non-Arab past as an ideal; who feel, moreover, that their national individuality is in danger of being totally destroyed by Jewish or European colonisation unless they have the backing of a powerful independent Arab State. The particularist tendencies of Egypt are clearly revealed in 'Audatu'r-Rûh. It is doubtful, however, whether any good purpose is served by protesting against the expression of ideas which are

*The Egyptian colloquial is certainly very unlike classical Arabic in some respects; for example, the inverted form of all questions, such as "You are going where?" and the incessant employment of senseless idioms, e.g., "Put a summer water-melon in your heart" ("Haṭ fi qalbik batikhah seyfi") (Audatu'r-Rûh, vol. 1, p. 12) to signify "Never fear." For all that, Egyptian colloquial is more Arabic than anything else.

certainly based on a reality, particularly in the case of a book which is itself a product of Arab culture, and, as we have already said, is automatically working for its advancement. There is moreover another side to the question. However enthusiastic modern Egyptians may be for ancient Egypt, its glories are so remote and its literary remains so few, that with the best will in the world it is difficult to see how the enthusiast is to set about the practical realisation of his ideal. The author of 'Audatu'r-Rūḥ would, perhaps, say that the Egyptian has only to look into his heart and act accordingly. Even so, we may suspect that by the time the Egyptian thought has been realised in action it will have become profoundly Arabized, as much at least as the thought of the present-day Iberian or Gaul is Latinized. In 'Audatu'r-Rūḥ itself, for example, there is little which is definitely ancient Egyptian; nothing indeed except two short quotations from the *Book of the Dead*, some ingenious speculations concerning the Pyramid-builders, and the emphasis placed on the fellâh (and therefore by implication non-Arab) origin of the nationalist champion of 1919.

This leads to another point. When the author contrasts Egyptian fellâhîn and Arabs, he is, as the story he tells concerning "al 'Arjawî" clearly shows, contrasting the fellâhîn with those Beduin Arabs who have in comparatively recent times left their tribes to settle in the Delta and are now living in rather miserable villages beside those of the fellâhîn. Now it is quite possible to be disparaging concerning that particular fraction of the Arab race* without thereby intending any criticism upon Arab civilization in general. A possible confusion arises from the extreme ambiguousness of the use of the word Arab. Any Egyptian, for example, may tell the Frankish foreigner that he is an Arab, meaning that his culture is that of the Arab Near East, as opposed to that of Europe, America or the Far East. Under other circumstances, a speaker may say that he is Arab, meaning that he is not Turkish. Under different circumstances again, "Arab" may mean Beduin as opposed to town-dweller or peasant. Or again as in 'Audatu'r-Rūḥ, it may simply refer to the fractions of various Arab tribes who have for one reason or another recently settled in the Delta and so far remained unassimilated.

If then we are to draw any general conclusions concerning the type of literature of which 'Audatu'r-Rūḥ is the harbinger,

* In the 1929 edition of Baedekar's Guide, these Arabs are stated to number about 35,000, according to the Egyptian census of 1927.

we may feel reasonably sure that it will assist the renaissance and diffusion of a genuinely Arab culture. At the same time, this book confirms the impression that the contribution of Egypt to the Arab revival will be in the intellectual rather the political field. Pan-Arab ideals are not likely to be received by the majority of the Egyptian intelligentsia with anything more than a general sympathy, which might, in the case of their unexpected development and success, turn into anxiety and even hostility. Egyptians, for example, would probably prefer Palestine to become a province of Egypt (as it was in the time of the Pharaohs) rather than part of a Pan-Arab State with its capital at Damascus or Baghdad.

NEVILL BARBOUR.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MODERN PERSIAN- ENGLISH VOCABULARY

(Continued from our last issue.)

چنان (chunān).

چنانچه "If." ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 4, col. 1, et passim).

چنانچه دولت دیگری غیر از اسپانیا مالک آن نقطه در کنار جبل الطارق بود
حتماً فوائد نظامی و سیاسی بیشتری بآنها داده میشد.

If another State than Spain possessed that place by Gibraltar, decidedly much greater military and judicial advantages would be given to it.

چنان (chunān).

چنانکه (conj.): "Since." ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 4).

چنانکه در نتیجه مصاحبه که بانایب اول سفارت ترکیه نمودیم معلوم شد که
اختلافات جزئی و غیر قابل اهمیتی بوده ابتدا بسوء سیاست خارجی دودولت
اسلامی نمی توان تعبیر نموده.

Since in consequence of the interview we had with the first Secretary of the Turkish Legation it was found that the differences were slight and of little importance they can never be described as bad foreign policy on the part of two Islamic Governments.

چند

چند روز دیگر (chand rūz-e digar): "In a few days' time."
1924, No. 129, p. 1, col. 2).

محمّل است چند روز دیگر کا ملا بهودی حاصل نموده از مر یضخانه خارج شوند -

It is probable that in a few days' time he will have completely recovered and will leave the hospital.

چند روزه (chand rūza).

در این چند روزه "In a few days' time." (1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 1).

و تصمیمات مزبور در این چند روزه شروع خواهد گردید -

And these undertakings will be begun in a few days' time.
چندی (chandī).

"For some time past." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 1).

چرا چندی است در خانه افتاده از کثرت فکر و خیال افسرده * * *
باوضاع اسف اشتغال این مملکت و بحالت پریشان احوال این مات ستم دیده
تماشای کنیم -

Why is it that for some time past we have lain (idly) at home and, rendered torpid through much thought and imagining, have (done nothing but) contemplate the pitiable situation of this country and the distracted condition of this oppressed nation.

چهار بار (chi basā): "How often!" (1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 1).

و آن کس که وقایع تاریخی را با نظر عبرت نگاه کند چه بسا از تکرار نظیر آنها
در آتیه جلوگیری خواهد نمود -

And he who contemplated historical disasters as one who can take a lesson,—how often will he (be able to) obviate the like of them in the future?

چیدن (chīdan): "To arrange," (as goods in a shop).
(A colloquial sense of the verb).

چیدن (chīdan).

"To eradicate, tear up, abolish." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 3).

اساس و پروگرام وزارت معارف بکلی غلط و * شالوده و اساس این وزارت خانه بایستی برچیده شود و از سر نو با استصواب مراجع تقلید و روحانیین مملکت و متجددین پروگرام جامع الاطراف تدوین -

The foundation and programme of this Ministry of Education are entirely false and the foundations of it should be torn up, and a comprehensive and detailed programme be drawn up afresh, subject to the approval of people having proper authority, the intelligentsia of the country, and those imbued with the new spirit.

تقی (chīz-fahm) : “ Sensible, well-informed.” چیز فهم
1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 4).

جریده شریفه تمدن بمدریت آقای تمدن الملک که ظاهراً از اشخاص چیز فهم باشند اخیراً طلوع نموده -

The journal *Tamaddun* under the editorship of Ākā Tamaddunu'l-Mulk, who is apparently a sensible and well-informed man, has lately appeared.

حاصل (hāṣil) : “ Existent, prevailing.” (تقی 1924,
No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 2).

در نتیجه خرابی حاصل متجاوز از ۷ میلیون نفوس (چار مضیقّه) هستند.

In consequence of the existent ruined condition (of the country) more than 7 million persons are in distress.

حاضر (hāzīr, with به) : “ Assenting, agreeable ” (to).
(ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 2).

دو دولت روسیه و انگلیس هم حاضر بودند اسلحه جات مزبوره بایران شدند.

The two Governments of Russia and England have also assented to the importation into Persia of the arms above-mentioned.

حاکی (hākī).

طوفان (1927, طوفان) : “ To speak ” (of). (with ز) حاکی بودن
No. 191, p. 3, col. 4).

اخبار واصله از اکناف و اطراف اتحاد شوروی حاکی است که برای اعراض باقدام آلوده به تحریکات انگلیس در قطع روابط با اتحاد شوروی میتنگهای متعددی تشکیل میابد.

News arriving from all parts of the Soviet Union speak of numerous meetings which are being formed to protest against the efforts made at the instigation of England towards the breaking off of relations with the Soviet Union.

میهن) "Now," (in argument, as "or" in French). (1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 1).

حال اگر همین شاگرد مدت پنج شش سال تحصیلش را تعاقب نماید** در موقع موسیقی نواختن چشمهایش دوخته بدقت دستش مشغول زدن و خود این شخص با کسی حرف میزند.

Now, if this same student pursue his studies for 5 or 6 years, whilst playing music, with eyes fixed on the page and hands engaged in striking the notes, he may talk with another person.

حال (for حالا) : "Now." (1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 2).

و حال نیز که * بطور رسمی مناسبات تجاری این دو دولت * قطع شده است هر یک * سعی میکنند * موافق و کمک بطلبند.

And now that commercial relations between these two States have been officially cut off, each of them is making efforts to secure supporters and help.

در همان حال که (dar hamān hāl ki; as dar hāl ki) : "Whilst." (1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 2).

و در همان حال که از این ممالک قوای در مقابل بالشويزم فراهم مینماید حالت ضعیف مستعمرات خویش را نیز تأیید کرده و آنها را از رشد سیاسی ممانعت کند.

But whilst collecting forces from these countries against Bolshevism, (England) only confirms the weakness of her colonies and shuts them off from political right judgment.

حالیه (hāliya) : "Now, at present." (1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 1).

و حالیه بانچه میدان توپخانه رامشغول خیابان بندی و تشکیل گل کاری و غیره
میباشند .

And at present they are engaged in forming avenues and flower-beds in the garden of the arsenal square.

حاتما (ḥatman) : “Decidedly, absolutely.” (کاوه 1921, Apr. 10, p. 6).

حجت

اتمام حجت (itmām-e ḥujjat) : An “ultimatum.” (کاوه 1921, Apr. 10, p. 3).

حد (ḥadd).

حداقل (ḥadd-e aḳall) : “At the lowest estimates, a minimum of.” (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 3). See under حدود (در حدود).

حداکثر (ḥadd-e aḳsar). “At the highest estimate, a maximum of.” (ibidem). See under حدود (در حدود).

حد وسط (ḥadd-e vasaṭ). See وسط .

حدس (ḥads).

مبین (with را) : “To gauge, to guess at.” (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 3, sub-col. 4). See under ترتیب .

حدود (ḥudūd. pl. of ḥadd).

ایران جوان (with gen.) : “To the extent ” (of). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 10, col. 4).

مجلس شورای ملی بادره مباشرت اجازه *** میدهد برای اقامه عزاداری
حضرت خامس آل عبا ** محدود شمول سنه ماضیه ۱۳۰۵ *** مبلغ دوهزار
و پانصد تومان از وزارت مالیه * * دریافت دارند .

The National Assembly authorizes the Executive to receive from the Exchequer,—to the extent of the moneys assigned last year 1305,—the sum of 2,500 tūmāns for the celebration of the mourning for Ḥusain.

[Ḥusain, the son of ‘Alī, who is called here “the fifth of the family of the woollen cloak” See under عبا].

محشر (dar ḥudūd with gen.): "Approximately." (1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 3).

در مقابل پنجاه تومان نقد و در حدود هشتاد خروار جنسی حداقل ۶۳۵۰ من
و حداکثر ۸۳۰۰ من * * * مبلغ ۵۶۰۰ قران در سال * * * بعنوان
مستمری بر قرار گردد.

In place of 50 tūmāns in money and approximately 80 ass-loads of produce, at the lowest estimate 6,350 maunds (in weight), and at the highest 8,400, the sum of 5,600 kīrāns should be fixed, (to be divided amongst them as pensions).

حذف (ḥaẓf): "Discarding." (1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1).

در نظر گرفته اند که شعبه ادبی تحصیلات متوسطه را حذف.

They have considered the advisability of discarding the arts branch of the studies in Intermediate Schools.

حراج (ḥarāj): An "auction." (1927, No. 191, p. 4, col. 2).

وزارت مالیه بانزده دستگاه اتومبیل را در روز یکشنبه ۲۱ خرداد بمعرض
حراج میگذارد.

The Financial Ministry is putting up to auction on Sunday, the 21st of Khurdād, 15 motor-cars.

[In the heading spelt by this newspaper حراج and by Redhouse حراج].

حراج کردن "To sell by auction." (1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 4).

چون پول نیست تادراج ایران شروع میشود خالصجات را میبخشند مشاغل
مملکت را حراج میکنند.

When no money remains, they dispose of the crown-lands, and sell offices by auction.

حراج (ḥarrāj): An "auctioneer," (Phillott).

حراجچی (ḥarāj-chī): An "auctioneer," (Phillott).

وق (az): "Protection" (of). (1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 4).

قتل ایمبری * * معلوم میدارد که لازم است * حراست کاملتری از
امریکا نباشد.

The murder of the (Consul) X. shows that it is necessary that more efficient protection of Americans should be found (in Persia).

حرکت (ḥarakat).

میهن (). (To move," (verb trans. with را حرکت دادن
1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 2).

کسی در میان ماها میز را از روی اراده و توجه حرکت نمی داد.

No one amongst us moved the table voluntarily or thinkingly.

حریف (ḥarīf): "The person with whom one has to deal."
(1924, No. 18, p. 3, col. 3).

اینها نیز وقتی حریف را ضعیف دیدند با ناموس معامله می نمایند.

Would these (moneyed) people too, when they see the person with whom they have to deal helpless, act with honour?

حزب (ḥizb).

عامیون See حزب عامیون

حساب (ḥisāb): an "account."

علی الحساب ('ala'l-ḥisāb): "On account." (Redhouse,
1927, No. 24, p. 10, col. 3).

معادل مبلغ يك صد و پنجاه و سه هزار تومان * * برسم علی الحساب
بشرح ذیل

The sum of 153 thousand tūmāns as on account (of the 5 millions assigned, to be applied) as follows.

طوقان (hashara-shināsi): "Entomological." (1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 5).

از طرف تشکیلات حشره شناسی * * * تصمیم گرفته شد که * * * *
در قاطبی که مورد تهاجم ملخ واقع شده است اقدامات برای دفع آنها بنمایند

It has been resolved by the constituted entomological bodies that in the districts subject to the attacks of locusts steps should be taken to destroy them (by some new method).

—as noun, "Entomology."

حضور

حضور پیدا نمودن (ḥuzūr paidā namūdan): "To attend, to be present." (Lit., "to produce attendance or presence").

حفظ (ḥifz).

حفظ مقام (ḥifz-e maḳām): "The holding of a post or office." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 2, col. 2).

با حفظ مقام "As holder of a post or office," (ibidem).
آقای حاج فطن الملك جلالی * * * * کلیه اموراتی که به دکتر میلسبو
راجع بود بعده ایشان تفوض و با حفظ مقام معاونت وزارت مالیه مشغول
کار شده اند.

All the duties that concerned Dr. X. have been relegated to the charge of Āḳā Ḥājj Fatinu 'l-Mulk Jalālī, who, as holder of the office of Under-Secretary in the Financial Ministry, has now taken up his duties.

فکر آزاد (ḥaḳḳ-shikanī): "Violation of Justice." (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 1, col. 1).

(They) have refrained from no sort of violation of—Justice:

از هیچ قسم حق شکنی خود داری نداشته.

حقوق (ḥuḳūk, pl. of حق ḥaḳḳ): "The income," (e.g., of a Department of State, and in this sense equivalent to بودجه "budget"). (مین 1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 1).

قبل از کودتا طهران دارای يك بلیه كوچك تحت اداره حكومت باماهی
پنج شش هزار تومان حقوق اداره میشد.

Before the *coup d'état* Teheran had a small municipal status and was administered by the Government with a monthly income of 5 or 6 thousand tūmāns.

——— "Emoluments." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 10, col. 4).

برای مخارج ساختمان و حقوق متخصصین و اعضای فنی ۲۵۰,۰۰۰ قران -

For the expenses of construction and the emoluments of the experts and scientists: 250,000 *qirāns*.

حقوق (pl. of حق *ḥaqq*): "Law."

حقوق بین المللی (*ḥuḥuk-e baina'l-milālī*): "International law." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, sub-col. 2).

و حقوق و مزایای آنها نباید دیگر از اصول عمومی حقوق بین المللی تجاوز نماید

And the rights and privileges of them (i.e., the Consuls) should no longer exceed the general principles of International Law.

حکم (*ḥukm*): "The requirement or tenour of a matter." (توق 1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 1).

طهرانی پیش نهاد نمود *** بحکمت يك يا چند نفر رجوع شود و دولت باید مجری حکم باشد -

Tehrānī proposed that (the matter) be referred to the judgment (or arbitration) of one or more persons and the Government carry out the requirement of the decision.

——— "A decision," (*ibidem*). See above.

——— حکم چیزی گرفتن (*ḥukm-chizī giriftan*): "To take the same effect as, to become as something." (*Passim*).

حکم فرما (*ḥukm-farmā*): "Prevailing."

اتحاد "To prevail," (as action of any kind). (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 3, col. 4).

حکم فرمائی (*ḥukm-farmā'ī*).

حکم فرما بودن as حکم فرمائی داشتن

حکمت (*ḥukmiyat*): "Judgment." (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 2, col. 1).

پیشنهادات راجع بماده ۱۶ مطرح و چون پیشنهاد آقای طهرانی مربوط بحکیت قابل توجه شد ماده بکسیون عودت داده شد.

Proposals relating to article 16 were brought up, and the proposal of Ākā Tīhrānī showing judgment deserving of (special) attention, the article was referred back to the Commission.

حکیت (ḥakamīyat, from حکم ḥakam, "arbitrator"), "arbitration." (حیات ایران 1924, No. 129, p. 1, col. 4).

See حکم.

حکومت (ḥukūmat).

افراد See حکومت افراد.

حکومت

نظامی . See حکومت نظامی (ḥukūmat-e nizāmī).

اتحاد (ḥukūmatī): A "government official." (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 1, col. 1).

اگر يك حكومتی برشت و یا کرمانشاه برود و برخلاف میل روسها یا انگلیسها وظیفه خود را انجام دهد بقدری مامورین این دوسفارت خانه کارشکنی در محل و فشار بمکرکز وارد میاورند تا بالاخره دولت مجبور بتغییر او میگردد.

If a government official go to Resht or Kirmānshāh and carry out his office in opposition to the will of the Russians or the English, the officials of the two legations use such obstruction in the locality, and exert such pressure on the capital that at last the Government is compelled to displace him.

حیاتی (ḥayātī): "Vital." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, No. 2, sub-col. 4).

و این نظریه مستقیماً مربوط به دولت انگلیس میباشد زیرا دفاع ترعه سوئز یکی از متافع حیاتی انگلستان محسوب شده.

And this view directly concerns the English Government, because the defence of the Suez Canal has been reckoned one of the vital interests of England.

حیث

از حیث (az hāis; with gen.): "Through," "by means"
(of). (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 4, col. 4).

شعبه مزبوره در شمیران موظف است که باطبا و مرضای آن نواحی از حیث
تجربه ها معمولی مانند امتحانات نوبه و حصبه و غیره و از حیث تهیه مایه های
ضد امراض مختلفه کمک نماید.

The above-mentioned branch (of the Pasteur Institute) in Shamīrān is charged with the duty of helping the doctors and patients of the district by means of analyses carried out, such as experiments in the matter of recurrent and spotted fever, etc., and through the preparation of specifics for difficult maladies.

خارج (khārij).

خارج نمودن "To exclude." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 5, col. 1).

بعضی بهر نوع نفع و مداخل و هرگونه استفاده عنوان عایدی میدهند و بعضی
دیگر چندین قسم استفاده و نفع را از آن خارج و استثنا می نمایند.

Some call every kind of gain, emoluments or profit, income, whilst others exclude and except from this (category) a number of kinds of profit and gain.

[i.e., in view of taxation].

خارجی (khārijī): A "foreigner." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 3).

لازم است که قوای مکنی برای حفظ جان و مال خارجی ها که * * از
وظایف انگلستان است در دسترس باشد.

It is necessary that sufficient forces should be at hand for the protection of the life and property of foreigners, which is a duty incumbent on England.

خاطر نشان (khātir-nishān).

خاطر نشان کردن (with gen. of person, and را of thing):
"To call the attention" (of a person to something). (مبین
1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 2).

اعمال هر يك را با اسم و رسم با ذكر مدارك خاطر نشان عموم خواهيم كرد.

We will call the attention of the public to the acts of each one of these officials, (giving) full details, and mentioning our authorities.

ستاره ايران). (خاطر نشان كردن (Passive of خاطر نشان شدن) ———
(1924, No. 9, p. 3, col. 2).

————— "To impress" (with gen. and را) خاطر نشان نمودن ———
(upon), "to urge." (1924, No. 7, p. 1, col. 2).

بر قدر عظمت امر را در موارد حاضر خاطر نشان نمايد راه مبالغه نه
پيموده است.

He could not employ terms too strong to impress (upon you) the gravity of the affair in the present conjuncture.

1927, ايران جوان). (as income). "Nett." (khālīs) خالص
(No. 24, p. 5, col. 1).

بموقع است که * انواع واقسام عایدات را در نظر گرفته وعایدات
خالص را که مقصود قانون گذار است تشخیص دهیم.

It is fitting that we consider all the various kinds of income, and distinguish nett income, which the legislator had in view.

1924, فکر آزاد). (to). "Traitor" (to) : (به) (kha'in, with) خانین
(No. 148, p. 4, col. 3).

اگر بر ای بدکاران و خانین بوطن مجازات در کار بود نصرة الدوله
پس از افراد بگرفت ۱۳۰ هزار لیره دوباره وکیل نشده.

If punishment had been in force for evil-doers and traitors to their country, Nuṣratu'd-Daula, after confessing that he has taken 130 thousand pounds, would not again have become a Member (of Parliament).

1927, No. 55, محشر). "Dilapidation." (خرابی) (kharābī)
(p. 3, col. 1).

راه عبور بواسطه کثرت گودالها و خرابیها قطع میشود.

By reason of all the pits and dilapidations the roadway is closed (to traffic).

خرافات (khurāfāt, pl.): "Idle stories, mythological fables." (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 3).

ذاکرن مزدور فروشندگان زهرا و هام و خرافات

Hired reciters of God's praises, sellers of the poison of superstitions and idle stories.

ایران جوان (khurāfātī): "Nonsensical, idle." (1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 3).

اما امروز دیگر باد اشتن همسایه هائی که مالیه خود را مطابق اصول جدید
علمی اداره میکنند ما نمی توانیم رویه خرافاتی سابق را تعقیب نمائیم

But in these days when we have neighbours who administer their finances according to new scientific principles, we can no longer pursue our former nonsensical views.

خرج (kharj): "Expenditure, expense."

بخرج دادن (To expend.) (ترقی 1924, No. 7, p. 1, col. 5).

چه قدر حمایت بخرج میدادند برای اینکه هر قدر قدرت دارند برای
جنگیدن با من بکار برند -

What determination have they not expended to use all their power to fight me!

[Napoleon is supposed to be speaking].

زبان آزاد (kharj-tarāshī): "Parsimony." (1917, No. 28, p. 1).

خورد (khurd, but often wrongly spelled) : "Bruised, crushed." (نوبهار 1917, No. 56, p. 3).

خزانه

خزانه داری کل (khizāna dārī-ye kull): "The Government Treasury." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 1).

از طرف خزانه داری کل بر طبق راپرت ملزومات اطلاع داده می
شود مبلغ شش هزار تومان از بقیه اعتبار فوق باقی است -

The Treasury from the report of the (General) Requirements (Service) notifies that the sum of 6,000 tūmāns remains over out of the above-mentioned Government assignment.

[See also اعتبار].

خشکبار (khushkbār) : “Dried fruits and nuts.” (Phillott, under “Preserve”).

خصائص (Khaṣā'is pl. of خاصیت) : “Disposition, tendencies.” (فرهنگ 1888, No. 582, p. 2, col. 3).

امپراطور کیوم ثانی چون پادشاه جوانی است و طینت لشکری ایشان
بر خصائص دیپلوما تیکیشان غالب است *** امپراطور شدن اور اعلامت
و وقوع جنگ می شمر دند.

Since the Emperor William II is young and his martial temperament is prevalent over his disposition to diplomacy, his becoming Emperor was taken as a sign that war would occur.

طور بطور خصوصی (khuṣūṣī). See طور under خصوصی.

خطاب (khiṭāb).

فکر آزاد (1924) “To call, address as.” خطاب کردن
No. 148, p. 4, sub-col. 2).

چرا مارا سائر ملل نیم وحشی خطاب میکنند.

Why do other nations call us semi-savages?

خطابه

خطابه ایراد نمودن (khiṭāba'ī irād namūdan) : “To make a speech.” (اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 3, col. 2). See ایراد نمودن.

خلع (khal').

خلع سلاح (khal'-e silāh) : “Disarmament.” (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 4).

بر حسب دعوتی که از طرف دولت امریکائی شمالی بعمل آمده است
کنفرانس خلع سلاح بحری بین دول امریکا انگلیس ژاپون در ژنو تشکیل خواهد
گردید.

In accordance with the invitation of the United States, a Conference on naval disarmament between America, England, and Japan will be opened in Geneva.

خندق (khandaq): A "military trench," (Redhouse).

خود خواه (khud-khvāh): "Selfish." (Phillott, and محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 1).

رئیس بلدیۀ قزوین شخصی است بواهلوس و خود خواه و طماع -

The Governor of the Municipality of Qazvin is a capricious, selfish, and covetous man.

خود داری (khud-dārī).

خود داری کردن "To refrain." (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 4, col. 4).

میرزای ضابط * * از آوردن اسناد * * بکسیون اصلاح * خود داری میکرد -

The Mīrzā Zābiṭ refrained from bringing the documents to the Commission of improvement.

خود داری نمودن [Khud-dārī namūdan. (khvad)]. "To refrain, to use self-restraint." (اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 3, col. 3).

حالا نمی توانند از تعقیب رویۀ سابقشان منصرف و خود داری نمایند -

They cannot now recede from their former procedure or refrain from following it out.

خورد (khvard). Often written erroneously for خورد (khurd).

خوردن

بدرد خوردن [ba-dard khurdan. (khvardan)]. "To meet the trouble, difficulty, or need." (کاوه 1921, Apr. 10, p. 5). See under درد (dard).

خودی (khudī): "one's own (people)," as opposed to بیگانه "strangers" or "foreigners." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 4).

علنا اهالی را غارت و دولت را در انظار خودی و بیگانه ظالم معرفی * * نموده -
(He) has openly plundered the inhabitants and made the Government appear as tyrants in the eyes of our people and foreigners.

خوش مزه [khush-maza (khvash). As جocular," (Shāh's Diary).

خون سردی (khūn-sardī) : "Indifference, calmness." (Probably from Fr. "*sangfroid*.)" (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 1).

ولی خوش بختانه تحریکات آنها بای اعتنائی و خون سردی نوده تلقی شد.

But happily their instigations have been met by the masses with carelessness and indifference.

خيار "Choice, option."

خيار الغبن (khiyārū 'l-ghabn) : "The right to rescind a bargain on the plea of fraud." (Beck's P.G., p. 461).

باسقاط كافة خيارات سيما خيار الغبن ولو كان فاحش بل الغش -

No rights to rescind the bargain being allowed, even, and especially, on the plea of fraud, however flagrant it were.

داخله (dākhila) : "The interior." (ترق 1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 2).

ژر ال کستا ایتورا تصرف نموده تا از فرار انقلابیون بداخله مملکتی جلوگیری

نماید.

General X. has taken that place in order to prevent the revolutionaries from fleeing into the interior of the country.

داد

داد رسیدن (ba-dād rasīdan) : "To come to one's help." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 3, col. 5).

البته باز قوه تصور است که * بعد از تسلیم شدن اراده بدادمان رسیده -

Assuredly it is again the force of imagination which, after the surrendering of the will, comes to our help.

دار A "house."

ایران جوان (dāru 'l-'ulūm) : A "university." (تعقیب 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 2). See under

داشتن

برداشتن (bar-dāshtan) : "To suffer," (as a wound). (Lit., "to carry off.") (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 3).

بهاء الملك نیز از طرف دیگر زمین خورده جراحت سخت برمی دارد -

Bahā 'u 'l-Mulk too, on the other side, falling to the ground, suffered a severe injury.

————— "To bear," (as expenses). See مخارج .

دالان

دالان راه آهن (dālān-e rāh-e āhan): A "railway-tunnel."
(کاوه 1921, Apr. 10, p. 4).

دائر (dā'ir), (with به): "With reference" (to),
"signifying." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, sub-col. 3).

مشغول است نوشتجاتی بامضای اهالی و تجار بعنوان وزارت داخله دائر
رضایت از خودش بدست بیاورد -

He is engaged in procuring the signatures of the inhabitants and merchants to papers signifying their satisfaction with him addressed to the Home Office.

دائر

دائر شدن (dā'ir): "To be carried on," (as a business).
(ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, sub-col. 2).

باید راجع بشعباتی که از شرکتهای خارجی در خاک ایران دائر می شود
تضمینات کافی نسبت بمعاملاتی که در ایران می نمایند تحصیل شود -

As regards the branches of foreign companies which are carried on in Persia sufficient guarantees must be taken in respect of their transactions in Persia.

دائرة (dā'ira): A "department" (of State). (نکر آزاد)
1924, No. 148, p. 2, col. 2).

آقایان محترم نمایندگان دوائر دولتی و تجار محترم * * از طرف جمهاری
متحدہ شوروی * * شمارا بمناسبت امضاشدن قرار داد تجارتی * * تبریک
می گویم -

Honoured representatives of State departments and respected merchants! I congratulate you on behalf of the Soviet Republic on the signing of the commercial treaty.

دائرة (dā'ira.)

دائرة ثبت اسناد و املاک (da'ira-ye sabt-e asnād u amlāk) :
 "The land and house-Record Office." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 4, col. 3).

چنانچه کسی نسبت به ثبت ملک و مجرای مزبور اعتراض دارد * * * میتواند
 بدائرة ثبت اسناد و املاک طهران * * * اظهار نماید.

If any one has any objection to the recording of the above-mentioned land with its dimensions as described, he can state it to the land and house-Record Office of Teheran.

دچار (دوچار)

دچار نمودن (duchār namūdan; with را of person and به of thing) : "To bring" (upon); (e.g., a malady). (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 4, col. 4).

معلوم است که حشرات مختلفه * * * انسان و حیوانات را بامراض
 مختلفه * * * دچار می نمایند.

It is known that several kinds of insects bring various maladies upon men and animals.

دخالت (dakhālat) : "Intervention." (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 2).

میزبزرگی بدون دخالت ارواح بسوالات ما جواب میداد.

A large table answered our questions without the intervention of spirits.

دخول (Dukhūl; with به) : "Entering, entrance" (into). (بیک 1924, No. 18, p. 2, col. 3).

در صورت سوء ظن حق دخول بمنازل و اجرای تحقیقات خواهند داشت.

In case of suspicion, they shall have the right of entering houses and pursuing investigations.

در "Of."

e.g., در مرضی (dar marazī) : "Of" (a malady). (اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 4, col. 2).

ارتور رانسوم از اطباءى متخصص در مرض سل وفات کرده است.

Arthur X., a distinguished physician, has died of consumption.

در (dar. prep.): "As"; e.g., در نتیجه "As a result of." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 2). Cf. also در ردیف under ردیف.

در نتیجه حسن روابط خارجى سردار سپه بود که * * دودولت روسیه وانگلیس هم حاضر بودند اسلحه جات مزبوره بایران شدند.

It was too as a result of the good foreign relations of the General Commanding-in-Chief that Russia and England were willing to allow the importation of the above-mentioned arms into Persia.

در (dar; prep.): "In," in the expression در نتیجه "in consequence." (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 3).

حکم تحریم قند کارخانه کهریزک را صادر کرد و کارخانه مزبور در نتیجه بسته شده و هنوز هم بسته است و زنگ تمام ماشینهایش را ناپا بود نموده.

He issued an order prohibiting the sugar of the Kahrizak factory, and that factory in consequence was closed and is still closed; and he has put an end to the clatter of all its machines.

در (dar, as generally in multiplication), is used in the expression of superficial measurement, as در يك فرسخ "One league square." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 1).

حکومت کرمانشاه روز گذشته تلگرافا اطلاع می دهد که يك فرسخ در يك فرسخ ملخ باطراف سرپل ریخته.

Yesterday the Government of Kirmānshāh telegraphed (to Teheran) that locusts have come in swarms one mile square around Sar-e Pul.

درام (Fr.): "Drama." (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 3, col. 3).
A drama in the life of women. درام از حیات نسوان.

اتحاد (In Economics). "The open door." (درب باز و آزاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 2).

سیاست اقتصادی امریکا - امریکای مدافع آزادی و حقوق ملل کوچک و امریکائی که طرفدار سیاست درب باز و آزاد تجارت عمومی است برای مایگانه وسیله ترقی و اولین قومی است که درجاده استقلال حقیقی بر میداریم -

The economic policy of America—America, the defender of the freedom and rights of small nations, and the partisan of the policy of the open door in public commerce—is for us the only means of progress, and the first step for us to take on the path of true independence.

[I think in the above quotation مدافع should be allowed by the preposition از].

[(درجه) درجت pl. of darajāt. درجات]

(ba-darjāt) بدرجات : “In a large measure, to a great degree.” (1924, No. 7, p. 1, col. 3). (ترقی)

جنبه ادبیت و فلسفه و قضایای معنوی در میان توده مات ایران و در مدارس ما بدرجات بر مادیات غلبه دارد -

The tendency towards language and literature, philosophy, and intellectual matters (generally) prevail to a great degree among the mass of the Persian nation and in our schools our material matters.

درد

(dard kardan) درد کردن : “To pain” (one), “to ache”; (e.g., “دستم درد میکند.”) “My hand aches.”

[ba-dard khurdan (khvardan)] بدرد خوردن : “To meet the trouble, difficulty or need.” (1921, Apr. 10, p. 5). (کاوه) Cf. بکار خوردن .

(dar-yāft) دریافت

“To be received, exacted,” (e.g., as a payment, a fine, or a tax). (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 4, col. 2). دریافت شدن

The price will be received in ready money: “قیمت قدا تحویل under تحویل گرفتن See too دریافت میشود

دریافت داشتن “To receive.” (1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 3). (عشر)

عشرعایدات سیزده فقره قرا و مزارع راهمه ساله بعنوان زکات دریافت می داشته اند.

They have been receiving every year a tenth of the revenue of 16 villages and pasture lands as a pious due.

دست (dast).

(. بدست آوردن (with genitive. For "To get possession (of), to procure." (مین 1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 3).

برائی دست آوردن آب در چنین نواحی * لازم است که از روی دانش و علم فکری بنایند.

In order to procure water in such districts they must use considerable thought supported by knowledge and science.

دست

با (dast ba-dāman gashtan. With the person): "To beg for help" (from). (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 3, col. 3).

جزاینکه بامثال آن مرد لثیم دست بدامن کردند چه چاره دارند.

What remedy have they save to ask for help from such as that sordid man?

دست

جنگ دست بیکه (dast ba-yako): "Grasping collars." (مین 1924, No. 27, p. 2, sub-col. 4).
(jang-e-dast ba-yako): "Hand to hand conflict."

از کلیه اسلحه و وسائل جنگی که بتواند تا آخرین نقطه یعنی تا هنگام جنگ دست بیکه تصرف و اشغال مقصد را با پیاده نظام کمک و همراهی نماید بهترین اسلحه بشمار خواهد آمد.

Of all the arms and resources of war that up to the last stage, i.e., hand to hand conflict, can with the infantry afford help in taking and occupying the objective, (the tank) will be reckoned the best.

دست

(az dast dar raftan): "To get out of hand." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 3).

اعزام سفاین فقط عنوان اقدام احتیاطیه دارد زیرا مردم مصر خیلی زود از دست درمی روند و بنابراین لازم است که قوای مکنی برای حفظ جان و مال خارجی ها * * * در دسترس باشد

The sending of ships was simply as a precautionary measure, since the Egyptians very soon get out of hand, and hence it is necessary that sufficient forces should be at hand for the protection of the lives and property of foreigners.

دست

دست و پا نهادن (ba-dast u pā uftādan; as دست و پا نهادن)
 "To exert oneself." (۱۹۱۷, No. ۴۰).

دستبرد

دستبرد زدن (dastburd zadan; with بر): "To make an attack" (upon). (اتحاد ۱۹۲۲, No. ۲۱۵, p. ۴, col. ۳).

مقارن همان حال يك دسته اشخاص مسلح بر چهار بانك دستبرد زده و معادل مبلغ ۱۳۵۰ لیره وجه تقدیر داشتند.

At the same time a body of armed men made an attack on four banks and carried off a sum of £1,450 in cash.

دست خوش (dash-khush; with gen.): "Subject" (to), "under the control" (of). (محشر ۱۹۲۷, No. ۵۵, p. ۱, sub-col. ۵).

بيت المال مسلهين دست خوش اغراض مصادرا مور

The Public Treasury, subject to the selfish interest of the authorities.

دستجات (dastajāt, pl. of دسته): "Classes, categories, parties." Sometimes conveniently rendered "Department." (ایران جوان ۱۹۲۷, No. ۲۴, p. ۲, sub-col. ۱).

نه نفر مهندس امریکائی که در دستجات نقشه بردار مشغول خدمت شوند.

Nine American engineers, to be employed in the department of plan drawing.

دسترس

دردسترس بودن (dar dast-ras budan): "To be available, at hand." (طوفان ۱۹۲۷, No. ۱۹۱, p. ۲, col. ۳).

See under دست (dast) در رقتن .

ستاره ایران (dast-rasī) : "Access, accessibility." 1924, No. 9, p. 4, col. 1).

جبل الطارق در روی يك تخته سنگ سر اشيب سختی بنا گردیده كه از سمت دریا دست رسی بآن میسر نیست

Gibraltar is built over against a hard steep rock to which there is no accessibility on the side of the sea.

دستگاه (dastgāh) : A "(musical) instrument." 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 1).

این اشتغالات خللی بآهنگ یا وزن دستگاهی كه می نواز د نمی رساند.

These (other) occupations do not impair the harmony or measure of the instrument he is playing.

دستگاه

دستگاه دولت (dastgāh-e daulat) : "The business or office of Government." (1921, Apr. 10, p. 4).

دستور (dastur) : "Agenda, programme."

دستور مقرر گردیدن (dastūr muḵarrar gardīdan) : For "the agenda to be appointed." 1924, No. 27, p. 2, col. 1).

دستور جلسه آتیة لایحه امتیاز نفت (وعیره) مقرر گردید.

The agenda for the coming sitting was appointed (as follows) : a bill on the petrol concession, (&c. &c.).

—— The "Motion" (of a member of Parliament). A particular case of the general meaning, "the order of the day." 1927, No. 24, p. 10, col. 3).

قبل از دستور آقائی تقی زاده راجع بمذاکرات جلسه قبل فہیمی اظهار کرد (وغیره).

Before the motion of Āḳā Taḳī Zāda relative to the discussions of the previous sitting (was considered), Fahīmī offered a statement, (&c.).

دستور (daštūr).

دستورات (pl.): "Powers, license, authority." (1927, No. 55, p. 2, col. 1), is used in the same sense as the sing. دستور.

دسته

دسته مخالف (dasta-ye mukhālif): "The opposition," (in Parliament). (1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 3).

اخیر ایکی از نمایندگان مهم آنها پرگرام دسته مخالف را بقراردیل * * شرح داده است -

Lately one of the most important of the representatives (of the left wing Communists) has explained the programme of the Opposition in detail as follows.

دفاع (difā): "Driving away."

دفاع کردن (with از): "To defend." (1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 3).

در مجلس اشراف مذاکره راجع بروسیه از طرف لرد پارمور مطرح شده بالفور جوابا از اقدام دولت دفاع کرد -

In the House of Lords a discussion relative to Russia was raised by Lord X., who immediately in answer (to a question, proceeded to) defend the Government measures.

دکتر

دکتر در حقوق (doktor-e dar hukūk): "Doctor of Laws." (1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 3).

مسابقه آن بقدری مشکل است که جز دکترهای در حقوق که مطالعات عمیقی در مایه کرده هیچ کس نمی تواند (و غیره) -

The competitive (examination) for it is so difficult that none save Doctors of Laws who have studied finances deeply can (&c.).

دکتر (Fr. Doctorat): "Doctorate." (1924, No. 9, p. 4, col. 2).

دلار: A "dollar." (1927, No. 24, p. 11, col. 1).

دلال (dallāli): "Brokerage, commission paid to one who negotiates a business." (۱۹۲۷، p. 2, sub-col. 5).

ایران جوان (dil-sūzī): "Ardour, earnestness." (۱۹۲۷، No. 24, p. 3, col. ۱).

در غالب تاسیسات ایران نظر موسس کسب شهرت است و دلسوزی کافی در استحکام بنا بعمل نمی آید.

In most Persian institutions the founder's aim is to gain celebrity, and sufficient earnestness is not used to consolidate the building.

دمکراسی (Fr.): "Democracy." (۱۹۲۷، ایران جوان، No. 24, p. 3, col. 3).

دوام

دوام نمودن (davām namūdan): "To last!" (i.e., to resist wear). (۱۹۲۴، ستاره ایران، No. 9, p. 4, col. 3).

اقلادوسال بلکه متجاوز دوام می نماید.

(This tyre) will last at least two years, nay more.

دوچرخه (dū-charkha): A "bicycle." (۱۹۲۷، طوفان، No. 191).

دوچرخه ئیدی آل که محکمترین دوچرخه ها بتازگی وارد شده.

(Some) "Ideal" bicycles, which are the strongest, have recently come to hand.

دور (daur).

دور کردن (as دور زدن): "To revolve." (۱۹۲۴، No. 27, p. 4, col. 2).

اگر عامل عوض خط مستقیم بدائرة فکر کند شاقول دور می زند.

If the agent think (intently) of a circle instead of a straight line the plummet will revolve.

دوره (daura). Equivalent to "Parliament" in such an expression as دوره پنجم "the Fifth Parliament."

این دوروزه (dū rūza). See دوروزه.

دوسیه (Fr.): "Dossier." (۱۹۲۴، ستاره ایران، No. 9, p. 2, col. 2).

دول

دول دادن (dūl dādan): "To trick." (1922, اتحاد, No. 219, p. 1, col. 5). See امرار وقت.

دولت (daulat): "The Government," (i.e., of the Cabinet). (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 2).

دولتهای دیگر هم میتوانستند که بآدو دولت فرانسه و آلمان داخل مذاکره شده آنها را حاضر بفروش آلات صنعتی و احتیاجات ایران بنمایند.

Other Governments too might have been able to hold conferences with the two Governments of France and Germany and induce them to sell industrial implements and things required by Persia.

ده (daha): "The ten days of mourning in Muḥarram." (Cf. ده ها 1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 4).

جریده تمدن بواسطه * احترام عاشورا تا آخر ده منتشر نمی شود.

Out of reverence for the 10th day of Muḥarram the "Tamaddun" journal will not be published till the end of the ten days of mourning.

ستاره (Fr. *Diplôme*): A "certificate, diploma." (دپلم 1924, No. 9, p. 4, col. 2).

ستاره ایران (Fr. *Diplômé*): "Certificated." (دپلمه 1924, No. 9, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

دپلوماسی (Fr.): "Diplomacy."

هیئت دپلوماسی (ḥa'iat-e diplomasī): "The corps diplomatique." (1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

پیشنهاد نمایندۀ مختار و دولت اتحاد جماهیر شوروی راجع باینکه اقدامات مشترکه کور دپلوما تیک خاتمه یافته محسوب شود از طرف هیئت دپلوماسی قبول شده است.

The proposal of the Plenipotentiary and the Soviet Government that the measures adopted in common by the Corps Diplomatique should be counted as final has been accepted by that body.

دیکتاتور (Fr.): "Dictator." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 3).

C. E. WILSON.

(To be continued)

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

MR. YUSUF ALI'S TRANSLATION OF THE QUR'AN*

MR. ABDULLAH YUSUF ALI has a wonderful command of English as he has shown in many essays and public lectures both in India and in England. It goes without saying that his translation of the Qur'ân is in better English than any previous English translation by an Indian. On the other hand it could not be mistaken, as many of his articles and lectures could be, for the writing of an Englishman. This is partly owing, doubtless, to the difficulty of the task (for the Qur'ân requires a special kind of English) but it is also largely owing to the fact that he has chosen to print his translation not as prose, but broken into lines which look like metre but are neither metrical nor reasoned, and in no way reproduce or connote the strongly marked Quranic rhythm so impressive in the Arabic, which cannot be transported into any other language. It is a rash undertaking for anyone, however skilful, to endeavour to impose new literary forms upon a language not his own.

Mr. Yusuf Ali has extended this quasi-metrical treatment to his own introduction and to the ecstatic comments which he here and there interpolates somewhat after the manner of the chorus in Greek tragedies. The effect is to obtrude the literary personality of the translator, which in our opinion ought to be excluded altogether from the actual text of such a work.

In his preface Mr. Yusuf Ali tells us that he does not aim at literal translation but at conveying the meaning of the sacred text in his own words. The obvious advantage of such freedom, from the point of view of readers, would have been to enable him to suggest the whole scope of meaning in words and passages of which only one facet can be given by a literal rendering. The best way of doing this is in the form of the

**The Holy Qur'an*. English Translation and Commentary (with Arabic Text) by A. Yusuf Ali, Lahore, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Parts I, II and III.

old commentaries. Here we find that the translation as a whole is fairly literal and that the freedom arrogated in the preface has been used to evade some difficulties of the Arabic and ignore some words and idioms with the result that in very many passages fine shades of meaning have been missed. Printed face to face with the Arabic text of the Qur'ân Mr. Yusuf Ali's version thus appears less as a free than as a careless inexact translation. Published apart from the Arabic it might have passed muster—especially if printed as straightforward prose.

Mr. Yusuf Ali is not content with words and phrases which have been made current by other translators, though his substitutions strike us always as less happy—e.g., "Most Gracious, Most Merciful" is no improvement on "the Beneficent, the Merciful" and the Arabic words thus rendered are not in the superlative; and "those who reject the Faith" is no improvement on "the unbelievers"; there is no need here to render one word by a paraphrase. The translator applies the word "Apostle" to our Prophet throughout—in our opinion quite a serious error for a Muslim writer. It is true, of course, that the Greek word *apostolos* means "messenger" and so would be the Greek equivalent of the Arabic word رسول. But the English word "apostle" is appropriate to twelve messengers of Jesus though often figuratively applied to missionaries and reformers. It is not appropriate to a Messenger of God in the Islamic sense, a major Prophet, since it is never applied to Jesus Christ. The first translators, who were filled with Christian missionary zeal, employed this word in order to place our Prophet on a lower level in the reader's mind than Jesus Christ. Mr. Yusuf Ali does not limit his use of the word 'Apostle' to رسول, he uses it also as a translation of نبي which is absolutely wrong. He also translates نبيين as "messengers." We could multiply such strictures but forbear to do so. No distinction whatsoever is here made between words of which the equivalent is present in the Qur'ân and words interpolated by the translator; but that defect, we suppose, is palliated by the claim of free translation, though here it is confronted with the testimony of the Arabic text. There are many obvious oversights which should be corrected (e.g., 'moon' for 'moons,' I, 189; and 'except He,' I, 255).

It is as a highly individual commentary rather than as a translation that this work appeals to us. The footnotes,

though personal more often than strictly Islamic in their outlook, are valuable for the faith which they reveal and for the frequent apt comparisons with Christianity. (In footnote 182, by the way, Mr. Yusuf Ali is wrong in thinking that the meaning of the English word "retaliation" differs at all from that of the Arabic word *نصام*). We hope the work will be of service in connection with the large and apparently growing class of Indian Muslims who know English better than they know the teaching of their own Qur'ân, but not so well as Mr. Yusuf Ali, whose views on the Qur'ân they will respect accordingly.

The method of publishing in thirty short instalments, each at one rupee, will enable people of small means to buy this otherwise expensive book.

M. P.

POPULAR INDIAN ORNITHOLOGY*

A DIFFICULT task is here excellently accomplished. The author takes a representative selection of the fascinating bird population of India, describing over 500 of the most striking and widely-distributed species, and gives as illustration numerous drawings in the text as well as twenty beautiful Plates, five of them delightfully coloured. As the artist is Mr. H. Grönvold needless to say that his models live again.

The world is blessed with more than fourteen thousand species of birds, those most beautiful and vivid of all God's creatures, and India has the good fortune to be the home of a goodly number of them. A cheap and well-illustrated, authentic guide like the volume before us is an essential for everyone who wishes to know more of Indian ornithology but is appalled by the bulk, price and technicalities of the standard works.

Pictures—coloured ones—are meat and drink to the would-be field-naturalist, he wants to be able to place a triumphant finger on the coloured and named portrait of the bird he has newly observed. This obvious suggestion is foreseen by Mr. Whistler; he says—"In Europe and America, where Nature-studies have made such vast strides and have now such a general appeal, the demand has made it possible to bring out numbers of cheap natural-history books with excellent coloured illustrations. In India this is not yet possible. The area is so great and the fauna and flora so rich

**Popular Handbook of Indian Birds.* (By Hugh Whistler, F.Z.S., Gurney and Jackson, Paternoster Row, London, pp. 512. 15sh. net. 2nd Edition.)

and diverse that to describe them requires more space and wealth of illustration than in the West, while the public to purchase such books is so much smaller and at present practically confined to the European population. It is, however, to be hoped that educated Indians may turn more and more to the study of the natural wonders of their land." This is true enough; indeed, we were not surprised to learn that the moderate price of this excellently presented volume is due to the public spirit of three gentlemen who are named in the author's Introduction. And Mr. Grönvold has so happy an inspiration for characteristic bird poise that even his uncoloured illustrations are a better guide to identification than the dead, wooden-looking coloured pictures too often issued.

Mr. Whistler's method is to give description, notes on "field identification," distribution, and habits of each species dealt with. No vernacular names are used. His wide knowledge of the subject and careful arrangement of matter are apparent on every page. His notes on "habits"—the peculiarities of flight and motion and food-getting, the gleam of colour, the choice of perch and nest-site, the call-note transposed into human sound—all these and many other invaluable helps for the beginner are the work of a highly-skilled field observer, and the book is packed with such notes.

A doleful list of species gone and going might be given of the birds of England and other lands subject to the obliterating march of "progress." In the delicately-balanced conditions of wild life the least alteration may spell the doom of one or more species seemingly firmly established. An area is marked down as "ripe for development," a marsh is drained, and that is the end of the specialised forms of life whose immemorial home was there. India is vast, it has a magnificent avifauna, a man might labour a life-time in chronicling merely the distribution of the races and the ebb and flow of a bird-life as it responds to the changing seasons and food conditions, and then still find his task incomplete. But, despite the immense area and abounding number of Indian birds, the modern trend is bound to lessen their sanctuaries. Therefore, books like this, awakening interest in the fascinating and ennobling study of the life around us, are more than welcome. We wish it every success. A grand field of discovery awaits even the humble beginner. As Mr. Whistler says:—

"The day is now over in which it was necessary to collect series of skins and eggs in India. Enough general

collecting has been done; concentration on filling in the gaps in our knowledge is now needed. Those who wish to help in the work should first familiarise themselves with what has been accomplished and learn what remains to be done. The greatest need of all is accurate observations on status and migration. In this all can help. Keep full notes for a year on the birds of your station, noting those that are resident and the times of arrival and departure, comparative abundance and scarcity of all the migratory kinds; and you will have made a contribution to ornithology that will in the measure of its accuracy and fullness be a help to every other worker."

R. C.

TURKISTAN TO-DAY*

We have heard little of conditions prevailing in Soviet Turkistân since the Muslim tribes of that remote region were subjected to the systematic attempt to establish an Asiatic proletariat under organised Socialism. The ancient ways are in process of being swamped by the modern, and in this most instructive and interesting of travel-books Mlle. Maillart has drawn some vivid pictures of life there during this amazing transition.

A woman, alone, of limited means, having no official standing, where life is of little more consideration than the religion and traditions of Muslim inhabitants!—It is to these very disabilities that some of the best features of Mlle. Maillart's narrative are due. Perforce, she saw life from the point of view of the peasant, the tent-dweller, the camel-driver, the humble men and women with whom she very literally rubbed shoulders in the discomforts of her daring adventure. Courage, self-reliance, and an astonishing endurance are hers—She is of international standing in several branches of sport—also linguistic skill, an easy camaraderie, and an enviable trick of rendering with photographic exactitude word-pictures of the passing scene.

The first part of her travel-journal deals with an expedition, with a few friends, from Moscow to the mountains of Tien Shan. From Alma Ata, the rapidly swollen capital of Kazakstan, she then treks alone via Aris to Tashkent, Samarqand, Bukhara, thence to Charjui on the Amu Daria (Oxus) and Turt Kol, and on to the port of Khojeyli where

**Turkestan Solo.* (By Ella K. Maillart. Putnam, Covent Garden, London, pp. 300, 10sh. 6d. net.)

begin the ramifications of the delta. The severe winter of that bleak region was by then fast closing in. Her intention had been to make Kantusiak, on the Sea of Aral, and cross in comparative comfort to rejoin the railway to Moscow. But she misses the last boat by a narrow margin and has to face the alternative of dreary, ice-bound months under primitive conditions, or 300 miles of fierce winter weather on camel-back across the Kizil Kum desert.

Choosing the latter, she is probably the first European to undertake this passage of the great Red Sands which border the eastern shore of the Aral Sea. A fine description follows of grey skies, grey ice, freezing desolation by day and bleak bivouacs at night. The desert becomes a waste of snow—"one's eyes water and the insides of one's nostrils stick together. That must mean the temperature is at least 25° below zero, Centigrade." The camel's mane is "as white as the beards one sees hanging from ancient firs; his lashes, brow, and nose are a hoar-frost posy. A constant layer of ice covers his breast-bone."

The above is a mere glimpse of a notable journey made vividly alive in every page of the book before us. The story is full of interest. Apart from its geographical value, numerous side-lights on the new economic conditions will assist the student of history. The perpetual propaganda gets on the nerves of the traveller. At Tashkent, for instance, she writes: "These eternal lectures bore me. They are all exactly the same, whether at Nalchik, Kara Kol, or Moscow. They make me think of Tibetan praying-wheels; 'importance of developing culture among the natives, of educating the masses, of constructing Socialism by levelling the classes, Socialism whose triumph alone will save the world from capitalist bankruptcy!' Even if all our salvations depended on it, surely it could be orchestrated with a little more variety." Another incident from the same region:—

"A Russian and an Uzbek talk together at my side. The Russian departing, I offer a lump of sugar to the man, whose appearance I like, and whom I would like to make talk.

" "Yes," I say "the life here is extraordinarily interesting; I come from a long way off to visit you and see how things are working out. But hang it! your pilav is pretty dear!"

" "Ah, you come from far away. In your country, in Frankistan, do you grow rice? Do you know what they've done here? The order was given out to plant cotton all over.

So the plough went everywhere, blotting out the tiny irrigation channels of the rice-fields that were made so long ago and kept up with such care. And after that, when they saw the corn wasn't coming so easily from Siberia, they said to us 'Replant a third with rice.' But now it can't be done, all the irrigation channels are dead. And another thing, you know: keys! in the past such things didn't exist; everything was open, houses and shops. Now we ruin ourselves in padlocks, and you can't keep anything safe from thieves."

In Samarqand the author witnessed, and daringly photographed, the pitiful trial of nineteen Bassmatchi, and the inevitable death-sentence. Under the name of Bassmatchi (thief or bandit) are grouped all revolutionaries, enemies of the Soviet régime—a composite term, for the conquest of Turkistân was notoriously a bloody one, savage resistance was offered, and the anti-Muslim activities of the Soviet leaders bitterly resented. So, too, was the taming to systematic groupings under Five Year Plans of a nomadic population, some sections of which have existed under semi-feudal conditions for centuries, yet with an instinctive craving for freedom in their very bones. The substitution of workmen's barracks for tents of felt in the limitless desert is easier than the quelling of the spiritual force of individualism and freedom.

Mlle. Maillart's account is well-informed without being overweighted with historical data; but she is observer, not critic, and her observations are opportune at this particular stage of the Asiatic part of the gigantic Russian experiment. From the point of view of the general reader they also have the additional advantage of being presented in an attractive style. The writer has a happy knack of extracting story and anecdote to illustrate the lives of the humble ones whom she chanced to meet. Her comments are few, but the conclusion the reader will draw is that for many of the inhabitants of Turkistân living conditions under the process of adaptation to the new order had become all but impossible.

This new order has even brought American negroes—supervising the cotton-growing area—"the black cotton-pickers of Hallelujah, the inspired people of the 'Spirituals' illustrated by Covarrubias were taking their due revenge. Their sons have recrossed the waters and are now masters who teach in their turn." Another quaint encounter was the wife of the Grand Duke Nicolas Constantinovitch, once banished from the Court. "She had her head tied in a lace veil, her hair was waved, and the loose skin of her face was plastered with powder. A bitter expression was on her lips

as, with inquisitorial eye, inspecting the merchandise (in Tashkent bazaar) she went from stall to stall. She wore a grey braided jacket, a white dress with frills, used her umbrella like a cane, and carried a portfolio under her arm. A ruin of the past.....I could not take my eyes off her, but she did not notice it, so busy was she buying nothing, getting angrier as she went, because the grapes, the most abundant product of Tashkent, were nowhere cheaper than two roubles a pound....."

A naturalist might envy this writer's keen observation. During a mountain journey she writes—"Looking utterly out of place in this Alpine landscape, the camel is its dominating feature. Peeled and worn, its knees look like ancient stones in contrast to the feet covered with close, dark, fur in which thick toe-nails are embedded. The massy foot, soft-fleshed and webbed, spreads wide at every step. The fore quarters are adorned with enormous dark bulging ruffs that exaggerate the lower portion of the silhouette, while the long neck disappears into a wiry-looking ruff that dies away beneath the chin.

"In youth its chaps do not hang down but, ruminating, express complete disdain for everything around. Above the slits of nostrils, almond-shaped, a plaited cord passes through the septum of the nose, its other end being fastened to a peg stuck in the earth. It must surely be this halter in the nose that is responsible for the expression of noble indignation that it bears.

"The eye stands prominently out from the steeply jutting arch of the socket. There is no forehead, and then comes sprouting hair in crinkled waves, a veritable negroid skull which flows on to a scanty mane that, as it descends, unexpectedly reveals ears like a dog's. After which follows the monstrous poem of the back: two flesh waves, in line, whose tufted crests tilt over the same way. In themselves they are hard, but in comparison with the animal soft, and seem the continuation of the belly walls. But the relation of the second hump to the hind quarters looks all wrong, for the monumental back thins suddenly away into narrow quarters with no rump, a scrap of triangular tail, and long and skinny thighs."

There are many photographs taken by the author that happily illustrate the text, which has been well translated by Mr. John Rodker.

AN OLD TURK REFORMER*

"Ibn Khaldun, the great Arab historian, has written in the *Prolegomena* to his history:—'Empires, like persons, have a term of life which is peculiar to them; they grow, they reach the age of maturity, then they begin to decline.' Benjamin Davis Shreve was evidently in complete agreement with this interpretation of the data of history when he bequeathed to Princeton University an endowment whose income must be used 'for the study of the history of nations, both ancient and modern, to ascertain the cause of their decay, degeneracy, extinction and destruction.' The present work is one of the fruits of a fellowship supported by his foundation."

So Professor Walter Livingston Wright Junior informs us at the beginning of his preface to this excellent edition of *Naṣāḥ'ihū'l-wuzarâ' wa l-umarâ'* (The good counsels of Ministers of State and Princes) of which the authorship is here quite clearly traced to Sâri Mehmed Pâshâ, who was Defterdâr to the Osmanli Sultân Muṣṭafâ and afterwards intermittently to Sultân Aḥmad III between the years 1703 and 1717 A.D., and who is also known as Ash-Shahîd (the Martyr) because, like so many an upright servant of the Osmanlis, he was executed as the result of bitter court intrigue.

How seriously the Princeton fellowship formed to carry out the bequest above-mentioned takes its work can be judged from this volume which bears all the marks of special study of Ottoman Turkish language, literature, sociology and history although it is the product of a foundation for the general purposes of history. Only a few years ago it was the custom in Western Europe, and still more in America, to refer to the Osmanli Turks as a nation of illiterate barbarians who have never done anything in the fields of literature, art or science. Therefor we are particularly glad to find a great American university occupied with the production of a work which will dispel that illusion. The Osmanli Turks have, in fact, produced a splendid literature in almost every field of

* نصائح الوزراء والامراء صاري محمد باشاه مصححي پرنستون دارالقانون

موسلرندن والترل . رايت

Ottoman Statecraft. The Book of Counsels for Viziers and Governors of Sâri Mehmed Pâsha the Defterdar. Turkish text with introduction. Translation and Notes by Walter Livingston Wright Jr. Princeton University Press, 1935. London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.

human thought. Their misfortune, as opposed to Europe in particular, was that their work was hidden in a language which few people cared to learn on account of its great difficulty.

Prof. Livingston Wright's account of the old Turkish social and political order and of the causes of decay inherent in it is authoritative but he does not mention the chief cause of the disintegration of the empire, which was the league of Christian Powers against Turkey and their corruption of the Christian subjects of the Porte. Perhaps it hardly comes within his purview, Şâri Mehmed Pâshâ being concerned exclusively with the decline of Muslim virtues in the administrators; but it might have been at least referred to in the introduction.

The Turkish text is printed in a bold, clear Naskh type, easy to read. We notice a certain number of misprints, all of them too evident to be misleading. The translation, though, of course, not literal—a literal translation from old Turkish would make nonsense—is quite competent, conveying all the meaning of the Turkish text. We quote the following as an example of the translation and also of the nature of the contents of a very interesting Turkish book:—

“Let them neither oppress the poor rayas nor cause them to be vexed by the demand for new impositions in addition to the well-known yearly taxes which they are accustomed to give. All the experienced sages have likened the taking for unessential expenditures of more money than they can endure from the poor rayas to taking earth from the foundation of a building and transferring it to the roof. For weakness comes to the foundation because earth is taken from it, and the roof retains not strength to bear the weight of this load. So it causes complete destruction. Such being the case, the poor peasants should not be troubled by any sort of evil innovations. The people of the provinces and dwellers in the towns should be protected and preserved by the removal of injustices and very great attention should be paid to making prosperous the condition of the subjects. Care should be taken in ordering their affairs and it is above all else extremely essential that exact attention be paid to making their districts joyous and flourishing and to protecting and preserving the property and lives of travellers on the roads.

“According to men of justice, it is correct to call the rayas benefactors. His Imperial Majesty the late Sultân Suleymân Khân, whose dwelling is Paradise (God's grace and

pardon be upon him), one day in his honoured court made to his private and confidential companions this pearl-scattering speech, deigning to say: 'Who are the benefactors of mankind?' When everyone, united in opinion, said: 'It is His Imperial Majesty the Sultân, surpassing in merit, sovereign of horizons,' this reply from his noble attendants was not accepted by the pâdishâh, possessor of justice. He deigned to answer: 'Verily, the benefactors are the rayas who, in their agriculture and husbandry, make repose and comfort unlawful to themselves and feed us with the blessings which they have earned.' May God give his holy soul a thousand blessings. In view of this consideration also, the essence and reality of the matter is that protection of the subjects is among the most extremely important affairs of the Exalted Government Kindness to them and protection of their affairs from the hand of tyrannical oppression is (a form of) worship."

Prof. Wright gives material reasons for the Ottoman Empire's decay; but Muslims will agree with the old Turkish author who holds it essential that administrators should be just and upright men, and ascribes the evils which he saw around him to misconduct.

As motto to the book the editor has placed the words of Ziya Pasha's lamentation

دیارى کفرى گزدم * بلده لركشانه لركوردم
دولاشدم ملكى اسلامى * بوتون ويرانه لركوردم

"I roamed the infidel lands; their mansions cities I beheld,
I travelled the realm of Islâm; all in ruins I beheld."

There is a full index at the end of the English portion of the work.

M. P.

ARABIC AND PERSIAN POETRY*

THE Persian language of pre-Islamic days had ceased to be in current use for speech or writing by the middle of the second century of the Hijrah and had been replaced by a

**The Influence of Arabic Poetry on the Development of Persian Poetry.* By Dr. N. M. Daudpota, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Arabic, Ismail College, Jogeshwari, Bombay.

language which though Persian in grammar and syntax contained so many Arabic words and phrases that an Arab had little difficulty in understanding it. So radical was the change wrought by Islâm in Persia that when, under the 'Abbâsids with their Persian leanings, there was a strong revival of Persian local patriotism the fanatical leaders of the movement could revive neither the old language nor the old religion though some of the most able of them had set out to do so. They had to be content with preaching patriotism in the Arabised language and a national religion in terms of Al-Islâm. But it is not of that great change that Dr. Daudpota treats in the work before us. That change is taken for granted by him, since it had already taken place before the first well-known Islamic poet wrote in Persian. For nearly two centuries the literary language of the Persian Muslims had been Arabic and, as the Arabs were especially proficient in the art of poetry, the Persian Muslim poets were at first their imitators and their influence was paramount at the birth of Persian poetry.

After a general introduction of his subject, Dr. Daudpota traces the development of Arabic poetry from pre-Islamic days down to the times of Al-Ma'arrî and Al-Mutanabbî when it had cast off the old hide-bound restrictions and developed a variety of forms. He then treats of the forms of poetry which the Persian poets borrowed from the Arabs and, in a separate chapter, of the Qasîdahs they composed in imitation of the Arab masters. Eighty-seven of his pages are devoted to the citation of parallel passages, concerning which, in anticipation of a kind of criticism which no-one who has read his book with care would feel inclined to make, he says:—".....I have fixed my choice upon only such ideas as are considered to be the best of their kind by the consensus of Muslim critics, such as Ibn Qutaybah, Ibn Rashîq, Tha'âlibî, Marzubânî, and are often quoted by them in their treatises. I may also venture to add that I have scrupulously avoided such ideas as constitute the common stock of poetry. These are too many to enumerate, and it would be wrong to suppose that one people necessarily copied them from another. But the case of Persian poets is quite different. Their minds were saturated with Arabic culture, and Arabic poets were their acknowledged masters to whom they looked up for inspiration. Further, as these ideas were first broached by Arabic poets, it is only natural to deduce that Persian poets were the imitators. "The school of Rûdakî and his successors" says Darmesteter, "is Persian only in language; the inspiration

and the models are Arabian." Again, "many of the early Persian poets, as has been pointed out, were masters of both Arabic and Persian. These bi-lingual poets took these ideas directly from Arabic poets whom they deliberately studied, and consciously or unconsciously put them in their verse under the impression that their less fortunate brethren, who were innocent of Arabic, would not charge them with plagiarism. These latter again assimilated the same turns of thought in their poetry under a new garb, although the underlying idea remained the same. This clandestine pilfering of others' thoughts was favoured also by the circumstance that the poetical works of the older poets were not published, so that it was easy for the succeeding poets to draw upon them with immunity. Indeed, literary plagiarism and mimicry stalk so unmasked in the East that to quote one poet would be to quote almost all."

The concluding chapter gives us an idea, on the other hand, of the influence which Persian poetry has had on Arabic poetry, in which the translation of Persian proverbs plays a large part, and also the affection which some Persians highly placed, who had perforce adopted Arabic as their language and were patrons of literature, felt for the old country and the old ideas, as implied, for instance, in Asamī's bitter words about the Barmakids:—

إذا ذكر الشرك في مجلس * انارت وجوه بني برمك
وان قلت عند هم آية * اتوا بالاحاديث عن مزدك

which Dr. Daudpota has translated:—

"When polytheism is mentioned in an assembly, the faces of the sons of Barmak beam with joy; and if a verse of the Qur'ân is recited in their presence, they bring in the sayings of Mazdak."

Dr. Daudpota's pleasant style of writing and the presence of a large number of quotations, in themselves delightful, both from Arabic and Persian poets might possibly mislead those who associate learning with dry bones and possess no special knowledge of the subject into thinking lightly of this work as if it were a mere anthology. We therefore emphasise the point that it is really learned and a valuable contribution to our store of knowledge. Its usefulness is enhanced for serious students by a full bibliography and an index of the names of all the poets mentioned.

M. P.



THE DEVIL'S DELUSION OF IBN AL-*Ḥ*AUẒI

Account of the way wherein the devil deludes the Dissidents

THE first and most outrageous of the Dissidents was Dhu'l-Khuwaisirah. We have been told by Ibn al-Hasîn by a tradition going back to Abu Sa'id al-Khudrî* as follows: 'Alî sent the Prophet from Yemen some gold dust which had not been separated from the soil in a piece of tanned skin; this was divided by the Prophet between four persons, Zaid al-Khail, al-Aqra b. Habis, 'Uyainiah b. Hisn, and 'Alqamah b. 'Ulathah (or 'Amir b. Tufail; the doubt was 'Umârah's, who is one of the chain of reporters). Some of the Companions, the Helpers, and others were annoyed at this. The Prophet said: what, ye do not trust me, when I am trusted by Him who is in heaven! Morning and evening messages come to me from heaven.—Then there came to him a man with deepest eyes, prominent cheeks, projecting forehead, thick beard with his garment tucked up and his head shaven, and said: Fear God, O Apostle of God!—The latter raised his head towards him and said: Ah me, am I not the person on whom it is most incumbent to fear God?—The man retreated, and Khâlîd asked whether he should not behead him.—The Prophet said: Perhaps he is praying.—Khâlîd said: Many an utterer of prayer says with his tongue what is not in his heart.—The Prophet said: I have no orders to enquire into people's hearts, or to split their bellies.—Then he looked at the man, whose eyes showed traces of tears, and said: Assuredly there shall come forth from this man's progeny men who will read the Qur'ân, which however will not go beyond their larynx, and will stray away from religion as an arrow from its mark.

The man mentioned was called Dhu'l-Khuwaisirah the Tamîmite, and according to one account he said to the Prophet: Deal justly!—The Prophet said: Fie upon you! Who

*Ob. 74.

will deal justly if not I?—He was the first Dissident who seceded in Islam, and his misfortune was that he was satisfied with his own opinion. Had he paused, he would have known that there is no opinion superior to that of the Prophet. They were followers of this man who fought against 'Alī. For when the war between Mu'awiyah and 'Alī was protracted, the adherents of the former raised aloft copies of the Qur'ân and invited 'Alī's followers to abide by their contents. He said: Ye shall send one of yourselves and we shall send one of ourselves and enjoin them to act according to what is in God's Book.—The people said, We agree, and sent 'Amr b. al-'As. 'Alī's followers told him to send Abu Mûsâ al-Ash'ari; but 'Alī said that he did not approve of appointing Abu Mûsâ, and that Ibn 'Abbâs was there. They said, however, that they did not want a partisan of 'Alī, so he sent Abu Mûsâ, and put off the decision to Ramaḍân. Then said 'Urwah b. Udhainah: Do ye appoint men to arbitrate in God's affair? There is no judgment but God's! Then 'Alī returned from Siffin and entered Kûfah, but the Dissidents did not enter it with him, as they went to Harûra, where twelve thousand of them alighted, crying: There is no judgment but God's! This was their first appearance, and their herald proclaimed Shabîb b. Raba'î the Tamîmite battle-commander, and 'Abdallah b. al-Kawwa of the tribe Yashkur leader of prayer. The Dissidents were indeed devout, only their belief that they knew better than 'Alī was a sore disease.

We were told by Ismâ'il b. Ahmad in a tradition going back to Simak Abu Zamil that 'Abdallah b. 'Abbâs said: When the Dissidents seceded, they entered a dwelling, being in number six thousand, and agreed to go out against 'Alī. Men kept on coming and telling 'Alī that these people were coming out against him, but he said, leave them alone, for I shall not fight them till they fight me, as they ultimately will do. On a certain day I went to him before the midday prayer and said to him: Prince of Believers, put off prayer till later, so that I may visit these people and talk to them.—He said: I fear for you.—I said, Not at all—Now I was a goodnatured man who never annoyed anyone, and when 'Alī had given me leave, I put on the finest of Yemen robes, started walking and paid them a visit at midday. The people I visited were the most devout I had ever seen; their foreheads were raw from prostrating themselves and their hands as coarse as camel's knees. They wore tunics of cheap material, tucked up, and their faces were wan from sleeplessness. I saluted them, and they said, Welcome to Ibn 'Abbâs! What

has brought you?—I said: I have come to you on behalf of the Emigrants and the Helpers, and the son-in-law of the Prophet; to them was the Qur'ân revealed, and they know its interpretation better than you.—One section of them said: Do not wrangle with Quraish, for God says (xliii. 48) *Nay but they are a wrangling folk.* Two or three of them said: We shall talk with him.—I said: Tell me what you resent in the doings of 'Alī and the Emigrants and the Helpers, the persons to whom the Qur'ân was revealed, not one of whom is among you, and they know its interpretation better than you do.—They said: Three things.—I said: State them.—They said: One is that he made men arbiters in the affair of God, whereas God says (vi. 57) *The judgment is not save God's*, so what have men to do with judgment after what God has said?—I said: This is one, what next?—They said: As for the second, he fought and slew, but neither made captives nor plundered. If they are believers, how is it lawful to fight with and slay them, but not to take them captive?—I said: And what is the third?—They said: He erased from himself the title Prince of Believers; if he is not prince of believers, then he is prince of unbelievers.—I said: Have you anything else?—They said: This is quite sufficient.—I said: As for your talk of the judgment of men in the affair of God, I will read you out of God's Book what will refute that. If it refutes it, will you come back?—They said Yes.—I said: God has transferred some of His judgment to men in the case of a quarter of a dirhem, the price of a hare (and he recited the text v. 96, beginning *O ye that believe, kill not game whilst ye are in the pilgrim state* where the price is to be assessed by two just men), and in the case of a conjugal dispute iv. 39 *And if ye fear a breach between them twain, then despatch an arbiter from his people and an arbiter from hers.* Now I adjure you by God, do ye know the judgment of men for the reconciliation of parties and the sparing of blood to be better or their judgment in the case of a hare or conjugal rights? Which do you regard as the better?—They said: Nay this.—I said: Then have I evaded this?—They said Yes.—I said: As for your saying that he fought, but neither took captives nor plunder, would you take your mother 'A'ishah captive?—If you say She is not our mother, then you have departed from Islam. And if you say We will take her captive and regard as right in her case what we regard as right in the case of other women, then you also have departed from Islam. So you are between two errors; for God says (xxxiii. 6) *The Prophet is nearer to the Believers than their souls and his wives are their mothers.* Have I evaded this?

—They said: Yes.—Then I said: As for your saying that he erased from himself the title Prince of Believers, I will bring you an authority which will satisfy you. On the Day of Hudaibiyah the Prophet made peace with the two pagans Abu Sufyân b. Harb and Suhail b. 'Amr, and bade 'Alî write for them a deed. 'Alî wrote *This is whereon Muhammad the Apostle of God made terms*, but the pagans said By Allah we do not know that you are God's Apostle; if we knew that, we should not fight you.—Then the Prophet said: O God, Thou knowest that I am God's Apostle; erase it, O 'Alî, and write *This is whereon Muhammad son of 'Abdallah made terms*. Now assuredly the Apostle of God was better than 'Alî and yet he erased the title.

He went on to say that two thousand of them returned, whereas the rest seceded and fought against 'Alî.

We were told by Abu Mansûr al-Bazzâr in a tradition going back to Jundub¹ the Azdite, who said: When we went off against the Dissidents with 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib, and arrived at their camp, their recitation of the Qur'ân was like the buzzing of bees.

According to another tradition² when 'Alî appointed the arbiter there came to him the Dissidents Zur'ah b. al-Burj the Tayite and Hurqus b. Zuhair the Sa'dite. Entering his presence, they said "*There is no judgment save God's.*" 'Alî repeated this, and Hurqus said to him: Repent of your sin, repudiate your decision, and lead us out against the enemy whom we shall fight till we meet our Lord; but if thou wilt not give up making men judges concerning the Book of God, I will fight thee, seeking thereby the face of God.—The Dissidents then assembled in the house of 'Abdallah b. Wahb al-Rasibi, who after giving praise to God said: People who believe in the Rahmân and claim association with the judgment of the Qur'ân ought not to give this world, which it is wretchedness to prefer, preference over the enjoining of right and forbidding of wrong and acknowledgment of the truth; so come out with us.—'Alî wrote to them: These two men whom they approved as arbiters have disobeyed the Book of God and followed their fancies, and we adhere to our first course.—They wrote to him: Thine anger was not for thy Lord but for thyself, and if thou wilt testify to thine own unbelief, and proceed to repent, we shall consider the relations

(1) Died in the Caliphate of Mu'awiyah (41-60).

(2) Tabari i. 336o.

between us. Else we discard thee altogether.—The Dissidents were met on their road by 'Abdallah b. Khabbab,* whom they asked whether he had heard from his father any tradition of the Prophet which he could repeat to them.—He said Yes, I heard him repeating how he had heard the Prophet speak of a civil war, wherein the sitter was better than the stander, the stander than the walker and the walker than the runner. If thou shalt live to witness it, then be the servant of God who is slain.—They said to him: Didst thou hear this from thy father, narrating it as said by the Prophet?—He said, Yes.—Then they brought him to the bank of the river and beheaded him, and his blood trickled like a shoelace. They also ripped open his slave girl who was enceinte.

They then alighted under some date-trees that were loaded with fruit, at Nahrawan; a fresh date fell and was picked up by one of them who threw it into his mouth. One of them said to him: Thou hast taken it out of season and without paying a price. Then the man cast it out of his mouth. One of them drew his sword, brandished it, and hit a pig with it by way of testing it. The pig belonged to a member of a protected cult. They said to him: This is doing mischief in the earth. So the man went to see the owner of the pig and paid him what satisfied him. 'Alī sent to them, saying: Deliver to us the slayer of Abdallah b. Khabbab.—We are all his slayers, they replied.—He summoned them for three days, and they only repeated the same.—Then 'Alī said: Up and at them!—His followers immediately began slaying them, and during the fight the Dissidents said to each other: Make ready to meet the Lord! This evening to Paradise!—After these another party of Dissidents revolted against 'Alī, who sent troops to fight them. Then 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muljam met his comrades, who talked of the people of Nahrawan and implored God's mercy on them. They said: By Allah, nothing will content us with remaining in this world after our brethren who feared no reproach in God's concerns. How would it be for us to sell our lives to God, seek for some other sovereign than these misleaders and demand vengeance of them for our brethren, while delivering mankind from them?

We were told by Muhammad b. Abi Tâhir al-Bazzâr in a tradition going back to certain teachers of Muhammad b. Sa'd as follows: Three of the Dissidents, they said, responded to the call, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muljam, al-Burak b. 'Abdallah, and 'Amr b. Bakr al-Tamîmî. Meeting together in Meccah they made a covenant and a pact that they would slay these

*Tabari i. 3373.

three, 'Alî, Mu'awiyah, and 'Amr b. al-As, so as to deliver mankind from them. Ibn Muljam undertook 'Alî, al-Burak Mu'awiyah, and 'Amr his namesake. And they bound themselves not to interfere with each other's operations. Ibn Muljam proceeded to Kûfah, and when the night on which he proposed to perpetrate the murder arrived, and 'Alî came out to the morning prayer Ibn Muljam struck him on the brow reaching the crown of the head, and penetrating to the brain. 'Alî bade them see that the man did not escape and he was seized. Um Kulthum said: Enemy of God, thou hast slain the Prince of Believers!—He said: It is only thy father that I have slain. She said: By Allah, I hope that no harm will happen to the Prince of Believers.—He said: In that case why art thou weeping?—Then he said By Allah I have been poisoning it (his sword) for a month, and if it have disappointed me, may God cast it away and break it in pieces! When 'Alî died, Ibn Muljam was taken out to be executed, and 'Abdallah b. Ja'far amputated his hands and feet, but the man showed no sign of pain, neither did he utter a word. Then his eyes were seared with a heated nail, and again he showed no sign of pain, but began to recite (xcvi. 1) *Read In the name of thy Lord who created man from a clot till he finished the Sûrah, while his eyes were oozing blood.* Preparations were made to amputate his tongue, and then he showed grief. Asked why, he replied: I hate the thought that I should remain in the world one moment without making mention of God.—He was of a brown colour, with traces of prostration on his forehead. God's curse be upon him!

Now when al-Hasan wished to come to terms with Mu'awiyah, there came out against him the Dissident al-Jarrâh b. Sinân. He said: You have become a pagan like your father, and thrust him at the edge of the thigh. The Dissidents continued to rebel against the princes, and had various systems. The adherents of Nafi' b. al-Azraq said: We are pagans so long as we remain in the land of the pagans; only when we leave it are we Muslims. Pagans are all who differ from our system, all who commit capital offences, and all who stay away from our battles are unbelievers. These people made lawful the slaughter of women and children of the Muslims and declared them to be pagans. Najdah b. 'Amir al-Thaqafi was one of the Dissidents and he opposed Nafi' b. al-Azraq declaring the lives and goods of the Muslims sacrosanct. He asserted that such of his co-religionists as committed sins would be punished, only not in Hell-fire; that would only be for those who disagreed with his system.

Ibrâhîm¹ held that the Dissidents were Unbelievers, only intermarriage with and inheritance from them was lawful, as people were at the commencement of Islam. Some of them held that if a man consumed as much as two *fuls* worth of an orphan's property he incurred Hell-fire thereby. But he would not incur it by killing him, amputating his hands or ripping him open. This was because God had threatened it in the former case.

There are lengthy stories about them and they held strange systems about which I see no occasion to dilate. My purpose is only to glance at the wiles of the devil and the mode wherein he deluded these fools who wrought such mischief and believed that 'Alî and his adherents from among the Refugees and the Helpers were in error while they themselves were in the right, thought it lawful to slaughter infants but unlawful to eat a date for which they had not paid. True they toiled over their devotions and kept vigil, and Ibn Muljam was distressed at failing to make mention of God. Yet he thought it right to murder 'Alî, and they drew their swords against the Muslims. There is nothing stranger than their satisfaction with their own knowledge and their belief that they knew better than 'Alî! Now Dhu'l-Khuwaisirah said to the Prophet: Deal justly, for thou hast not so dealt. To such atrocities even the devil would not find his way!

We were informed by Ibn al-Hasîn in a tradition which goes back to Muhammad b. Ibrâhîm that the latter heard the Prophet say: Men shall come forth among you in comparison with whose prayer, fasting, and works you will despise your own; they will read the Qur'ân, but it will not go beyond their larynx. They will go wide of religion as an arrow goes wide of the mark. This tradition is to be found in both *Sahih*.²

We were told by Sa'd Allah b. 'Alî in a tradition which goes back to Ibn Abi Aufa³ that he heard the Prophet say: The Dissidents are the dogs of the people of Hell.

It is a doctrine of the Dissidents that the sovereignty belongs of right to no-one unless there are combined in him knowledge and asceticism; when they are combined in an individual he is sovereign even though he be a Nabatæan.

(1) Al-Ibadi.

(2) Bukhari el. Krehl 60§6. Wensinck gives other references.

(3) Ob. 87.

This suggested to the Mu'tazils their reference of good and evil to the intellect and their doctrine that justice is what the intellect requires. Then there arose the Qadaris in the time of the Companions. Ma'bad al-Juhani, Ghailân al-Dimishqî, and al-Ja'd b. Dirhem adopted the doctrine of freewill, and the lead of Ma'bad was followed by Wâsil b. 'Ata, who was joined by 'Amr b. 'Ubaid. At that time there arose the system of the Murjites, holding that impiety would do no harm by the side of faith, just as piety would not profit by the side of unbelief. Then such Mu'tazils as Abu'l-Hudhail al-'Allâf, al-Nazzâm, Ma'mar, and Jâhiz read the books of the philosophers, and extracted thence material which they mingled with the prescriptions of the code, such as "substance, accident, time, space and existence," and the first question which they brought to light was their doctrine of the creation of the Qur'ân; and at that time this chapter was called the Chapter of Metaphysics. This question was followed by the questions of the Attributes, such as Knowledge, Power, Life, Hearing, Seeing; some said that these were ideas super-added to the essence, whereas the Mu'tazils denied this, holding that God was Knowing in virtue of his essence, Powerful in virtue of it. Abu'l-Hasan al-Ash'arî had at first followed the system of al-Juba'i, but then abandoned it for that of those who maintain *the independent existence of the Attributes*. Then some of the adherent of the latter doctrine began to believe in anthropomorphism, and to suppose that "descending" applied to the Deity meant change of place.

Account of the way wherein he deludes the Rejectors

Just as the devil deluded these Dissidents so that they fought against 'Alî, so he persuaded others to go to excess in their love of him. They went beyond all bounds, some maintaining that he is God, some that he is better than the prophets; some were persuaded by him to revile Abu Bakr and 'Umar, indeed even to charge both with infidelity: with other contemptible doctrines which we are unwilling to waste time in recording. We will only allude to some of them. We were informed by 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Muhammad in a tradition which goes back to Abu 'Uthmân al-Mazini,¹ and I heard 'Abd al-Wâhid b. 'Alî b. Burhân al-Asadi repeat the same that Ishaq b. Muhammad al-Nakha'i the Red,² used to say 'Alî is God. (God is exalted above such ideas!)

(1) Famous philologist, ob. 248.

(2) Author of a *Kitâb-al-Şirât*.

In Madâ'in there are a number of fanatics known as the *Ishâqiyyah*, called after this person. Al-Khatib says: There came into my hands a book by Abu Muhammad al-Hasan b. Yahya¹ al-Naubakhtî wherein he refutes the fanatics. This Naubakhtî was a Shī'ī theologian of the Imâmiyyah sect. He mentions the different views of the fanatics, finally saying: Now among those who displayed stark madness in the fanatical cult of 'Alî in our time was Ishâq b. Muhammad known as the Red; he asserted that 'Alî is God Almighty, and that he manifests himself at each time, as al-Hasan at one time, and again as al-Husain; and that he it was who sent Muhammad on his mission.

A number of the Rejectors believed Abu Bakr and 'Umar to be infidels; some held that they apostatized after the Prophet's death; some of them repudiated all but 'Alî.² We have been told that the Shī'ah demanded of Zaid b. 'Alî that he should repudiate all who opposed the sovereignty of 'Alî, but that he refused to do so. Whence they rejected him and were called the Rejectors. Some of them declared the sovereignty to be inherent in Mûsâ b. Ja'far, then in his son 'Alî, then in 'Alî's son Muhammad, then in Muhammad's son 'Alî, then in al-Hasan b. Muhammad al-'Askari, and then in his son Muhammad, who is the twelfth Imâm, who is awaited; they hold that he did not die and that he will return at the end of time and will fill the world with justice. Abu Mansûr al-'Ijlî held that Muhammad b. 'Alî al-Bâqir was to be awaited, and that he himself was his deputy. He asserted that he had been raised to heaven and that the Lord had stroked him on the head with His hand; and that he was "the piece that was to fall from the sky" (xix. 92).

A section of the Rejectors called Janâhiyyah, followers of 'Abdallah b. Mu'awiyah b. 'Abdallah b. Ja'far "of the two wings" held that the Spirit of God had circulated through the loins of the prophets till it had come to this 'Abdallah, and that he had not died. A sect called Ghurabiyyah maintained that 'Alî was associated in the prophetic office; and one called al-Mufawwidah (Delegators) held that God having created Muhammad delegated to him the creation of the world. A sect called Dhimamiyyah (Blamers) blamed Gabriel, holding that he, having been told to descend on 'Alî, had descended on Muhammad. Some of them maintained that Abu Bakr had robbed Fâtimah of her inheritance. We have heard a tradition that one day when al-Saffâh was preaching a

(1) Mistake for Musa.

(2) i.e., of the Pious Caliphs.

member of 'Alī's family rose up, and said: I am a descendant of 'Alī; Prince of Believers, help me against one who has wronged me.—The Caliph asked him who had wronged him.—He said: I am a descendant of 'Alī and the person who wronged me is Abu Bakr, when he took away Fadak from Fâtimah.—The Caliph asked: And did he persist in robbing you?—The man said Yes.—The Caliph asked: Who arose after him?—He said 'Umar.—And did he persist in robbing you?—Yes.—And who arose after him?—'Uthmân.—And did he persist in robbing you?—Yes.—And who arose after him?—At this question the man turned in one direction and another trying to find a means of escape.*

Ibn 'Aqil observes: The inventor of the Rejectors' doctrine must clearly have intended to strike at the root of religion and prophethood; for the matter produced by the Prophet is something at a distance from us, and we have to rely for it on the transmission of those who preceded us, and the accuracy of their investigations. When anyone in whose piety and intelligence we have confidence has investigated a matter for us, it is as though we had investigated it ourselves. So if anyone says that the first thing they did after the Prophet's death was to rob his family of the Caliphate and his daughter of her inheritance, this must have been due to their want of belief in the deceased; for sound belief, especially in the case of prophets, would involve the observation of their enactments after their death especially in what concerns their families and their offspring. So when the Rejectors say that the people regarded such conduct as lawful after the Prophet's death, our hopes with regard to the code are disappointed. For between us and it there is only transmission from them and confidence in them. If then this (the robbery) be all that they (the Prophet's family) got after his death, we are disappointed in our expectation that what is transmitted is trustworthy, and we can have no further confidence in that whereon we relied, viz., that we were following persons of intelligence. We have no guarantee that these people having seen reasons compelling them to follow him may not have respected them during his lifetime, but abandoned his code after his death, only a few of his family remaining in his religion. Thus beliefs will be shaken, and the mind will have no courage to accept the traditions concerning the basis of belief, i.e., the miracles. And this will be most disastrous for the code.

*Saffâh's point was that as 'Alī had acquiesced in the robbery, there was nothing more to be said.

Now the fanatical love of 'Alī cherished by the Rejectors led them to fabricate a number of traditions concerning his "virtues," most of which rather do him discredit and injury. I have mentioned a number of them in my book of *Fabrications*. One is that the sun set, and 'Alī missed the afternoon prayer, whereupon the sun came back for his benefit. Now this is to be rejected from the point of view of transmission, as no trustworthy authority records it; and from the point of view of the sense absurd.* The time having gone by, even supposing that a fresh rising brought the sun back, the time will not have been brought back. Similarly they fabricated a tradition to the effect that Fâtimah washed herself, then died, having given instructions that that washing should suffice. From the point of view of transmission this is a fiction; and from that of the sense stupid. For the washing is due to the impurity caused by death, so how can it be valid before death?

They have besides various romances for which they furnish no support, legal principles which they have invented, and romances which contradict what is accepted by consensus. I have copied certain of their questions from the writing of Ibn 'Aqīl, who states that he copied them from the treatise of al-Murtadā concerning the opinions peculiar to the Imâmiyyah. One is that prostration is not permissible on what is not the earth or vegetation growing thence; not therefore on wool, hide or fur. That the use of pebbles as a detergent is sufficient in the case of excrement but not in the case of urine. That to satisfy requirements the head must be rubbed with such moisture as remains in the hand, and that the hand must not be wetted afresh for the purpose; if the hand is dry, the whole process of washing must recommence. Another view peculiar to them is that an adulterer may never marry the married woman with whom he has committed the offence, even though her husband divorce her. They forbid marriage with women belonging to the tolerated religions. They hold that if divorce be made dependent on a condition it is not to be carried out even if that condition be fulfilled. That divorce to be legal must be in the presence of two approved witnesses. That if a man miss the later evening prayer by falling asleep till past midnight, he must when he wakes make compensatory performance, but fast next morning by way of atonement for his omission. That if a woman shave her hair,

*The text here is confused, but the sense given seems to be what the author intended.

she must make the same atonement as for unintentional homicide. That one rends his garment for the death of a son or a wife must make the same atonement as for perjury. That if a man unknowingly marry a woman who has a husband already, he must pay five dirhems in alms. That one who has twice suffered chastisement for wine-drinking must suffer death for a third offence. That the beer-drinker is to be chastised like the wine-drinker. That a thief's hand should be amputated from the roots of the fingers, the palm being left him; but if he steal a second time, his left foot shall be amputated. If he steal a third time he shall remain in prison till he dies. They regard the fish *jirri* as unlawful food,¹ as also what is slaughtered by "the People of the Book." They make it a condition of slaughtering that the Qiblah must be faced.

These are a few out of many questions which it would take long to recount wherein they go against the consensus of authorities, and which they were persuaded by the devil to settle without support from either tradition or analogy, but only from their own fancies. Indeed the atrocities of the Rejectors are innumerable. They have forfeited prayer by failing to wash their feet when they purify, and the community by seeking for an infallible Imâm, and are afflicted with the practice of reviling the Companions. In the two *Sahih* there is a tradition that the Prophet said *Revile not my Companions. For though one of you were to spend a mass of gold as great as Uhud he would not attain their measure nor the half thereof.* We have been informed also by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik and Yahya b. 'Alî in a tradition which goes back to 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Salim b. 'Abdallah b. 'Uwaim b. Sa'idah that the Prophet said *God has chosen me and chosen companions for me, and made of them ministers, helpers and sons-in-law for me; on anyone who reviles them there is the curse of God, and the angels and all mankind. God will not accept from such an one on the day of the Resurrection any discharge of duty or act of supererogation* (this is in my opinion the sense of the terms employed).

We have been informed by Abu'l-Barakat b. 'Alî al-Bazzâr in a tradition going back to Suwaid b. Ghafalah² that he said: I passed by some Shi'ites who were attacking and belittling Abu Bakr and 'Umar, and then went to 'Alî b. Abi

(1) Jahiz, *Hayawan* i. 111, l. 4 alludes to this. The fish is not identified by the lexica.

(2) Ob. 30 or 31.

Tâlib and said to him: Prince of Believers, I have been passing by some of your followers who were speaking unworthily of Abu Bakr and 'Umar; if they did not suppose that you harbour the same sentiments about the two which they manifest, they would not venture to do this.—'Alî replied: God forbid! God forbid that I should harbour any sentiment about them other than that which the Prophet entrusted to me, which is: *May God curse him who harbours any sentiment about them that is not handsome and kindly! They are the Prophet's brothers, companions, and ministers. God's mercy on them!* Then he rose up with tears in his eyes, and holding my hand proceeded to the mosque, where he mounted the pulpit, and sat down firmly upon it, holding his beard and looking at it, it being white; then, when the people were assembled, he stood up, recited the Creed and preached a short and eloquent sermon; then he said: How is it that certain persons use about the two princes of the Quraish and fathers of the Muslims language from which I not only dissociate myself absolutely, but which I shall punish? By Him who split the grain and created the soul none love those two save pious Believers, and none hate them save wretched miscreants. They accompanied the Prophet loyally and sincerely, ordering and forbidding, displaying anger and inflicting punishment, in nothing that they did going beyond the Prophet's opinion, who too held the same opinions as they, and loved no-one as he loved them. The Prophet passed away well-contented with them; and they passed away enjoying the Muslims' approval. Abu Bakr was given by the Prophet leadership of prayer, which he exercised for nine days during the Prophet's lifetime, and when God took the Prophet away, choosing for him what was with Himself, the Muslims assigned to him the same office, then gave him charge of the Alms, and presently made him their sovereign, of their free will and with no compulsion. I was the first of the family of 'Abd al-Muttalib to prescribe this for him, against his wish, as he would have preferred that someone else should have undertaken it in lieu of himself. He was indeed the best of those whom the Prophet had left behind, the most merciful and kindly, the most temperate, the oldest and the earliest to accept Islam. He was compared by the Prophet to Michael for his kindness, to Ibrâhîm for his dignity and readiness to forgive. He followed the conduct of the Prophet and passed away while doing so, God's mercy on him! Then the government was undertaken by 'Umar after him, I being one of those who approved. He maintained it in the style of the Prophet and his successor, following their footsteps as a foal follows those of his dam. He

was assuredly kindly and sympathetic with the weak, helping the injured against their injurers. No censure ever affected him in God's cause, who caused his tongue to utter justice, and made truth his business. So much so that we used to fancy an angel was speaking with his tongue. God made Islam powerful through his acceptance of it, and made his migration a mainstay of Islam, throwing fear into the hearts of the hypocrites, and producing affection in the hearts of the believers. The Prophet compared him to Gabriel for his sternness and severity against the enemies; who can find for you anyone comparable to these two? God's mercy be on them, and may He grant you to walk in their path! If anyone loves me, let him love them, and whosoever loves them not hates me and I repudiate him. Had I previously given you instructions concerning them, I should have inflicted severe punishment for this; but assuredly if after this day anyone is reported to me as having talked in this way, he shall suffer the same penalty as those who fabricate. Most assuredly the best of this community after its Prophet are Abu Bakr and 'Umar. God knows who is the next best. I say these words and ask God's forgiveness for myself and you.

We were informed by Sa'd Allah b. 'Alî in a tradition going back to Abu Sulaiman al-Hamdânî* that 'Alî said: There shall come forth in the latter days a party nicknamed The Rejectors who shall lay claim to our party (the Shî'ah), to which they will not belong; the sign thereof is that they revile Abu Bakr and 'Umar. Slaughter them relentlessly wheresoever ye find them, as they are polytheists!

Account of the way wherein he deludes the Bâṭiniyyah

These are people who shelter themselves in Islam, being inclined to "Rejection"; their beliefs and their acts are in contradiction to Islam. The substance of their doctrine is to render the Creator ineffective, to nullify prophethood and religious rites, and to deny the Resurrection. They do not at the first openly avow this, but assert that God is true, that Muhammad is God's Apostle, and that religion is sound; however they hold the other view secretly, not openly. The devil has amused himself with them, going to all lengths, and persuaded them of various opinions. They have eight names.

First *Bâṭiniyyah* (Esoterists). They are so designated because they maintain that the literal expressions of the Qur'ân and the Traditions have hidden meanings whose relation to the literal expressions is that of the kernel to the shell.

*The *Lisan al-Mizan* is unable to identify him.

By their form they suggest to the ignorant certain plain forms, whereas to the intellectual they are hints and indications of hidden realities. So the person whose mind is reluctant to dive for the hidden mysteries in the depths and is satisfied with the literal expressions is under the yokes which are the ordinances of the code; whereas if one has ascended to the knowledge of the esoteric, these ordinances fall off him and he is relieved of their burden. According to them these are the persons meant in the text (vii. 156) *And he shall put off from them their bond and the yokes which were upon them.* Their purpose is to remove from the beliefs what their letter enjoins in order that they may annul the code by arbitrarily pronouncing it to be false.

Second name *Isma'iliyyah*. They take this name from one of their leaders Muhammad b. Ismâ'il b. Ja'far, to whom they hold that the sovereignty came round, he being the seventh. They argue that the heavens are seven, the earths seven, and the weekdays seven; which indicates that the round of sovereigns is complete in seven. Hence in the case of al-Mansûr they enumerate al-'Abbâs, his son 'Abdallah, his son 'Alî, his son Muhammad, then Ibrâhîm, then al-Saffah, then al-Mansûr. Abu Ja'far al-Tabarî* records in his Chronicle that 'Alî b. Muhammad said on the authority of his father that one of the Rawandiyyah, a leper called al-Ablaq talked extreme Shi'ism, and invited the Rawandiyyah to adopt it. He asserted that the Spirit which had been in 'Isa b. Maryam had come to 'Alî b. Abi Tâlib, and then to the other Imams one after another down to Ibrâhîm b. Muhammad. They abrogated the laws of morality; one of them would invite a number to his house, give them food and drink and then offer them his wife. Asad b. 'Abdallah hearing of this executed and impaled them. Their practice however continued up to this (Tabarî's) time, they worshipped Abu Ja'far (al-Mansûr), climbed high into the air and flung themselves into it as though they would fly, but died before they reached the ground. A number of them came out in arms against the people and started shouting at Abu Ja'far *Thou art thou.*

The third name is *Sab'iyyah* (Seveners), for which there are two reasons. One, their belief that the cycle of sovereignty is in sevens as we have explained, and that arrival at the seventh is the termination of a cycle, and that is meant by the Resurrection, there being no end to the succession of cycles. The second, their holding that the government of the lower

*Ed. Leiden iii. 418.

world depends on the seven stars, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, the Sun, Mercury, the Moon.

The fourth name is *Babakiyyah*, and belongs to a section of them who are adherents of a man, named Babak al-Khurrami, who was one of the Bâtiniyyah. He was a bastard, and came forward in a mountainous region of Adharbaijan in the year 201; he was followed by a large number of persons, whom he rushed; he gave permission for illicit things, and if he learned that any man had a beautiful daughter or sister he demanded her; if the man sent her, well and good: otherwise he would put the man to death, and seize her. He kept this up for twenty years, during which he put to death eighty (according to others fifty-five) thousand, five hundred men. He made war on the government and routed several armies, till al-Mu'tasim sent Afshin to fight him; Afshin brought Babak and his brother captive in the year 223. When they were introduced Babak's brother said to him, Babak, you have perpetrated what no-one else has, so now display endurance such as no-one has displayed. He replied: You shall see what my endurance will be like.—Al-Mu'tasim ordered his hands and feet to be amputated. When this was done he smeared his face with the blood. Al-Mu'tasim said: You, so brave a man, how comes it that you are smearing your face with the blood? Is it for fear of death?—He said: No; but when my extremities were amputated I suffered loss of blood, and was afraid it might be supposed that the paleness of my face was due to fear of death. So I covered my face with blood so that this should not be seen.—After that he was beheaded, and fire was set to the corpse, and the like was done to his brother. Neither of them uttered a cry or a lament, or displayed any pain. God's curse on both of them!

Some of the Babakiyyah still exist, and it is stated that on a certain night of the year the men and women assemble, extinguish the lights, when the men proceed to rape the women; they hold that the chase is lawful and that they are exercising the right which it gives.

The fifth name is *Muhammirah* (the Reds), so called because they dyed their garments red in the days of Babak, and wore such.

The sixth name is *Qarmatians*, about the origin of which the historians take two different views. One of these is that a man from the region of Khuzistan came to the arable land of Kufah, made profession of asceticism, and urged the claims to the sovereignty of a member of the Prophet's house. He

lodged with a man named Karmitah, so nicknamed because of the redness of his eyes; the word meaning "sharpeyed" in Nabataean. The man was arrested by the governor of the district and imprisoned; but he left the key of the room under his head, when he went to sleep, and a slave girl who had pity on the man took the key, unlocked the room, let the man out, and returned the key to its place. When the man was sought and could not be found people's delusion about him increased. He went off to Syria, where he took the name of his host, Karmitah, which he presently abridged to Qarmat. His functions were inherited by his family and his descendants.

The second opinion is that the name was given to these people after a man named Hamdan Qarmat, who was one of their first missionaries; a number of people were converted and were called Qarâmitah or Qarmatiyyah. The man himself was of Kufah, and inclined to asceticism; meeting on a road one of the Bâtini missionaries, who was driving some cattle in the direction of a village he asked this driver, whom he did not know, whither he was going. The man mentioned Hamdan's village. Hamdan said to him: You had better mount one of the herd or you will be tired.—The man replied: I have not been ordered to do so.—Apparently then (said Hamdan) you only act under orders.—The man said, Yes.—Then by whose order (asked Hamdan) do you act?—He said: By the orders of my master and yours, the master of this world and the next.—You mean (said Hamdan) God, the Lord of the worlds.—You are right, he replied.—Then what (asked Hamdan) is your purpose in the village whither you are making?—I have been ordered (he replied) to call its inhabitants from ignorance to knowledge, from error to guidance, from misery to happiness; to rescue them from the abysses of degradation and poverty, and put them in possession of what will render them independent of toil.—Hamdan said to him: Rescue me (may God rescue you!) and shed on me such light as will vivify me; how much I need the like thereof!—I have no orders (the man replied) to divulge the hidden mystery to anyone till I have confidence in him and can covenant with him.—State your covenant (said Hamdan) for it will be binding on me.—It is (said the man) that you shall give me and the sovereign an oath by God that you will not divulge the secret of the sovereign which I will communicate to you or my secret either.—Hamdan took the oath, and the missionary proceeded to instruct Hamdan in the various departments of his nescience, till he had led him quite astray and obtained his assent. Hamdan then himself became a missionary and indeed one of the founders of the heresy, and his followers

were called Qarmatiyyah or Qarâmitah. His functions were inherited by his family and his descendants, one of the most energetic among them being a certain Abu Sa'id, who came forward in the year 286, became mighty, slaughtered innumerable victims, destroyed mosques, burned Qur'âns, assaulted the pilgrims, and made laws for his family and his companions, to whom he told various absurdities. When he went to battle he would say that he had been promised victory at this hour. When he died, a dome was built over his tomb, at the top of which they placed a bird made of gypsum; when this bird flies, they said, Abu Sa'id will come forth out of his tomb. By the tomb they placed a horse, a suit of clothes and arms. The devil had persuaded these people that if there was a horse by the tomb of a dead man, he would be raised up riding; whereas if there were no horse, he would be raised walking. The followers of Abu Sa'id used when they mentioned him to invoke God's favour upon him, but not when they mentioned the Prophet; saying: What, shall we eat the food of Abu Sa'id and invoke God's favour on Abu'l-Qâsim?

Abu Sa'id was succeeded by his son Abu Tâhir, who acted like his father, attacked the Ka'bah, seized the treasures which it contained, prised out the Black Stone and took it to his own town, making people suppose that it was God Almighty.

Seventh name *Khurramiyyah*. *Khurram* is a Persian word signifying something pleasant and agreeable, such as gives satisfaction. The purpose of this appellation was to give people power to pursue pleasures and gratify passions in any way whatever, setting aside injunctions and removing the burdens of the code from mankind. This had been a designation of the Mazdakites, who were Magian libertines followers of Mazdak in the days of Qubadh, and annulled restrictions on marriage, as well as all other moral restraints. Their name was given to the sect with which we are dealing because it resembled them in the consequences of the system though it differed in the premises.

Eighth name *Ta'limiyyah* (Instructionists) given them because their first principle was rejection of opinion and injuring the employment of the intellect, bidding people take instruction from the infallible Imâm, knowledge being obtainable only by such instruction.

Account of the cause which led people to involve themselves in this heresy

You are to know that the people wanted to slink out of religion, and consulted various Mazdians, Mazdakites, Dualists, and heretical philosophers, asking them to evolve some

method which would ease them from the control of the religious, who had made them keep silence about their own beliefs, such as denial of the Creator, rejection of the Apostles, and disbelief in the Resurrection; and their view that the prophets were charlatans and impostors. They found that the doctrine of Muhammad had spread far and wide in the regions, and that they were unable to resist it. So they said: Our best plan is to adopt the belief of one of their sects, the subtlest, the most befogged, and the readiest to accept absurdities and to believe falsehoods—these are the Rejectors; we will fortify ourselves by assuming their name, and endear ourselves to them by deploring the injuries and humiliations which have befallen the family of the Prophet, so that it will be possible for us to revile the ancients who transmitted the code to them. Once these become contemptible in their eyes, they will pay no attention to what they transmitted, and it will be possible for us gradually to seduce them from the religion. Should any remain among them who cling to the literal expressions of the Qur'ân and the traditions, we shall make them understand that those expressions hide certain mysteries; that the person who is deceived by the literal expressions is a fool, whereas sagacity consists in believing their hidden sense. We shall then communicate our own beliefs to them, asserting that they are what is meant by the literal expressions which they possess; if we augment our numbers with these, it will be easy for us gradually to gain over the rest of the sects. They then said: Our plan will be to choose a man who will help our system, whom we shall declare to be one of the Prophet's house, whom everyone ought to follow, and whom it is their duty to obey, inasmuch as he is the representative of the Prophet, preserved by God from all error or failing. Next, this summons must not be issued in the near neighbourhood of the Representative whom we have designated as infallible; for near neighbourhood pierces the veil, whereas if long distance intervene one who responds to the invitation cannot investigate the character of the Imâm or ascertain the truth about him. Their design in all this is power and mastery over men's possessions; further to avenge themselves for the shedding of their blood and the despoiling of their goods in former times. This is the end at which they aim and the principle on which they started.

They have expedients for seducing people, and distinguish between those whom they can hope to mislead and those whose case is hopeless. If they are hopeful about anyone, they study his character; if he have a tendency towards asceticism they

call on him to be loyal, veracious, and continent; if he have a tendency towards debauchery, they assure him that devotion is stupidity and chastity folly; sagacity, they tell him, consists in seeking pleasure out of this transitory world. To each person they affirm what is agreeable to the system which he holds; they then suggest doubts about his beliefs. The people who respond to them are either fools or descendants of the Sasanian kings and Mazdians the empire of whose ancestors was terminated by that of Islam, or people anxious for power but unbefriended by fortune to whom they promise the realization of their hopes: or someone who would like to raise himself above the vulgar level and cherishes the idea of initiation into realities: or a Rejector whose religion involves reviling the Companions: or some heretical philosopher, dualist, or person bewildered about religion; or some individual whom love of pleasure has enslaved, and who finds the prescriptions of the law irksome.

Specimens of their doctrines

Abu Hamid al-Tûsi* says: the Bâtiniyyah are people who profess Islam, and are inclined to Rejection; but both their beliefs and their practices conflict with Islam. One of their doctrines is the existence of two gods, from eternity, their existence having no commencement in time, only one of the two is the cause of the existence of the second. The prior of the two ought not to be described as existent or non-existent, being neither, also being neither known nor unknown, neither possessing attributes nor lacking them. From the prior there arose the latter, who is the first created being, then there arose the universal soul. According to them, the Prophet is an expression for an individual on whom a pure and saintly faculty has emanated from the prior through the medium of the latter; Gabriel, they hold, is an expression for the intelligence which descends on him (the prophet), not for an individual. They are agreed that there must be in every age an Imâm who is infallible, maintaining the truth, to whom resort should be made for the interpretation of the literal expressions, equal to the prophet in infallibility. They reject the "return" (in the sense of the Resurrection), holding that return means the return of a thing to its origin, and that the soul will return to its origin. As for the prescriptions of the law, it is reported of them that they waive them altogether, and permit all forbidden things; only when this is stated concerning them, they deny it, avowing that there must be such prescriptions for a

*Better known as Al-Ghazzali.

human being, only he is released from them when he becomes acquainted with the hidden meanings of the literal expressions. Being unable to divert people from the Qur'ân and the Sunnah, they diverted them from their meaning to fictions of their own devising: had they openly rejected them, they would have been executed. So they say the meaning of *uncleanness* is premature divulging of the mystery to a neophyte: of *ablution* renewal of the covenant to a person who has done this: of *adultery* communicating the seed of esoteric knowledge to one who has not previously entered into the covenant: of *fasting* abstaining from revealing the mystery. The *Ka'bah* is the Prophet: the *Door* is 'Alî: the *Deluge* is the deluge of knowledge wherein the adherent to fallacy is drowned: the *Ship* is an amulet which protects him who responds to their call. The *Fire of Ibrahim* is an expression for the wrath of Nimrod, not for any actual fire; the *Sacrifice of Isaac* means taking the covenant: the *Rod of Moses* means his argument; *Yajuj and Majuj* (Gog and Magog) are the literalists

Other authors assert that according to them when God created the spirits, He showed Himself among them, so that they had no doubt that He was one of themselves, but presently they recognized Him, the first who did so being Salman al-Fârisi, al-Miqdad* and Abu Dharr; the first of those who failed to do so, and is called Iblîs, was 'Umar b. al-Khattâb — with other absurdities which precious time should not be wasted in enumerating.

Now people of this sort are not attached to some fallacy, so that they can be argued with; they merely invent out of their own fancies what they please. If discussion with one of them should come about, he should be asked: Do you know these things which you assert necessarily or by study, or by transmission from the infallible Imâm?—If he reply Necessarily, How then (we ask) is it that persons of sound intellect disagree with you? Further if a man might so glibly claim necessity for anything that he fancied, it should be possible to silence him by claiming necessity for what contradicts his claim.—If you say By study—study (we answer) is with you valueless; for that is controlled by the reason, and with you reason is untrustworthy.—If you say From an infallible Imâm, we answer: What is it that induces you to accept his words without a miracle, and abandon the words of the Prophet in spite of miracles? Further how can you be sure but that

*Gb. 33. Associated with 'Alî and these are four persons love of whom was enjoined by the Prophet.

what has been heard from the infallible Imâm may not have some hidden sense other than the literal?

Next they may be asked: Should these hidden senses and explanations be concealed or revealed?—If they say Revealed, then we ask: Why did Muhammad conceal them?—If they say Concealed, we ask: How then can it be lawful for you to divulge what the Apostle had to conceal?

Ibn 'Aqil says: Islam has come to grief between two sects, the Esoterists (Bâtiniyyah) and the Literalists. The Esoterists abrogate the literal sense of the code by the interpretations which they claim to give, for which they have no evidence: so much so that there is nothing left in the code to which they do not assign a hidden meaning, causing the obligatory to be non-obligatory, and the forbidden to be non-forbidden. The Literalists, on the other hand, take hold of everything according to the literal expression even where there must necessarily be an explanation that is not the literal sense. The truth is between these two positions, which is that we should accept the literal sense where there is no evidence to divert us from it, and reject every hidden meaning where the code furnishes no evidence for its existence.

Were I to meet the head of the sect called Bâtiniyyah, I should not tread with him the path of knowledge, but that of rebuke and scorn for his intellect and those of his followers. I should say to him: Hopes have certain paths that they can tread and destinations which they can reach; and it is folly to place hope where despair should be placed. Now of all the sects which have covered the earth the most plausible is that Islamic system, which you profess, which you are anxious to ruin. It has obtained such hold that the desire to weaken it, let alone to destroy it, is folly. Each year it has an assembly at 'Arafah, each week in the cathedrals, each day in the mosques. When then can you aspire to render turbid this swelling ocean, to eclipse this brilliant phenomenon? Over the quarters of the globe each day thousands of us hear the call to prayer with the words *I attest that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is the Apostle of God*. The utmost that you can attain is a private conversation, or the commander of a fortress, who, if he utter a word is slain like a dog and is flung away.* When can a sensible man hope that your system will prevail over this catholic system which covers the countries? I know of no-one more foolish than you. *This will be my line* till he comes to discussion with rational proofs.

*This passage appears to be defective.

In the year 474 the fuel of the later Bâtiniyyah burst into flame, and the Sultan Jalâl al-daulah¹ executed a number of them when he had obtained knowledge of their system; the number of persons executed exceeded three hundred. Their property was examined, and it was found that one of them had seventy rooms filled with embroidered rugs, about which he wrote a letter to the Caliph, who ordered that any persons supposed to hold this doctrine should be arrested, and no-one ventured to intercede on behalf of any of them for fear of being supposed to have an inclination towards it. This led the populace all the more to persecute anyone whom they wished, and it came to pass that any man who harboured a grudge against another would charge him with being an adherent of the doctrine, would arrest him and pillage his goods.

The first that was known of the doings of the Bâtiniyyah in the days of Malikshâh Jalâl al-daulah was that they met for the prayer of the Feast at Sawah; the police official learned about them, arrested and imprisoned them, and then released them. Then they assassinated a Muedhdhin of Sawah, whom they endeavoured to proselytize; when he refused, they, fearing that he might delate them, put him to death treacherously. The matter came to the ears of Nizâm al-Mulk who ordered the arrest and execution of the man suspected of the murder. He was a carpenter. Their first murder of consequence was that of Nizâm al-Mulk; they used to say: You slew one of our carpenters and we have slain in retaliation Nizâm al-Mulk. Their movement acquired serious proportions in Isfahân, and when Malikshâh died things reached such a pitch that they would kidnap a man, murder him, and fling him into a well, and people began to despair about anyone who had not returned home when afternoon approached. They examined various places, and found a woman lying on matting and never moving; they removed her and found underneath the matting forty corpses. They killed the woman and burned the house and the whole quarter. A blind man used to sit at the gate of the street in which this house was. He would ask a passer-by to lead him a few steps to the street; when the passenger had got within it, the people of the house would pull him and get him in their power. The Muslims of Isfahân made a keen search after them and slew a great number of them.

The first fort of which the Bâtiniyyah got possession was one in a Dailemite district called Rudhbar;² it had belonged to Malikshâh's friend Dumah, who when he had been put in

(1) Malikshâh, whose title was Jalâl al-dîn is meant.

(2) The reference is to Alamut. See Le Strange's *Mustawfi*, p. 66.

charge of it had been suspected of adherence to these people's doctrine. In the year 483 in the time of Malikshâh this man sold the fort to them for 1200 dinars. Its first chieftain was al-Hasan b. Sabah, originally of Marv, and secretary to the Chief 'Abd al-Razzâq b. Bahram. This was in his youth; then he went to Egypt where he learned their doctrine from these people's missionaries, to return as a leading missionary and principal. This fort came into his hands, and his method of propagating his system was only to invite some simpleton who could not know his right hand from his left, or was unacquainted with affairs. He would feed the man on walnuts, honey, and coriander, so that his brain would expand. Then he would recount to him the wrongs and injuries which the family of the Prophet had sustained till that got fixed in his mind. Then he would say to him: If the Azraqites and Dissidents sacrificed their lives in fighting against the Umayyads, why should you grudge your life in defence of your Imâm? By this language he would leave the man fodder for the sword.

Malikshâh had sent to this Ibn al-Sabah summoning him to obedience, threatening him if he resisted, and ordering him to cease sending his followers to murder savants and princes; in answer to this message he said in the messenger's presence: The answer is what you shall see. He then said to a number of men who were standing in front of him: I wish to send you to your master on a certain business, and who will volunteer?—Everyone of them was anxious to go. The Sultan's messenger supposed that he was entrusting them with a message. Then Ibn al-Sabah pointed to a youth among them, and said to him: Kill yourself.—The lad drew a knife, cut his throat with it and fell down dead. Then he told another to throw himself from the fort; he did so and was smashed to pieces.—Then Ibn al-Sabah turned to the Sultan's messenger and said: Tell him that I have with me twenty-thousand of these people whose obedience to me goes to this length. This is my answer.—The messenger returned to the Sultan Malikshâh and told him what he had seen. The Sultan marvelled thereat and ceased parleying with them.

They got a number of forts into their hands, and proceeded to murder numerous princes and viziers.

In our History we have told strange stories about these people, and see no occasion to dilate on them here.

Many an atheist with hatred of Islam in his heart has come out, worked hard, exerted himself and made plausible

pretensions with which to confront his followers. The hidden purpose in belief was to wriggle out of the net of Islam, and in action to enjoy pleasures and to make lawful forbidden things. Some of them have obtained the pleasures at which they aimed, only after murdering people and doing grievous harm like Babak the Khurramite and the Qarmatians, and the leader of the Zamj who rebelled and seduced the black slaves, promising them the kingdom. Others while persisting in their misleading lost both this world and the next, like Ibn al-Rawandî and al-Ma'arrî. We were informed by Muhammad b. Abi Tâhir on the authority of Abu'l-Qâsim 'Alî b. al-Muhassin al-Tanûkhi after his father that Ibn al-Rawandî attached himself to the Rejectors and the Heretics, and when people remonstrated with him said he only wanted to know their doctrines. Presently he removed the mask and argued openly.

Whoever studies the case of Ibn al-Rawandî finds him a leader of heretics. He composed a book which he called *The Brainer* wherein he claimed that he had "brained" this (the Muslim) code. Praise be to Him who brained him; he was taken when he was still young. He attacked the Qur'ân, declaring that it was inconsistent and wanting in correctness, knowing all the time that the most eloquent of the Arabs were amazed when they heard it—still more those whose speech was incorrect. As for Abu'l-'Ala, his poems make no secret of their heresy; he went to all lengths in his hatred of the prophets, but all through floundered about in his attempts to mislead, being afraid of execution, till he died in his destitution. There has been no period without successors to these two parties, only, thank God, the fuel of the more audacious has been extinguished. There only remain such Bâtinis as hide themselves, and such pretenders to philosophy as conceal their opinions. These indeed are the most misleading, the most contemptible, and the most squalid. We have explained the doings of a number of both these parties in our History, and see no occasion to deal with them at length.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(*To be continued*)

"A FORGOTTEN MORN"

WHAT did'st thou mean last night, O Heart, by tears
The eyes were glad to shed to ease the soul?
Maybe that thou like one who faintly hears
The sound of a forgotten morn unroll
Through Silence, Night, and stars,
Hadst yearned so much for that pain-giving Source,
And wept for all Its scars,
Upon the setting of the sun,
Upon the swaying of the trees,—
That raise the lustre and the force
Of timeless living in the long-sought One;
O when to cease,
And lose this ever-tossing 'I'
Upon that Shore which knows no sigh
Of waning moons and fading stars but those
Heaved from Desire's breast.
How foolish was the Rose,
When by the passing of the dawn depressed (deprest)
She cried, as though a birth was nigh:
"O Thou who planted me,
And pluckest at Thy will,
O cheat me not of Immortality,
For heed! my never-dying fragrance still,
Shall haunt Thee and hair-tearing Thou shalt cry,
'Ah! I the food of my own soul did kill.'
My beauties fade,
And from myself depart,
If thus I'm surely made,
O then, O then what art
Can'st Thou boast of when Thou did'st sow
The seed of Death together with this heart?"
Now let the winds so lightly blow
Against this breast thus filled with grief,
That I may find relief
In weeping so,

Until the Voice beyond within shall call,
When sought and seeker are no more,
But One alone remains to soar,
"Aye, thou art food for all!"

AMEEN KHORASANEE.

CALIPHATE AND KINGSHIP IN MEDIÆVAL PERSIA

CHAPTER I

Caliphate and Minor Dynasties of Persia

IN order to form a correct estimate of the relations between the Caliphate and the Minor Dynasties of Persia down to the establishment of the Buwayhid power, it is necessary to give a general survey of the political condition at Baghdâd, which had reduced the already corrupted institution of the Caliphate to a mere formality.

The period under review opens with the deplorable reign of the Caliph Mutawakkil (232-247/847-861), and is characterised by two significant features:—

1. Reaction against the Mu'tazilite doctrines and its repercussions in the sphere of politics.
2. Ascendency of the Turks and the consequent weakening of the authority of the Caliphate.

The broad and tolerant spirit of the Caliph Mâmûn (198-218/813-833) that favoured rationalization and the free discussion of so many beliefs was not followed by his immediate successors, who, misunderstanding the spirit of free thought, dogmatized those views and made non-subscription to them punishable. So it was that Caliph Wâthiq (227-232/842-847), though luxurious and devoted to his own pleasures, yet was determined to see that the people did not believe in the doctrine of an 'Uncreated Qur'ân.' His zeal in this matter was so great that he actually instituted a sort of permanent inquisition¹ to enquire into the conduct of the public in respect of this particular belief; and severely punished those who persisted in this view.² The sudden reversion to orthodoxy

(1) Levy, *Baghdâd Chronicle*, p. 102.

(2) Tabarî, III. p. 1348. Ahmad Ibn Naṣr al-Khuzâ'i's head was struck off by the Caliph Wâthiq himself on this question in 231/846. So great was Wâthiq's zeal for his doctrine of the 'Created Qur'ân' that he exchanged with the Byzantine Emperor only those prisoners who believed in his doctrine. Cf. Tabarî, III. p. 1353.

during the reign of the Caliph Mutawakkil—a bigoted Sunni—was due to strong reaction against the Mu‘tazilite doctrines; and led to indiscriminate persecution of every other sect. The time and circumstances also suited the policy of persecution. It was quite in keeping with the proclivities of the less enlightened Turkish prætorians who were in ascendancy during this period.¹ The general public had also a stern way with anyone who was suspected of advanced views.² The policy of persecution which was directed especially against the Shi‘as also found its expression in vexatious enactments passed against the Jews and Christians.³ The Caliph Mutawakkil had conceived such hatred against the Shi‘a sect that in 236/850, he ordered the demolition of the tomb of the Prophet’s martyred grandson, Husayn, son of ‘Alī, at Karbalā; and all other buildings around it.⁴ A man, who was reported to have reviled Abu Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Aīshah and Ḥafsaḥ, was ordered by him to be whipped to death. The order was publicly carried out and his body was thrown into the Tigris without even having prayers offered for him.⁵ The supporters of the orthodox tradition, who had been the victims of religious persecution during the period of the immediate successors of the Caliph Māmūn, had the upper hand now and were in a mood for revenge. They formed themselves into a reforming committee and paraded the streets, carrying on a door-to-door enquiry into the beliefs of the people and inflicting summary punishment upon dissenters. The persecution did not stop at Shi‘as, but was also directed against the members of rival Muslim sects differing from their own in minor points.⁶ In Gibbon’s words, the reformers “invaded the pleasures of domestic life, burst into the houses of plebians and princes, spilt the wine, broke the instruments, beat the musicians and dishonoured, with infamous suspicions, the associates of every handsome youth.”⁷ This religious intolerance was not stopped

(1) Levy, *Baghdād Chronicle*, p. 104.

(2) Ibn Athīr, VIII. p. 98. The great historian Ṭabarī, who died in 310/922 could only be buried by night in his house because the mob assembled and would not allow his body to be buried by day, declaring that he was a Rāfiḍi (Shi‘a) and even a heretic.

(3) Ṭabarī, III. p. 1389.

(4) Ṭabarī III. p. 1407; Ibn Athīr, VII. p. 36.

(5) Ṭabarī, III. p. 1424.

(6) Levy, *Baghdād Chronicle*, p. 149. Shāfi‘is were sometimes beaten with sticks almost to the point of death.

(7) Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. VI. LII, p. 62; quoted from Ibn Athīr, VIII. p. 229-230.

till the reign of the Caliph Râdî (324-329/934-940), who considering the reform a greater evil than the original malpractices, issued a manifesto against the Hanbalîs.¹

The ruthless persecution against the Shî'as stirred up their latent hatred against the 'Abbâsid rule and must have furthered their dissemination. In the words of E. G. Browne, "It seems to have encouraged rather than repressed the development of several most remarkable religious and philosophical movements, notably amongst the former the Qarmaṭian or Ismâ'îlî propaganda which culminated in the establishment of the Fatimid Anti-Caliphate of North Africa and Egypt and amongst the latter the philosophical fraternity known as the Ikhwânû's-Ṣafa or 'Brethren of Purity.'"²

The Zanj rebellion which was the outcome of the Zaydite propaganda³ soon showed how successfully an 'Alid revolt might be launched and how the local conditions in the south of 'Irâq favoured such an undertaking. It was by far the most formidable rising that the 'Abbâsids had ever had to deal with. For nearly fourteen years (256-270/869-883) this great rebellion caused the utmost alarm and anxiety to the Caliphate, especially at a time when the Persian provinces were in revolt. It would have been quite possible for the strong hand of Muwaffaq and his son Abu'l-'Abbâs to suppress the rebellion of the Saffarids, and restore the Caliphate to its original glory and grandeur but for this prolonged and stubborn resistance.

During the progress of this rebellion, a Shî'a movement—more formidable in its aims and objects and fraught with more serious consequences to the 'Abbâsid Caliphate—was started by one of the votaries of the Ismâ'îlî sect, named 'Abd Allâh b. Maymûn al-Qaddâh in 260/873-74.⁴ In 297/909 his grandson Sa'id b. Al-Husayn, on the receipt of favourable reports from North Africa, crossed over thither and succeeded in founding a Fatimid Caliphate there by overthrowing the Aghlabid dynasty.⁵ In 356/969 his followers wrested Egypt also from the house of al-Ikshîd.⁶ Thus the Shî'a propaganda

(1) Levy, *Baghdâd Chronicle*, p. 149-150.

(2) Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. I, p. 339.

(3) Ṭabarî, III. p. 1742; Ibn Athîr, VII. p. 139.

(4) Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. I, p. 394; quoted from *Fihrist*, p. 186-187.

(5 & 6) Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. I, p. 397; quoted from *Fihrist*, p. 187.

ultimately succeeded, if not in overthrowing the 'Abbâsid Caliphate, at least in setting up a rival Caliphate. The establishment of a rival Caliphate, which included even the holy cities, was a serious blow to the prestige of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate, and, in consequence of this, its spiritual monopoly was broken.

The movement did not stop at this but left its legacy at work in the territory of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate itself. The Ismâ'îlî doctrines were also espoused by a certain Hamdân b. Al-Ash'ath nicknamed Qarmaṭ (from whose surname the term *Qarâmitah* is derived). The Qarmaṭians succeeded in founding a State independent of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate in Al-Ahsâ; and their missionaries formed lasting hotbeds of agitation in Khurâsân, Syria and Yaman.¹ They had become a political pest ever ready to attack the possessions of the Caliphate; and to plunder the caravans of pilgrims. During the whole of the Caliph Muktafi's reign (289-295/902-908) they made several attacks upon pilgrims returning from Mecca, and carried their plundering raids to the very gates of Baghdâd.² A series of victories that enabled them to subdue Syria brought them within reasonable distance of the Metropolis of Islam. In 317/929 they invaded Mecca itself, and, to the great horror of the Muslims, carried off the sacred Black Stone which they kept for twenty years;³ and ten years after they were reported to be still levying blackmail on pilgrim caravans. Their unceasing and dangerous activities always kept the Caliphate busy, indirectly encouraged ambitious governors to raise the standard of revolt; and thus, in no small measure, contributed to the downfall of the Baghdâd Government.

The second characteristic of this period was the ascendancy of the Turks, who, through sheer force of circumstances, had become absolute masters of the 'Abbâsid Empire. It was an evil day for the Caliphate when Mu'taṣim (218-227/833-842) introduced the Turkish element into the army. The tyranny, lawlessness and the ever-increasing number of the Turks obliged the Caliph to remove the seat of government from

(1) Masignon, Art. on Qarmaṭians in the *Encycl. of Islâm*.

(2) Ibn Athîr, VII. p. 387.

(3) Miskawayh, I. p. 201; *Eclipse*, trans. IV. p. 226; Ibn Athîr, VIII. p. 153.

Baghdâd to Surrâ Man Ra'a¹ (Samarra) in 221/836.² The transfer of the seat of government made the position of the Caliphs more precarious than before. Being cut off from the people of Baghdâd and surrounded by these savage and self-seeking men of violence, the Caliphate stood in greater danger of being subordinate to the ever-growing power of the Turkish generals than would have been the case at Baghdâd. There it became easy for them to assume the role of Caliph-makers and with each new succession they contrived to arrogate increasing authority to themselves. The mischievous seeds sown by the Caliph Mu'tasim were soon to bear bitter fruits which were reaped by the Caliph Mutawakkil. The latter, by his unscrupulous policy of religious persecution, had alienated the sympathies of various sections of his people, and by his harsh treatment even drove his own son to enter into a conspiracy with the Turks. This cost him his life in 247/861.³ Though the parricide did not long survive to reap the fruits of the conspiracy, his mischievous act was fraught with evil consequences for his successors. This was the first occasion that an attack was made on the person of a Caliph by the Turks; and this act served as the overture to a series of arbitrary appointments, depositions, blindings and murders. This precedent dealt a fatal blow to the traditional respect that was felt for the person of the Caliphs,⁴ who were now treated in a most humiliating way.⁵ That the Turks had become the virtual masters of the Caliphs can well be illustrated by a story related by the author of Kitâb al-Fakhrî, Ibn At-Tiqtâqa, who says: "When Mu'tazz was appointed as Caliph, his courtiers held a meeting and, summoning the astrologers, asked them how long he (the Caliph) would live and how long he would retain his Caliphate. A wit, present in the gathering, said, "I know this thing better than the astrologers." Being asked to specify the time, he replied,

(1) It means 'gladdened is he who hath beheld it,' though a Baghdâdî interpretation of the phrase ran: "Whosoever saw it (with the Turks settled there) rejoiced at Baghdâd's being rid of them." Cf. Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 509.

(2) Ibn Athîr, VI. p. 319.

(3) Ṭabarî, III. p. 1459-1460.

(4) But the institution must not be too closely linked with the misfortunes of its holders.

(5) The Turks dragged the Caliph Mu'tazz (251-255/866-869) by the feet, and after stripping off his shirt, exposed him to the burning sun. Oppressed by the severe heat, he lifted his feet alternately and the Turks slapped him with their hands. Finally they put him to death. Cf. Ṭabarî, III. p. 1710.

"So long as the Turks please," and every one present laughed."¹

Even the re-transfer of the Caliph's court to Baghdâd and the short-lived revival of the power of the Caliphate due to the strong personalities of Muwaffaq and his son, the Caliph Mu'tadid (279-289/892-902) could not for long suppress the power of the Turks. No doubt their influence was much lessened; nevertheless, their support was sought by various prominent Wazîrs who attained great distinction during this period. Owing to the insecurity of their position, all the Wazîrs, with the single honourable exception of 'Alî Ibn 'Isâ, used their position more to serve their own ends than the interests of the State. The first object of the Executive was the amassing of wealth. Dismissal on account of charges of corruption and consequent confiscations had become the rule, so much so that, in an indirect way, it constituted a new source of income to the State; and a new department had to be opened to deal with it.² The views of one of the greatest Wazîrs of the time, Ibn al-Furât throw sufficient light on the character of most of the high officials of the State. He used to say, "It is better to remove the affairs of the king in a wrong direction than to let them stand still aright."³ In short, the whole administration had become so corrupt that it was almost impossible for an honest person to serve the State. In spite of the fact that the Empire so badly needed the services of a statesman like 'Alî Ibn 'Isâ, the latter was made to vacate his position several times through the undue influence that worked on the Caliph Muqtadir.⁴

The final decline of the 'Abbâsîd dynasty set in after the murder of Muqtadir in 320/932. The Turkish party came again into power and the same scene was repeated which had occurred after the murder of the Caliph Mutawakkil in 247/861.

(1) Ibn at-Tiqtaqa, p. 333.

(2) Zaydân, trans. Margoliouth, p. 233; quoted from Hilâl al-Şâbî, *Kitâb al-Wuzarâ*, p. 306.

(3) Zaydân, trans. Margoliouth, p. 232; quoted from Hilâl al-Şâbî, *Kitâb al-Wuzarâ*, p. 119.

(4) Miskawayh, I. p. 40-41; *Eclipse*, trans. IV. p. 45. One of the charges which led to the dismissal of 'Alî Ibn 'Isâ from the Wazirate, on one of these occasions, was that he had not been able to exact the customary fines from discharged officers. Cf. Bowen, *'Alî Ibn 'Isâ*, p. 145; quoted from Hilâl al-Şâbî, *Kitâb al-Wuzarâ*, p. 79. His reply to such demands was, "I will not behave unjustly with officials whom I have trusted." Cf. Miskawayh, I. p. 43; *Eclipse*, trans. IV. p. 48.

Such a state of things encouraged many a ruling Amîr to extend his influence over Baghdâd itself, and by making the Caliph a puppet, virtually, govern the whole Empire. A keen conflict arose between various competitors for the mastery of Baghdâd, and, one after the other, several of these aspirants held the post of Amîr al-Umarâ—an office especially created for them. Since most of the powers of the Wazîr were taken over by the Amîr al-Umarâ, the Wazîrate lost its importance and glamour. The jurisdiction of the Wazîr was restricted to suits between persons unconnected with the Government; cases in which officials or soldiers were involved were no longer tried by the Wazîr as the representative of the Caliph but by the Secretary of the Amîr.¹ These ambitious Amîrs fixed a daily allowance for the Caliph, and appropriated all the revenue themselves.² Besides, they also introduced the innovation of having their names conjoined along with that of the Caliph in Friday prayers and coinage.³

Although very little actual power was left with the Caliphs by this time, yet, since they still commanded the respect and prayers of all pious Muslims, it was not safe for anyone openly to defy their orders, as that would have entailed the alienation of the sympathies of the public. For this reason, the acquisition of power necessitated a judicious compromise between real authority and seeming obedience. In fact, the Caliphs, though responsible for the administration, were no longer in a position to carry it on in their own way; nevertheless orders were still issued in their names while their hands were being continually forced by influential Amîrs.

That this anomalous position at the Metropolis of Islâm had turned the institution of the Caliphate into a mere figure-head can be easily understood by a glance at the juridical position that the legists of Islâm have assigned to the institution; and an examination of its actual working at this time. It is one of the difficulties in the way of the student that no earlier exposition of the office of the Caliphate was written, or if written has survived, than that of 'Alî Ibn Muhammad Al Mâwardî (381-450/991-1058) whose *Al-Ahkâm al Sultânîyah* or 'The Laws concerning Rulership' was published in

(1) Bowen, *'Alî Ibn 'Isâ*, p. 365; quoted from Hilâl al-Şâbî, p. 317.

(2) Miskawayh, I. p. 352; *Eclipse*, trans. IV, p. 396.

(3) Ibn Athîr, VIII. p. 241. Ibn Râiq's name was ordered to be mentioned from all pulpits. Both Bachkam and Tuzûn's names appear on the coinage minted at Baghdâd. Cf. Lane Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 190, and *Additions*, p. 256, respectively.

the first third of the fifth century. Nevertheless, an examination of Mâwardî's book will show that, although it was written at a time when very little political power was left with the Caliph, yet the theoretical exposition of the institution which it contains relates in fact, in its main principles, to an earlier period. Since he bases his arguments and conclusions on historical practice and the opinions of earlier jurists, we are justified, in the absence of any strictly contemporary exposition of the functions of the Caliph, in accepting his theory (shorn of those peculiar features which evidently reflect the usage of his own times and which will be dealt with later) as representing the juridical view of the pre-Buwayhid period jurists.¹

According to Mâwardî, the institution of the Caliphate is considered necessary to provide leadership in succession to the Prophet for the preservation of religion and the administration of temporal affairs.² And it is obligatory³ on the people to appoint an Imâm by the consensus of the community. Although, during this period, the people, as a whole, actually speaking, had not even the slightest hand in the appointment of a Caliph, yet, to preserve the form, a show of public ratification was made. The election of a Caliph by the consensus of the community was reduced only to an oath of allegiance taken by the whole of the people, either by their consent, or otherwise, to an already appointed Caliph. The ceremony may be considered quite formal, but it was essential for the completion of the election. More importance was attached to the oath of allegiance by important personalities like Qâdis. Such persons, on the other hand, were

(1) The analysis of the exposition given by Mâwardî and the investigation of the sources and materials from which it was derived is one of the most urgent tasks which requires to be done in the field of Islamic political thought. It forms no part, however, of the subject of the present essay which begins with the institution already fully developed both in theory and practice. For our purposes it is immaterial whether the main principles of Mâwardî's exposition go back to the first, second or third century—since it must be assumed, (i) that a definite juridical view of the Caliphate existed by the third century, and (ii) in the absence of any attempt to controvert Mâwardî's exposition that the latter did in fact represent that juridical view. However, the very fact that Mâwardî introduced 'Amîrs by Force' shows that his main theory regarding the office of the Caliphate did not belong to his own period but to the pre-Buwayhid period.

(2) Mâwardî, p. 2. From the above description it is evident that the institution had a double function to perform, religious as well as temporal.

(3) Mâwardî, p. 3.

very careful about their oath of allegiance, and they were averse to doing anything which was against the strict letter of the law.¹

The author says that on the occasion of a vacancy there are two categories of people in the community, the first comprising all those who possess the right of electing the Imâm and the other consisting of those who put forward a claim to sovereignty. The electors are supposed to possess the following three qualifications: (1) Uprightness in all its respects; (2) Capacity to judge the qualifications that a leader must possess; (3) Discretion and good judgment enabling them to choose the persons most deserving of the office.² The real electors were in most cases either the Turkish generals or the Wazîrs; and most of them being unscrupulous and ambitious men were devoid of uprightiness in any form; in consequence of this they could not make proper use of the second and third qualifications which, in most cases, they were possessed of. In selecting the Caliph they were actuated by their own personal motives rather than the qualifications of the candidates.³

As regards the qualifications necessary for the office of the Caliph, Mâwardî names the following:—(1) Uprightness in all its respects; (2) Requisite juridico-theological knowledge to determine the significance of points of Shari'ah in difficult cases; (3) Freedom from defects of hearing, sight and speech; (4) Freedom from physical infirmities; (5) Intelligence and sagacity which provide insight for governing the people and conducting the affairs of the State; (6) Courage and boldness to defend the boundaries of the State and to fight the enemies of Islâm; (7) Descent from the tribe of Quraysh.⁴ Since the hereditary system generally prevailed, the field of choice was very limited and the electors had, in practice, to select from amongst the sons or the brothers of the deceased or dethroned Caliph. Even within this limited circle, no due consideration was paid to the above qualifications in selecting a candidate. To give a colour of legitimacy and regularity a formal proceeding was carried out and the chief dignitaries of the court, military commanders and religious heads were invited to deliberate on the determination of the above points but the

(1) Ibn Athîr, VII. p. 93. Qâdî Abû Ahmad b. Rashîd refused to pay homage to the Caliph Mu'tazz on the ground that he had withdrawn himself previously.

(2) Mâwardî, p. 4.

(3) Examples will be found below.

(4) Mâwardî, p. 4-5.

choice used to be made by influential persons long before such an assembly was held.¹ The qualifications Nos. 3 and 4 were duly observed throughout the whole of this period. They were so deep-rooted in the minds of the people that the blinding of a claimant was considered quite enough to prevent him from succeeding to the throne. The seventh qualification was the most essential and was most rigidly observed. The strict adherence of the Sunnî sect to this last qualification was due to several supposed traditions attributed to the Prophet Muhammad.² The claims of the 'Abbâsid family were further strengthened by various supposed traditions put forward in their favour.³ It was chiefly due to these settled traditions that the Turks, though masters of everything, could not conceive of putting up a candidate outside the family of 'Abbâs. This limitation caused the 'Abbâsid family to be regarded in some sort as sacred in the minds of all Sunnî people and it was primarily due to this that an appearance of political unity was preserved throughout the Sunnî Muslim world (Spain excepted).

Mâwardî holds the indivisible character of the Caliphate when he says, "That at one time there cannot be more than one Imâm."⁴ This principle was strictly observed by the

(1) Miskawayh, I. p. 3; *Eclipse*, trans. IV. p. 2. While electing the successor of the Caliph Muktafi the Wazîr asked the opinion of important persons, amongst others of Ibn al-Furât, who said, "Why should you introduce a man who will govern, and knows our resources, who will administer affairs himself, and regard himself as independent? Why not deliver the empire to a man who will leave you to administer it?" It was owing to such considerations that the candidature of Abû'l 'Abbâs 'Abd Allâh son of Mu'tazz was rejected, and Muqtadir who was of tender age was elected. In the same way when Mûnis urged the candidature of the son of Muqtadir, Abu'l-'Abbâs, he was successfully opposed by Abû Ya'qûb Ishâq b. Isma'îl Nûbakhtî in the following words, "After all the trouble which we have taken to get rid of a sovereign with a mother and an aunt and eunuch are we going to have the same thing over again?" Miskawayh, I. p. 242; *Eclipse*, trans. IV. p. 273.

(2) Suyûtî, trans. Jarrett, p. 8. "The Princes shall be of the Quraysh the just among them rulers of the just, and the wicked rulers of the wicked."

(3) Suyûtî, trans. p. 13. It is related from Abû Hurayrah that the Messenger of God said to 'Abbâs, 'In you shall rest prophecy and sovereignty.'

(4) Mâwardî, p. 7.

Sunnîs and its observance gave further stability to the institution of the Caliphate. Again, in order to legalise the despotic character of the institution which resulted from the hereditary system, the author upholds the practice by which the reigning Caliph appoints his own successor.¹

According to Mâwardî, there are ten duties to be performed by a Caliph: (1) To uphold the fundamental principles of the Muslim religion; (2) To decide law-suits and to settle disputes; (3) To defend Muslim territories; (4) To administer the penal law; (5) To guard the frontiers by keeping garrisons and making preparations for war; (6) To fight those who refuse to accept Islâm or to submit upon terms laid down for non-Muslims; (7) To levy taxes and imposts according to law; (8) To pay the annuity from the State treasury; (9) To appoint trustworthy men and councillors for the administration of different districts and for fiscal purposes; and (10) Personally to inspect and control the administration.² If the Caliph discharged and fulfilled these duties the people were required to discharge two duties on their part: (1) To render him obedience; and (2) To render him assistance.³ It is obvious that no Caliph, during this period of degeneration, did or could fulfil all the conditions laid down by the jurists, but the provision for deposing a defaulting Caliph could not be made operative owing to the lack of power to enforce it, and to support of the interested persons who were responsible for raising a candidate to the throne of sovereignty. The two chief causes which involved forfeiture were deterioration of morals and physical infirmities.⁴ The provision for deposition due to the first cause was a useful instrument in the hands of the interested parties. As long as the Caliph complied with their demands no-one questioned his morals, but the moment he did not agree with them his morals were called in question; and he was asked to vacate the throne by self-deposition. His consent was taken forcibly and attested by the Qâdîs before he was brought before an assembly to declare his own deposition. If the Caliph did not agree to

(1) Mâwardî, p. 5.

(2) Cremer, *The Orient under the Caliphs*, trans. Khuda Bakhsh, p. 265-266; quoted from Mâwardî, p. 15.

(3) Mâwardî, p. 16.

(4) Mâwardî, p. 16.

the arrangement settled by the interested parties, he was threatened with death, or blinded.¹

Under such conditions the absolute obedience claimed on behalf of the Caliphate from the governors could not be expected. The first minor dynasty which arose in Persia was that of the Ṭāhirids whose relations with the Caliphate we will now trace.

The founder of the Ṭāhirid dynasty, as its name implies, was Ṭāhir Dhu-l-Yamīnayn who descended from Rāziq who was in the service of Abū Muhammad Ṭalhā b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khuzā'i, Viceroy of Sijistān. His son, Muṣā'b governed the town of Būshang in the province of Hirāt, and was secretary to Sulaymān Ibn Kathīr al Khuzā'i, the chief of the 'Abbāsīd mission.² He was succeeded in the government first by his son Husayn (199/814-815) and then by his grandson, Ṭāhir who subsequently passed into the service of the Caliph Māmūn.³

It is an established fact that Māmūn's victory over Amīn was achieved through the supreme effort of Ṭāhir as general, and therefore it was quite natural on the part of Māmūn to give high positions to Ṭāhir and other members of his family. After Māmūn's accession to the throne in 198/813, Ṭāhir was appointed the Governor of Al-Jazīrah and financial administrator of the Sawād with the position of Military Commander at Baghdād,⁴ and his son 'Abd Allāh was entrusted with the duty of pacifying the western parts of the Empire. In 206/821-822, 'Abd Allāh was appointed Governor of the regions between Al-Rakka and Egypt, and at the same time received the supreme command in the battle against one of Amīn's followers named Naṣr b. Shabath who surrendered to 'Abd Allāh in 209/825.⁵ In the same year 210/825-26

(1) Misk. I. p. 290-91; *Eclipse*, trans. IV. p. 330-31. On the occasion of the deposition of the Caliph Qāhir, the Qādī who was sent to attest the document declaring the former's abdication, was very much upset when the Caliph refused to submit. The Qādī said, "What use was it to summon us to a man who had not been forced to submit?" On hearing this, 'Alī Ibn 'Isā remarked, "His conduct is notorious and therefore he must be deposed." To this the Qādī replied, "It is not for us to establish dynasties—that is accomplished by the men of the swords. We are only suited and required for attestation." The next morning the Caliph was found blinded.

(2) Ibn Khallikan, De Slane, trans. I. p. 649-650.

(3) Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 208.

(4) Ṭabarī, III. p. 1039.

(5) Ṭabarī, III. p. 1067; Ibn Athīr, VI. p. 256.

he went to Egypt by order of the Caliph Mâmûn, easily succeeded in restoring order there; and conquered Iskandarîyah for the Caliphate.¹

Since both the conquest and consolidation of the 'Abbâsid Empire were due to the loyal and valuable services of the Tâhirids, the latter were allowed to play the role of partners in the Empire. But although he recognized their services and amply rewarded them by assigning important positions to them, Mâmûn was shrewd enough to keep them away from their home in Khurâsân where their influence, if misused, would have endangered the safety of the Empire, much though their presence was needed in those troublesome regions which demanded closer attention for pacification.

Tâhir being ambitious, was not satisfied with his position at Baghdâd and naturally wanted to be the Governor of his own province, Khurâsân. This is best explained in Tâhir's own words. When someone said to him, "May you well enjoy the rank which you now hold and which none of your rivals in Khurâsân have ever reached," he replied: "That is what I am unable to enjoy since I cannot see the old women of Bûshang climbing up to the roofs of the houses that they may get a sight of me as I pass by."² However, it was Mâmûn himself who provided the cause which led Tâhir to make a successful effort to get away from Baghdâd. It is a well-known story that one day Mâmûn, on seeing Tâhir, was reminded of his brother Amîn who was killed by the former, and burst into tears.³ This created some suspicion in Tâhir's mind, and when he found out the cause of Mâmûn's weeping⁴ and also that the latter had conceived a violent hatred against him (Tâhir), he, with the assistance of the Wazîr, got himself transferred to Khurâsân where he had his influence and dynastic support. That Mâmûn had lost all confidence in Tâhir is proved by the fact that he at first was unwilling to send him to the eastern provinces; and it was only through the Wazîr's deception that he consented to appoint Tâhir as Governor of Khurâsân on condition that the Wazîr would himself stand guarantee for Tâhir's good behaviour.⁵ Obviously

(1) Tabarî, III. p. 1091.

(2) Ibn Khallikân, De Slane, trans. I. p. 650.

(3) Tabarî, III. 1041-42; Ibn Athîr, VI. p. 255. Ibn Khaldûn, III. p. 251; Ibn Khallikân, De Slane, trans. I. 652-53.

(4) Ibn Khallikân, De Slane, trans. I. p. 652-53. Mâmûn was reported to say the following words: "Tâhîr shall not escape me."

(5) Tabarî, III. 1042. The Wazîr made Mâmûn believe that there were disturbances in Khurâsân which could not be quelled by anyone but Tâhir.

it was the extreme hostility displayed by Mâmûn towards Ṭâhir that let the latter to drop the former's name from the Khuṭbah in 207/822,¹ thus signifying his independence at a time when the 'Abbâsid Caliphate was at its height. The desperate attempt of Ṭâhir was nipped in the bud by the sudden and premature removal of Ṭâhir himself from the scene, either from some natural cause or from poison believed to have been administered to him by a slave-girl who was presented to him by Mâmûn with such instructions.²

The appointment of Ṭalḥa in his father's place was perhaps intended to hush up the suspicion that was aroused on the sudden death of Ṭâhir.³ The third appointment of 'Abd Allâh b. Ṭâhir in his brother's place gave the dynasty a hereditary character and local authority and position which previous governors had never enjoyed. It may be noted here that 'Abd Allâh's appointment was not based on favouritism but on his own personal merits. Besides, Mâmûn placed in him the highest confidence and treated him with the utmost consideration.⁴ But during the time of 'Abd Allâh b. Ṭâhir, the dynasty reached its zenith and had so firmly established itself that it was not easy to transfer them to any part of the Empire. Even the Caliph Mu'tasim (218-227/833-42) who bore some grudge against him did not dare dismiss him, but in order to remove him could only encourage secret plans of murder.⁵ On the other hand 'Abd Allâh fulfilled the expectations of the 'Abbâsids and never betrayed the trust reposed in him. Even when he found out the evil intentions of Mu'tasim against his own life, he did not adopt the absurd plan taken by his own father under similar circumstances. However, he took care not to leave his country for long periods and always considered himself safe only within his own dominions. For this reason 'Abd Allâh, though a man of religious character, had to forgo the pleasure of fulfilling the sacred duty of performing the pilgrimage.⁶

(1) Ṭabarî, III. p. 1064; Ibn Athîr, VI. p. 270.

(2) Ibn Khallikân, De Slane, trans. I. p. 653.

(3) Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 208.

(4) Ibn Khallikân, De Slane, trans. 2. p. 49.

(5) Gardizî. p. 7. It is related that Mu'tasim had conceived a hatred for 'Abd Allâh before he became Caliph. During his Caliphate, he sent a slave-girl to 'Abd Allâh with instructions to poison him, but the slave-girl being infatuated by him, disclosed the secret.

(6) Gardizî, p. 2.

After the death of 'Abd Allâh b. Tâhir in 230/844 the Caliph Wâthiq appointed Ishâq b. Ibrâhîm al-Mus'abî, as Governor of Khurâsân but, for certain reasons, this appointment was cancelled before the departure of the new governor, and Tâhir b. 'Abd Allâh was appointed in his father's place.¹ The last appointment of Muhammad b. Tâhir in 248/862 was made in consideration of the services rendered by 'Abd Allâh and his family.² Thus we see that it was through force of circumstances that the government of Khurâsân remained in the family of Tâhir till it was extinguished by Ya'qûb b. Layth in 259/872.

The Tâhirids paid a fixed amount of annual tribute to the Caliphate regularly. According to Ibn Khûrdâdhbih³ the tribute paid by 'Abd Allâh in 211/212—826/827 consisted of 44,846,000 dirhams, thirteen thoroughbred horses, 2000 sheep, 2000 Ghuzz slaves, valued at 600,000 dirhams, 1,187 pieces of stuff, and 1,300 pieces of iron. In the year 221/836 according to Qudâma,⁴ 'Abd Allâh bound himself to pay in all thirty-eight million dirhams out of an annual income of forty-eight million dirhams which, according to Tabarî,⁵ was the amount received in the year of the death of 'Abd Allâh b. Tâhir, 230/844 from all sources.

The Tâhirids remained, on the whole, loyal supporters of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate. They did not even take any advantage worth the name of the sudden decline of the Caliphate after the murder of Mutawakkil at the hands of the Turks in 247/861. Their passive attitude might be accounted for three facts:

Firstly, as already mentioned, the Tâhirids had become a sort of junior partners in the Empire. They had the best provinces under their control and were quite independent as far as their internal administration was concerned. Their territory comprised Rayy and Kirmân in addition to Khurâsân proper

(1) Barthold, Art. On 'Abd Allâh in *Encycl. of Islâm*.

(2) Tabarî, III. p. 1506, Yâqûbî ed. Houtsma, II. p. 604 says that Muhammad b. 'Abd Allâh, Military Commandant at Baghdâd declined an offer to go to Khurâsân, as he knew that his brother Tâhir had intended his son to succeed him.

(3) *Bib. Geog. Arab.* VI. p. 38; Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 220.

(4) *Bib. Geog. Arab.* VI. p. 250. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 220

(5) Tabarî, III. p. 1338-1339. Ya'qûbî puts the taxes from Khurâsân at forty-two million dirhams. See *Bib. Geog. Arab.* VII. p. 308.

and the lands east thereof as far as the Indian frontier and northward to the boundary of the Caliph's Empire.¹ They were in sole enjoyment of the whole of the one-fifth of the booty raised in their wars against the non-Muslims; and received thirteen million dirhams from 'Irâq independently of gifts.² Besides holding the important province of Khurâsân, the post of the Military Commander at Baghdâd was also occupied by one of the members of this family. The monopoly of this post had raised their position so much that at one time they had become, in a measure, protectors of the Caliphate when its fate hung in the hands of the Turks. In 251/865, Muhammad b. 'Abd Allâh b. Tâhir was so important at Baghdâd that he was actually playing the role of a Caliph-maker and shared in deciding the fate of the Caliphate between Musta'in and Mu'tazz. Thus we see that the Tâhirids had become a party with the Turks to the exploitation of the revenues of the Caliphate.³

Secondly, it was only during the reign of 'Abd Allâh b. Tâhir that any possible successful effort could be made for independence, but the Caliphate though showing some signs of decline, was not yet so weak as to ensure the success of such an effort. 'Abd Allâh was prudent enough to continue his dependence on the Caliphate and reap the best advantage he could within the limits of his own rights. Moreover, he and his son Tâhir, being good Muslims, might not have liked the idea of figuring as heretics in the public eye by severing all their connections from the Caliphate.

Thirdly, the sudden weakening of the authority of the 'Abbâsids coincided with the degeneration of the Tâhirids. The last of them, Muhammad b. Tâhir, who succeeded his father in 248/862, was of tender years and was a weak ruler devoted to his own pleasures. His own territories were not safe in such a weak ruler's hands. It was during his reign that the 'Alid Hasan B. Zayd captured Tabaristân in 251/866 and renounced his allegiance to the Caliph Musta'in;⁴ and finally Muhammad himself was defeated by Ya'qûb and taken prisoner in 259/837.⁵ Under such circumstances, it was to

(1) Barthold, Art. On Tâhirids, *Encycl. of Islâm*.

(2) Ya'qûbî, *Bib. Geog. Arab.* VII. p. 308.

(3) Tabarî, III. p. 1640, Ibn Athîr, VII. p. 107; Ibn Khaldûn, II. p. 290. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allâh was one of the parties with the Turks in deposing Musta'in and raising Mu'tazz to the Caliphate. One-third of the whole of the revenue was to be appropriated by Muhammad; and two-thirds between the Turks and Mawâlî.

(4 & 5) Gardizî, p. 10.

the advantage of the Tâhirids themselves that they kept up the connection with the 'Abbâsid Caliphate.

The Tâhirids generally obeyed the orders of the Central Government and carried them out with all sincerity and honesty of purpose. If needed, the Baghdâd government would send some support from the Capital to the help of these governors. At the time of the appointment of Ṭalhâ in 207/822 to the government of Khurâsân, the chief of Ushrusana, Kâwûs who had consented to pay tribute to Mâmûn, revolted against the authority of the Caliphate; consequently a force was sent from Baghdâd under the command of Ahmad b. Abû Khâlîd for the subjugation of that country. Ṭalhâ was pleased to receive such assistance from the central government and with its help was able to achieve his object.¹ Sometimes these governors would take the initiative themselves and suppress such revolts. When a certain 'Alid, Muhammad b. Al-Qâsim, appeared as pretender to the Caliphate, 'Abd Allâh b. Tâhir took proper steps against such pretensions, defeated Muhammad bin Kâsim who surrendered to 'Abd Allâh and was sent by him to the Caliph Mu'tasim in 219/834.² One of the greatest revolts during this period came from Mazyâr b. Qârin who had embraced Islâm and was appointed Governor of Tabaristân, Rûyan and Dunbâwand by the Caliph Mâmûn.³ After the latter's death in 218/833, Mazyâr began to show signs of returning to heresy and of revolting against the central authority. 'Abd Allâh b. Tâhir had denounced to the Caliph the "misdeeds, tyranny and apostacy of Mazyâr."⁴ The open breach between the Caliphate and Mazyâr occurred in 224/838-39 when the latter refused to pay tribute to the Tâhirids; and would not listen to the representations of the Caliph's ambassador. Meanwhile, he conferred various honours on Bâbak, Mazdak and other Magians who had ordered the demolition of places of worship of Muslims.⁵ The famous Afshîn, being covetous of Khurâsân, secretly encouraged Mazyâr's resistance to his rival 'Abd Allâh b. Tâhir.⁶ As soon as the Caliph Mu'tasim heard that Mazyâr

(1) Ṭabarî, III. p. 1066.

(2) Ṭabarî, III. p. 1166.

(3) Minorsky, Art. On Mazyâr in *Encycl. of Islâm*, p. 436.

(4) *Isfandyâr*, trans. Browne, p. 152.

(5) *Ibid*, p. 153.

(6) Ṭabarî, III. p. 1268. *Isfandyâr*, p. 155.

had had homage paid to himself and levied kharaj, he despatched urgent orders to 'Abd Allâh to fight against him and sent considerable forces from Baghdâd to his assistance. The combined forces of the Caliph and 'Abd Allâh proved too much for Mazyâr who was arrested and brought by 'Abd Allâh personally to Baghdâd where he was ordered to be given 400 lashes under which he died and his body was exposed.¹

The two religious movements, those of the 'Alids in Ṭabaristân and Khârijites in Sijistân, which were opposed to the Caliphate were always put down by the Ṭâhirids.² In carrying out the orders and serving the cause of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate, the Ṭâhirids were also promoting their own interests. Being Sunnîs, their religious interests coincided with those of the 'Abbâsids, and thus the enemies of the Caliphate were naturally their enemies. The suppression of any other religious movements in their dominions was also a political necessity; and the conquest of new territories was more to their own advantage than to that of the Caliphate.³ Besides, the Ṭâhirids were amply rewarded for their loyalty by the Caliphs and they were always favoured in their eyes. It was due to the Ṭâhirids' influence at Baghdâd that Ya'qûb, the Saffarid was denounced as a heretic and rebel against the lawful government,⁴ and the government of Khurâsân, Rayy, Fârs, Qazwîn, Zurjân along with the post of the Military Commander of Baghdâd was entrusted to the incapable and pleasure-loving ruler, Muḥammad b. Ṭâhir as soon as the latter was set free from the hands of Ya'qûb in 263/876.⁵ The last named post continued to be held mainly by the members of the Ṭâhirid family.⁶

(1) Ṭabarî, III. p. 1268. *Isfandyâr*, p. 154.

(2) Gardizî, pp. 5 and 8.

(3) Ya'qûbî, *Bib. Geog. Arab.* VII, p. 308. The whole of the booty was appropriated by the Ṭâhirids. All the lands conquered by them were also given to them. 'Abd Allâh sent his son Ṭâhir on a campaign into the Ghûzz country and conquered several places for the Caliphate, where none had penetrated before him. See Barthold, p. 212.

(4) Ṭabarî, III. p. 1887.

(5) Ṭabarî, III. p. 1895; Ibn Athîr, VII. p. 201.

(6) Barthold, Art. On Ṭâhirids, in *Encycl. of Islâm*. The last of the Ṭâhirids to hold the office of Military Commander at Baghdâd was 'Ubayd Allâh b. 'Abd Allâh who died on 300/913. His son Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allâh was for a period Commandant of the eastern half of Baghdâd and was dismissed from office in 301/913. See *Arab*, p. 45.

The Tâhirids ruled Khurâsân in accordance with the maxims of government recommended to 'Abd Allâh by his father Tâhir when he was appointed to the government of Dayâr Rabî'a in 206/821.¹ There is very scanty information regarding the actual administration of the Tâhirids, but whatever information has come down to us goes to prove that they, being very pious Muslims, always tried to rule their country in accordance with the strict laws of the Sharî'ah. To settle the quarrels amongst the inhabitants over the use of water for artificial irrigation for which the Muslim books did not provide any definite laws, 'Abd Allâh invited the Faqîhs of Khurâsân and instructed them to work out in consultation with some Jurists from 'Irâq, the legal principles regarding the use of water. The book of "Canals" (*Kitâb al-Quniy*) composed by them served as a guide in similar matters.² This shows that the Tâhirids were anxious to act in accordance with Islamic laws; and, in the absence of definite laws, they did not use their autocratic powers. As regards 'Abd Allâh b. Tâhir's equity, justice and efficiency of government, if we are to believe Ya'qûbî, "he ruled Khurâsân as none had ever ruled it before."³ He was greatly concerned in the public welfare irrespective of classes. He especially took up the cause of the agriculturists, and introduced free universal education. He used to say "knowledge must be accessible to the worthy and unworthy; it will look after itself and not remain with the unworthy."⁴ Tâhir b. 'Abd Allâh is also spoken of as a beneficent ruler and a pious person.⁵ The Tâhirids took great care in providing comforts to the caravans for pilgrimages.

(1) Tabarî, III. p. 1046-1062; Ibn Khaldûn, *Muqaddimah*, pp. 304-311. The maxims of government presented by Tâhir to his son have been taken as a model of good government. According to Mâmûn's remark, Tâhir did not leave out anything. A copy of these maxims was sent to every governor with instructions that he should rule the province accordingly. Tabarî says that 'Abd Allâh always acted upon it. Obedience to God and the Prophet's commands, allegiance to the Caliph and practice of Sharî'ah in governing the country are specially enjoined. Free access for the subjects and their well-being in every respect is much insisted upon.

(2) Gardizî, p. 8.

(3) Barthold, p. 213; quoted from Ya'qûbî, II. p. 586.

(4) *Ibid*, quoted from Gardizî, p.

(5) Gardizî, p. 9. He was so pious and unassuming that he did not like to be addressed by the title "Rashîd" as he thought he did not deserve such an epithet.

In conclusion we can say that the Tâhirids being orthodox Sunnîs were staunch supporters of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate. They helped the institution of the Caliphate in all its activities, and by crushing all anti-Caliphate movements in their territories, alleviated their troubles to a great extent. They waged wars against non-Muslims, provided due facilities to the pilgrim caravans and ruled their territories justly and efficiently. Having thus won the best opinion of the ruling Caliphs from Mâmûn downwards, they enjoyed peacefully the government of the richest province of the Caliphate, but continued paying the tribute, though with slight variations, to the central government in accordance with terms agreed upon by both parties.

By adhering to the cause of the 'Abbâsids at a time when the Caliphate was being robbed of all its temporal authority, they fulfilled the expectations of the 'Abbâsids and justified the confidence reposed in them. No doubt, through various circumstances, they had become hereditary governors irremovable from their position; but in no way should they be regarded as independent of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate, as most of the modern writers on Islamic History have tried to assert. The first dynasty that openly contested the political supremacy of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate in Persia, was that of the Šaffarids whose relations with the Caliphate we shall now trace.

A. H. SIDDIQI.

(To be continued)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MODERN PERSIAN-
ENGLISH VOCABULARY

(Continued from our last issue)

ذ

ذاکر (zākir): A "reciter of the names and praise of God." (Redhouse; and مین 1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 3).

ذخیره

ذخیره کردن (zakhīra kardan): "To save up." (نوبهار 1917, No. 59, p. 3).

ذره بین (zarra-bīn): A "microscope." (Redhouse, *et passim*). See too under ذره بینی.

ذره بینی "Microscopic." (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 4, col. 4). مجزیه های ذره بینی (tajziyahā-ye zarra-bīnī): "Microscopic analyses."

ذمه دار

ذمه دار بودن (zimma-dār budan; with را): "To be responsible" (for), "to have (something) in charge." (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 3).

و دولت وقت که حفظ استقلال و حراست حدود و ثغور مملکت اسلامی را

*** ذمه دار است برای اطفای نهضت خائنانه آنها قیام کرده است.

And the Government who are responsible for the preservation of the independence of the country and the protection of its frontiers, have set about putting an end to the traitorous movements of those people.

ذوبی (zaubī): "Fusible." (کوشش 1927, No. 77, p. 2, col. 5). See under پرتاب نمودن (partāb).

ذوق (zauk).

ذوقیات "Matters of taste," such as the fine arts.
(کوکب ایران) 1917, No. 10).

(نسبت به with), (علاقه مند zi 'alāka; as), ذی علاقه
"Interested" (in). (اتحاد) 1922, No. 219, p. 2, col. 1).

مانمی دانیم با اطلاعاتی که نسبت بروابط و اتصالات استاندارد با انگلیسها
دردست است این اندازه چنان نسبت به اظهارات آن کپانی باید ذی علاقه بود.

Considering the information possessed (by the Premier)
as to the relations between the Standard Oil Company and
the English, we do not know why he should be so much
interested in the statements offered by that Company.

ذیلا (zailan): "As follows." (محرر) 1927, No. 55, p. 2,
col. 4).

خلاصه يك قسمت از مراسله شخص محترمی را که از مرکز نوشته است

*** ذیلا می نگاریم.

We are writing as follows the gist of a part of the com-
munications of a respected correspondent who writes from
the Capital.

د

رابط (rābiṭ): A "medium," (in spiritualism). (میهن)
1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 3).

بعد از پیدا شدن رابط محذور بزرگتری پیش میآید رابط حقه بازو
متقلب است یا درستکار.

When a medium has been found, a still greater precaution
must be taken, (to find out) if he is a juggler and impostor or
an honest man.

——— A "means of connection." (Redhouse; and میهن)
1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 4).

البرت روشا معتقد به این است که قوه محرکه رابط از بدن خارج
شده و سبب حرکت می شود.

Monsieur X. believes that the moving power is some
means of connection outside of the body, which causes the
movement of the latter.

رابطه (rābiṭa): As رابط a "medium."

رپورت: A "report." (طوفان) 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 1).

داپورت as راپورت.

راپورت: "To report," (with accus. of the thing reported).
(محمدر 1927, No. 55, p. 2, col. 1).

اقدامات خود را در باب * * عقد قرارداد های لازمه تجارتي راپورت
داده.

He has reported the measures adopted by him to conclude the necessary commercial agreements.

طوفان (rāji; with به): "With reference" (to).
1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 1).

راجع بمبلغ ۱۵ هزار تومان اعتباری که سال گذشته از محل صرفه جوئی
قرار شد بمصرف تعمیرات مریض خانه های مرکز برسد (الی آخره)

With reference to the sum of 15,000 tūmāns assigned by Government which form its profitable use it was decided last year to apply to the expenses of repairing the hospitals of Teheran: (etc.).

[For rest of sentence, etc., see اعتبار and اعتبار]

راه

راه افتادن (rāh uftādan): "To be set going, to be carried on." (ريك 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 4).

واگونها و کارخانه ها بتوسط آن قوه راه افتاده و شهرها و خانه ها روشن
شده.

Vehicles and factories are carried on by means of that power, and towns and houses illuminated.

رای

رای گرفتن (ra'y griftan; with به): "To vote" (about), "to take votes" (upon). (ترقي 1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 2).

به پیشنهاد وکیل الملك رای گرفته تصویب نشد.

Votes being taken upon the proposal of Vakilu'l-Mulk, it was not approved.

رایگان

رایگان (ba-rāygān): "As gratis"; i.e., "gratuitously."
(نجدد 1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 2).

معدن نفت جنوب ایران که در درجه اول معادن دنیا است * * *
برایگان از دست داده شد.

The petrol wells of the South of Persia, which rank as the first in the world, have been given up gratuitously.

ردیف: A "sequence."

در ردیف (dar radif; with gen.): "As a sequence," (to),
"following" (upon). (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 4).

در ردیف انتشار منع اذان و نمازی بود که در زمزمه جمهوری ایران
منتشر شده بود.

It followed upon a (supposed) prohibition of the call to prayer and of prayers that had been disseminated in whispers among the people of Persia.

دزین (razīn; Russ, Pesnha): A "tyre." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 4; and طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 4, col. 3).

From طوفان 1927:—"Goodyear's tyres." دزین گودئیر

دژی (Fr. Régie): "Administration."

دژیم (Fr.): "Rule, administration." (محرر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 1).

رسم (rasm): A "ceremony." (فرهنگ 1888, No. 571, p. 4, col. 3).

بموجب وصیت خود امپراطور متوفی رسم تشییع جنازه خیلی ساده و
بقاعده لشکری خواهد شد.

In accordance with the will of the late Emperor himself the funeral ceremony will be very simple and in military form.

باسم و رسم: (ism) اسم. See, under رسم (rasm).

رسید (rasīd): A "certificate," (e.g., of health). (حیات ایران 1924, No. 129, p. 1, col. 2).

ضمنا دکتور مزبور رسیدی از صحت و رفع نقاهت مشار الیه داده.

It should be added that the doctor mentioned has given a certificate of health and complete recovery.

رسیدگی (rasīdagī), (with به or gen.): "Enquiry" (into), "examination" (of). (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 2, gives an example of each construction). (With به)

تا مدتی مشغول رسیدگی به امور مهمهٔ مملکتی بودند.

(The Ministers) were engaged for a time in the examination of some important affairs of the country.

See under تصدی for example with gen.

رسیدگی شدن (مبین) "To be examined, investigated." (1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 1). See under احضار (iḥzār), احضار شدن.

رشد (rushd): "Maturity," (as of a plant). (1921, Apr. 10, p. 4).

رفع

رفع نقاهت (raf'-e naḳāhat): "Complete recovery." (Lit., "removal of convalescence"). (حیات ایران 1924, No. 129, p. 1, col. 2). See under رسید.

رفیق (rafīk): "Comrade," (as applied to a Bolshevik). (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 2, col. 2).

در شمارهٔ قبل وعده دادیم که عین نطق رفیق ابراسوف جنرال تونسل دولت شوروی را درج نمایم.

In a previous number we promised to insert a copy of the speech of comrade X., General Consul of Soviet Government.

رل (Fr. rôle): A "part," (in acting).

(ارواح (rūḥ; pl. روح).

مرادۀ باارواح (murāvda-ye bā arvaḥ): "Communication with spirits, spiritualism." (مین 1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 3). Occurs as the heading of an article on spiritualism.

روحانی (rūḥānī): A "holy man." (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 1).

باید روحانی خوب را از ملانما تشخیص بدهند و فریب نخورند.

They must distinguish the true holy man from the false mulla and not be decided by the latter.

—— "Immaterial, spiritual."

روحانیت (rūḥānīyat): "Holiness, spirituality." (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 4).

باید * * بفهمانند آنهایی که بلاس روحانیت راه زن طریق ترقی * *
شده اند دروغ میگویند.

They must let it be known (that) those who in the guise of holiness strike at progress are lying.

روحانین (rūḥāniyīn; oblique pl. of روحانی): "The intelligentia." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 3). See under چیدن (chīdan), برچیدن.

روحیت (rūḥīyat): "Mentation, mentality." (مین 1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 5).

روحیت فوقانی (rūḥīyat-e fauḳānī): "Conscious mentation." (مین 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 1).

باید روحیت فوقانی آن فعل را تعبیه و اصلاح کند بعد متدرجا از
برگردن و تکرار همین عمل داخل در روحیت تحتانی میشود.

The conscious mentation must (first) prepare and correct the action, than, by degrees, by doing it much and often, it enters (the region of) the subconscious mentation.

روحیت تحتانی (rūḥīyat-e taḥtānī): "Subconscious or unconscious mentation." (ibid). See under روحیت (rūḥīyat), روحیت فوقانی.

روزه (rūza).

محشر (in dū rūza): "In a day or two." (1927, No. 55, p. 2, col. 1).

آقای مدوح شوکت بیگ سفیر کبیر دولت ترکیه احضار و این دوروزه از طهران عزیمت می نمایند.

Ākā Shaukat Bey, the Turkish Ambassador, has been recalled and will leave Teheran in a day or two.

— See under چند روزه (chand rūza): "Every day."

محشر (hama rūza, adv.): "Every day." (1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 1).

اهالی قزوین * * همه روزه منتظرند که کمی ماشین مزبور بکار خواهد افتاد.

The inhabitants of Qazvīn are waiting every day in expectation of the machine's beginning to be at work.

روی (rūy), رو (rū): "Face."

بر روی (bar rūy; with gen.): "Inclined" (to), "based" (on), "in furtherance" (of). (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 3). See under اصولا.

— (with gen.): "In accordance" (with). (تجدد 1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 1).

بر روی این فورمولهای قطعی آن روز امتیاز نقط جنوب مرحمت و اعطا گردید.

In accordance with the absolute (and fixed) forms of that time (of Nāṣiru'd Dīn) the petrol concession of the South was graciously granted.

روی (ro)

در روی (dar rūy, with gen.): "Over against, before." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 4, col. 1).

See under دست دمی.

روی داد

صورت مجلس (rūy-dād-e majlis): as روی داد مجلس.
"The minutes of a meeting."

رویه (رویه)

رویه (rūya): "Procedure." (اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 3, col. 3). See under خود داری.

————— (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 2, col. 1).

ما * * برای ادای وظیفه هدایت افکار عمومی که عهده دار شده ایم
اعتراض خود را نسبت برویه مسامحه و قبول امر اوقتی که از طرف استاندارد
می شود اعلان می کنیم.

In order to fulfil the duty of guiding public opinion which we have undertaken, we proclaim our objection to the accommodating procedure and the acquiescence in procrastination of the Standard Oil Company.

————— A "line of action." (اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 3, col. 2).

آقای میرزا موسس خان خوب رویه اتخاذ نموده بودند خیلی امیدوار
بودیم که اصلاح کلی در مالیه آذربایجان بنایند * * * افسوس که رفتند.

Āḳa Mirzā Mu'assis Khān had taken up an excellent line of action, and we were full of hope of his instituting a complete reform in the financial system of Āzarbāyjān. His departure is to be regretted.

ریخته (rikhtan): "To lay" (a foundation).
(ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 1).

اساسی را که کیومرث ریخته بود و طهمورس تکمیل کرده بود اشکانی
و ساسانی و سلجوق و مغول * * قبول میکردند.

The foundation that Kayūmars had laid and Tāhmūras had completed, the Ashkānians, Sāsānians, Seljūkides, and Mongols accepted.

ریخته

زیر دست و پا ریخته (zīr-e dast u pā rikhta): "Common, disregarded." (Lit., "scattered under hand and foot").
(ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 2).

امانه مانند مورخین فلاسفه و ادبای خودروی ما که نخوانده ملاحظه
و دو کوجه و بازار طهران زیر دست و پا ریخته اند.

But not like our untrained historians, philosophers, and literate, the ignorant mullas, who are common and disregarded about the streets and bazaars of Teheran.

س

زحمت

زحمت‌کشان (zahmat-kashān) : "The responsible heads" (of Government). (Lit., "the toil-bearers"). (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 3, col. 4).

ما طالب صلحیم لیکن اگر انگلیس بخواهد با حمله کند زحمت‌کشان اتحاد شوروی با پنجه آهنین خود دست روی سینه وی خواهند زد.

We are seekers of peace, but if England intend to attack us the responsible heads of the Soviet Union will oppose it with mailed fist.

[The term, however, is used of hard-workers generally].

زمین

زمین خوردن (zamīn khurdan) "To fail, be ineffectual." (یک 1924, No. 18, p. 3, col. 3).

ولی آن شخص که حرفش زمین خورده بود درباره ایشان مساعدتی مبذول میدارد.

But would that person whose words had been ineffectual grant them any help?

ترقی (zamīna) : A "subject" (of discussion). (یک 1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 1). As زمین (Redhouse).

قراردست سفیر، زبوربا نمایندگان ایتالیا و آمریکا و فرانسه در همین زمینه داخل مذاکره گردد.

It is decided that the above-mentioned Ambassador should meet the representatives of Italy, America and France in conference upon this subject.

زمینه‌ها (zamīnahā; pl.) : "Supports, grounds, causes." (یک 1924, No. 18, p. 2, col. 2).

برای خاتمه داران باین اوضاع و برهم زدن زمینه های ایران بر باد ده
* * * * حکومت نظامی رادر شهر دشت و توابع برقرار (کرده).

To put an end to this situation and to confound the causes of the destruction of Persia (lit., the Persia-destroying causes), I have established Martial Law in Kesht and its dependencies.

زندگانی (zindagānī): "A pleasant, joyous life." (Redhouse; and فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 1, col. 1).

در مرکز و ایالات ایران يك عده موجود هستند كه هنوز در جامعه غافل ایران مشغول زندگانی بوده.

In the capital and the provinces of Persia there are a number of people who still in the careless society of Persia are engaged in living a joyous life.

زنگ (zang): "Noise, clatter." (پيك 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 3). See, under در (dar): در نتیجه.

زوجات: "Wives."

تعدد زوجات (ta'addud-e zaujāt): "Polygamy." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 1). See under تالیف.

زین: "Saddle."

توپخانه‌زین (tōp-khāna-ye zīn): "Horse-artillery." (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 3, sub-col. 1). See under اکیدا.

ژ

ژنی (Fr.): "Genius." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 1).

ما تصدیق میکنیم که ژنی نظامی سردار سپه موجود امنیت ایران است.

We agree that the military genius of the General Commanding-in-Chief is the cause of the safety of Persia.

س

سابقه (sābiqa; pl. سوابق savābiq): A "misdeed in the past"; but generally as plural. (Redhouse; and مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 1).

اولین مرحله مساعدت فکری شناسائیدن رؤسای این اداره و ذکر سیات و سابقه آنها است.

And the first stage in mental assistance is to let him know about the heads of this administration and to mention their misdeeds and antecedents.

[Concerning the municipal administration of Teheran].

زبان آزاد) (sābika-dār): A "former (official)." (1917, No. 28, p. 2).

ساختمان (sākhtmān): Used apparently in the sense of "Construction." (1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 3, *et passim*).

در ایران چه زحمات و چه عمرهائی برای ساختمان بندهای بزرگ و کارهای طویل تلف شده است.

In Persia what labours and what lines have been wasted in the construction of great dams and long canals!

ساقط

ساقط شدن حق (sākiṭ shudan-e haqq). For "the right to become null and void."

اتحاد (To fall," (as a Cabinet). (1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 3).

کابینه قوام السلطنه قبل از اتمام قرار داد امتیاز ساقط گردید و آقای مشیرالدوله در مدت سه چهار ماه زمامداری خود مشغول تعقیب مذاکرات بودند.

Before the settlement of the (oil) concession was completed, the Kivāmu's-Saltāna Cabinet fell, and Ākā Mushīru'd-Daula, during the three or four months of his being in power, was employed in following up the discussions.

ساقط

"To deprive" (از): (sākiṭ namūdan; with ساقط نمودن) (of). (1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 2).

حقیقت ما را عیبای بدبخت را از هستی و دارائی ساقط نمودند.

They deprive us, unfortunate subjects, in truth, of all our possessions.

سالی (sālī; archaic, sālē): "A-year, yearly" (adv.). (1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 2).

آنها اسما سالی ده هزار تومان بدولت مالیات میدادند.

They have been paying the State nominally 10,000 tūmāns a-year as taxes.

سالانه (sāliyāna; adj. or adv.): "Annual," or
"annually." (Both, in ایران جوان 1927, 24, p. 11, col. 1).

مجموع حقوق سالانه آنها از بیست و چهار هزار تومان تجاوز نخواهد کرد.

The collective annual emoluments of them shall not exceed 24,000 tūmāns.

حقوق آن سالانه هفت هزار و پانصد دلار خواهد بود.

His emoluments shall be annually 7,500 dollars.

سجل (sijill): A "record."

سجل احوال (sijill-e aḥvāl): A "personal record," (lit.,
a "record of one's state"). (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 4,
col. 3).

لازم است آقایان دادطلبان برای ثبت اسامی و تسلیم سواد سجل احوال
و اسناد طلبی خود به پرسنل صحیفه کل مراجعه نمایند.

(Medical) volunteers must apply to the officials of the
General Board of Health, to register their names, and deliver
a copy of their personal record and medical certificates.

ایران جوان (sahḷ): "Moneys." (سحوّل (suḥūl), pl. of
1927, No. 24, p. 10, col. 4).

برای اقامه عزاداری حضرت خامس آل عبا بمحدود سحوّل سنه ماضیه ۱۳۰۵

(The Assembly assigns) for the celebration of the
mourning for the Fifth of the Family of the Cloak (Ḥusain)
moneys to the extent of those of last year, 1305.

سخت

سخت گرفتن (sakht giriftan; with بر or به): "To
put pressure" (on). (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 2, col. 1).

از تجار و کسبه تقاضا میکنیم که * * * تا میتوانند بمجلس سخت بگیرند.

We urge the merchants and workers to put pressure as
much as they can on the (National) Assembly.

سر (sar): "Head."

سرشکستگی (sar-shikastagī): "Trouble, affliction." (پیک
1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 2). See under انحطاط.

سر

سرکوفتن (sar kūftan). As سرکوبی کردن (1924, No. 18, p. 1, cols. 1, 2).

هر حکومت خیرخواه خلق هم وظیفه داراست سر آنها و مزدوران
مستقیم و غیر مستقیم آنها را * * بکوبد.

Any Government that is a friend to the people is under an obligation to reprobate them and their mercenaries, direct and indirect.

سراغ

سراغ داشتن (surāgh dāshtan; with acc.): "To know of." (Lit., "to have a clue to"). (1924, No. 148, p. 4, col. 2).

خیلی از وکلای حالیه سراغ دارم که هر يك چه قدر آدم کشته یا باعث قتل
نفوس زکيه شده اند.

I have known of many of the present Members of the Assembly who have, each one, killed a number of men or caused the death of clever individuals.

سربلندی (sar-bulandī): "Assurance, confidence." (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 2).

و مثل دو هزار تومان که آلبرت برداشته قابل سرپوشی نبود با نهایت
سربلندی اقرار کرده و قرار میگذاشتند مثلاً ماهی بیست و پنج تومان از
حقو قشان کسر شود

And if the fact that X. has employed 2,000 tūmāns cannot be concealed, he acknowledges it with the greatest assurance, and agrees to have 25 tūmāns a-month deducted from his emoluments.

سربیری (sar-pīrī): "Old age." (نوپار 1917, No. 59, p. 3).

سرجنبان (sar-jumbān): "Tossing the head in contempt, disgust, or refusal." (زبان آزاد 1917, No. 28, p. 1).

سرداری (sardārī): A "Napoleonic frock-coat." (Phil-lott).

سرشکستگی (sar-shikastagī): "Trouble, affliction."
(نوبهار 1917, No. 59, p. 3).

سرشمار

سرشمار کردن (sar-shumār kardan); with را): "To take a census" (of). (اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 3, col. 3).
See under پرداخت.

سرکشی (sar-kashī): "Inspection." (*Passim* in newspapers).

سرکوبی (sar-kūbī).

سرکوبی کردن (with از): "To bestow a reprimand" (upon), "to reprobate." (توقی 1924, No. 7, p. 2, col. 2).

چنان سرکوبی از گوینده میکند که دیگر حقیقت گوئی کمتر بشود.

He would so reprobate the speaker (of these truths) that there would be little more truth-speaking.

سرلوحه (sar lauḥa): "The heading of a title-page."
(توقی 1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 4).

مدیر محترم آن بافتخار اینکه این اشکال آثار تمدن هستند آنها را زینت
سرلوحه جریده تمدن نموده اند.

The respected Editor priding himself on the fact that these features are signs of civilization ornaments the heading of the title of (his) journal, *The Tamaddun*, with them.

سرم (Fr.): "Serum." (کوشش 1927, No. 77, p. 2, col. 4).

سرمباش (sar-mubāshir): "Head-supervisor." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 2, sub-col. 2).

دوازده نفر سرمباش متخصص * * که حقوق سالیانه آنها در حدود
چهل هزار تومان خواهد بود.

Twelve proficient head-supervisors, whose annual emoluments shall be limited to 40,000 tūmāns.

سرنگون

سرنگون نمودن (sar-nigūn namūdan): "To overthrow."
(ایران جوان 1924, No. 24, p. 3, sub-col. 3). See under اثتلاف (i'tilaf), اثتلاف کردن.

سرنیزه (sar nīza): A "bayonet." (Phillott; and مین 1924, No. 27, p. 2, sub-col. 3).

سرویس (Fr.)

سرویس ملزومات کل (sarvīs-e malzūmāt-e kull); or, "The General Requirements Service," (attached to the Financial Ministry). (محرر 1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 2). See under پیشنهاد an "offer," a tender."

سفسطه (safsafa). "Sophistry." (Redhouse; and فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 1, col. 1).

آبیاری سقایت (sikāyat): "Irrigation." (As the Persian آبیاری ābyārī). (مین 1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 3).

برای سقایت و آبیاری زراعت و فلاحات خود فقط منتظر است که دست طبیعت از آسمان بارانی بفرستد.

(Such districts) for the irrigation of their agriculture wait only for Nature to send rain from the sky.

سقوط (suḡūt): "Fall," (e.g., of a ministry). (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 1, col. 1).

آن دسته غرض ورز * * * در اوراق بی قیمت خود آرزوی سقوط کا بینه ملی سردار سپه را میکنند.

That self-interested party in their worthless writings show their desire (for) the fall of the National Cabinet of the General Commanding-in-Chief.

سلب

از و از person and سلب نمودن (salb namūdan; with of thing): "To deprive" (one of). (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 2, sub-col. 3).

باید اورا از افتخار مرکزیت سلب نمود.

He should be deprived of the pride of living in the capital.

سلب

Removing (از) (salb-e mas'ūliyat); (with) "the responsibility" (from); i.e., acquitting (one-self) of it. (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 2, col. 1).

ما برای سلب مسئولیت از خود و برای ادای وظیفه هدایت افکار عمومی که عهده دار شده ایم اعتراض خود را نسبت برویه مسامحه و قبول امرار وقتی که از طرف استاندارد می شود اعلان می کنیم.

In order to acquit ourselves of responsibility and to fulfil the duty of guiding public opinion, (etc.).

[For the remainder of the translation see under رویه]

سلسله جنبان (silsila-jumbān): A "leader." (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 4, col. 3).

در کنفرانس مشترکه که با حضور سلسله جنبانان اعتصاب کارگران راه آهن تشکیل گردید از طرف پرزیدنت هاردینگ پیشنهاداتی شد (و غیره)

In the mixed conference held in the presence of leaders of the strike of railway workers, on the part of President Harding, proposals have been made (etc.). [See too under ارجاع].

سمت (samt): "Office, post." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 11, col. 2).

ممکن است مکاسکی خرا نه دار کل که کمتر اتش در او اسط سبتمبر منقضی میشود باین سمت انتخاب شود.

It is possible that X., whose engagement as head of the Treasury expires in the middle of September, will be chosen for this office (of head of the Exchequer).

سمت

بسمت (ba-samt-e): "As," (e.g., "as" Representative). (اتحاد 1922, p. 2, col. 3).

دوات شوروی رویه در نظر گرفته است که يك نفر از رجال بزرگ
سیاسی خود را بسمت نمایندگی مختار در دربار ایران انتخاب و اعزام دارد.

The Soviet Government of Russia has had it in view to select one of its most distinguished politicians to send as plenipotentiary Representative at the Court of Persia.

مخسر (Fr.): "The Senate, the Upper House." (1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 2).

سنخ (sinkh): "Depths." (1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1). See under افق (ufk): از حیث افق معلومات و سنخ: افق فکریکسان بوده.

سند (sanad), sing. of اسناد q. v.

سندلی نشین. See صندلی نشین.

سوابق (savābik): pl. of سابقه.

ترقی (Antecedents.): "Antecedents." (savābik-e زندگي 1924, No. 7, p. 2, col. 3).

شرح مبسوطی که راجع به * * بدگوئی و فحش‌های هرزه نسبت به
خدایار شهریار زرتشتی و سوابق زندگی او نوشته بودید ملاحظه شد.

I have noted the lengthy statement you have written regarding the foolish abuse of the Zoroastrian Khudāyār Shahriyār and of his antecedents.

سواد (savād): A "copy," (written). (1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 3). See under سبیل (sijill), سجل احوال.

سهل: "Easy."

تجدد (1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 2): "It is evident." (sahl ast) سهل است. See under ابدیا (abadīyan).

سیاست (siyāsāt): "Policy, politics." (Passim).

ایران (siyāsāt-bāf): "Diplomacy-monger." (1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1).

چون شعبه اربی متوسطه فقط يك دسته سیاست باف و هوچی بیرون
میدهد باید حذف شود.

Since the Arts branch of the Middle School produces only a set of diplomacy-mongers and petty officials, it must be discarded.

سیاست مدار (siyāsāt-madār): A "politician," a "salesman." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 3, col. 5).

از سالیان دراز مطمح نظر سیاست مداران دول عظیمه واقع گشته.

For many years (the land round Cape Spartel) has been an object of desire to the statesmen of the great powers.

سیاسی (siyāsī): "Political," a "politician." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

For the adj. see under اعمال نمودن (i'mal).

For the noun:

قشون مصر از مدتی باین طرف حلب توجه قسمتی از سیاسیون مصر را نموده.

For some time past the Egyptian army has attracted the attention of a section of the politicians of Egypt.

سیاله (saiyāla): A "current," a "fluid." (مین 1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 3).

کنت دوکاسیاری حرکت اسباب و مخلفات را در مجالس مرابطه بوجود سیاله که از اراده حاضرین حاصل میشود مستند میکند.

Count X. attributes the movement of causes and effects in mediumistic séances to a fluid which comes from the volition of those taking part in them.

سیاله برقیه (saiyāla-e barkīya): "The electric fluid." (Redhouse).

سیر (sīr): A "weight of 6 or 7 ounces." (Redhouse; فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 3, col. 4).

سیستم "System." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 1).

سینا "Cinema." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 4, col. 2).

ش

محشر (shalūda; cf. شالوده): A "foundation." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 3). See under چیدن (chīdan), برچیدن.

شاه پرست (shāh-parast): "Loyal." (Newspapers, passim).

شاهد (shāhid; with بر): "Testimony" (afforded "to"). (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 3).

شاهد بر این مدعا استاد مذکور از رابطه هائی که در موقع تقلب گیر افتاده اند مثل زده -

As testimony to this claim the above-named Professor speaks of the mediums that have been found guilty of imposture.

ستاره (shakhshī): "Private," (as a carriage). (مبین 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 3).

بوسیله درشکه شخصی از شیران بشهر می آمده اند -

(They) were coming from Shamīrān to the city in a private carriage.

شخصیتی (shakhshiyatī): "Personal, with personal attention"; opposed to "impersonal, as not coming from the individual himself." (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 5).

در مرحله اول قوه متفکر و هوش غلبتی و شخصیتی در عمل است در مرحله شای هوش ساده و بدون حیثیتی ماثبت وار چشم و دست را بکار می اندازد -

In the first stage, the power of thought and complicated and personal intelligence are employed; in the second, the simple unrelated intelligence, (acting) like a machine, sets the eyes and hands to work.

شدن (shudan).

می شود (mī-shavad): "It is, will be, or would be, possible." (محرر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 3).

می شود بوسیله آن وزارت معارف که ماطالبیم بر عظمت و شوکت اسلام یفزایند -

By means of such a Ministry of Education as we deserve, it would be possible for them to increase the greatness and majesty of Islām.

نکر آزاد (sharāfat; as شرف sharaf): "Honour." (مهرآباد 1924, No. 148, p. 4, sub-col. 1).

بدون منطق و برهان حیثیت اشخاص را از میان برده شرافت آنان را
لطمه بزند -

Without logic or proof (he) would take away the reputation of people and strike at their honour.

شرب

شرب اليهود (shurbu'l-yahūd; lit., "Jews' drinking") :
"Disorderly."

اگر هیچ يك از این دو صفت را ندارد اوضاع مالیه شرب اليهود میشود -

If (the King) has neither of these two qualities the financial situation will be disorderly.

شرح (sharḥ) : An "account," a "statement." May be used with بیان نمودن (or کردن) (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 2, col. 1).

آقای عمادالسلطنه شری راجع به عملیات نایب الحکومه * بیان

'Imādu's-Saltāna offered a statement regarding the procedure of Nā'ibu'l-Hukūma.

شرکت

شرکت نمودن (shirkat namūdan; with در) : "To take part" (in). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 12, col. 1).

آقایان تجار ایرانی میتوانند در بازار مزبور شرکت نموده و نمونه مصنوعات
و محصولات ایران را بنمایش درآورند -

Persian merchants may take part in the above-named market, and exhibit samples of the manufactures and produce of Persia.

ایران جوان (شرکت نمودن) (shirkat justan; as شرکت جستن
(1927, No. 24, p. 2, col. 3).

مصارف باوردی سی هزار نفر اعضای امریکان لژیون (سربازان
'مریکائی که در جنگ شرکت جستند) وزارت پست و تلگراف در نظر گرفته
است تبر پست مخصوصی انتشار دهد -

In connection with the visit of the American Legion (the American soldiers who took part in the war) the Post and Telegraph Ministry contemplated issuing a special stamp.

شعبه (shu'ba): A "faculty," a "branch" (in subjects of study). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 4).

وزارت معارف راست که از خیال حذف کردن شعبه ادبی صرف نظر نموده در عوض * باصلاح پروگرام آن اقدام * کند.

It is for the Ministry of Education to abandon the idea of discarding the Arts branch and instead to enter upon the improvement of the programme of it.

———— A "committee." (Redhouse; and مین 1924, No. 27, p. 2, col. 1).

پیشنهاد آقای سردار معظم راجع بتعمیر مقبره فردوسی مطرح و رجوع بشعبات گردید.

The proposal of the General Commanding-in-Chief relative to repairing the tomb of Firdausi was brought (before the Assembly), and was referred to committees.

شقاقلوس (shaḡāḡalūs): "Gangrene." (Schlimmer's Dictionary). شقاقلوس گرفته (shaḡāḡalūs-girifta): "Suffering from gangrene." (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 2, sub-col. 3).
شمار

بشمار رفتن (ba-shumār raftan): "To be reckoned, counted." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 1).

مگر ما خود از ۲۴ سال قبل یکی از موسسین انقلاب این مملکت بشمار نرفته.

Have I not been reckoned since 24 years ago one of the founders of the revolution in this country?

شنل (shanal or shenal, for shīnel, the Russian): a "cloak." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 2, col. 4 of feuilleton).

از همان اطاق که يك دقیقه قبل خالی و بادست خود درب آنرا بسته بود
مردی وارد شد و بحض و رود کلاه و شنل خود را بطرفی پرتاب کرده
(و غیره)

From the same room that a moment before had been empty, and the door of which (the Cardinal) had fastened with his own hands, a man appeared, who immediately on arriving threw his hat and cloak aside, (etc.).

شور (shūr): "Enthusiasm," (as at a meeting).
(Kāva, 1921, Apr. 10, p. 5).

شور (shūr): "Acclamation," (in an assembly).
(ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 3).

آنها آزاد باشند مسائل مهمهٔ مملکتی را مورد شور قرار دهند.

They should be free to decide important questions of State by acclamation.

شودوی (shūravī; from شوری shūrā): "Advisory, deliberation." Used for "Soviet" in connection with the word جمهور (or جمهوری) "Republic," or some equivalent. (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 2).

از طرف دیگر دولت شوروی و کارگری روسیه * * * از تجمل
چنین باری شانه خالی میکند.

On the other side, the Soviet Labour State of Russia would shrink from bearing such a burden.

مخمر (shauhar-nakarda): "Unmarried." (شهر نکرده 1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 1).

بسیاری زنان شوهر نکرده به ایشان پیوسته اند خواهان تعدد زوجات
میشاند.

Many unmarried women joined them who were desirous of (the establishment of) polygamy.

شهامت (shahāmat): "Energy." (ترقی 1924, No. 7, p. 1, col. 3).

مدارس ماباید عزم و اراده و شهامت بچوانان یاد بدهد * * نه فقط
فلسفه و ادبیات.

Our colleges should teach young people resolution, will-power, and energy, not simply philosophy and polite learning.

شهرت

شهرت دادن (shuhrat dādan); with بنام (ba nām-e):
"To publish or give out" (as). (مین 1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 2).

این قاعده اخلاق را مراعات میکنند که بفکر پیشینیان و اساتید دست درازی ننموده و معلومات غیر را بنام خود شهرت ندهند -

(They) observe this moral principle not to seize upon the thoughts of predecessors, proficient in their subject, nor to give out as their own the knowledge of others.

شهریه (shahrīya) : A "monthly pension." (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 2, col. 3).

اینجا شهریه هائی است که در مجلس سابق برقرار شده یا مستمریائی که از مئمری تبدیل به شهریه شده -

It is here a question of monthly pensions that have been settled in a former parliament, on of yearly pensions that have been changed to monthly pensions.

شیرده (shīr-dih) : "Milch"; as گاو شیرده a "milch cow." (1917, No. 28, p. 1).

شیمیاء "Chemistry." See شیمیائی .

شیمیائی (shīmiyā'ī) : "Chemical." (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 4, col. 4). تجزیه های شیمیائی (tajziahā-ye shīmiyā'ī) : "Chemical analyses."

C. E. WILSON.

(To be continued)

TRACES OF ISLAM

IN all of the many big and little churches of Vienna the bells are ringing. It is midday. Just at this time the lectures in medicine, economics, law and the natural sciences are finished and hundreds of students pour out of the large building, which, with its colonnades and open steps reminds one of modern Indian Universities. For even here the most varying architectural styles have been influenced by the large Moghul buildings of India. A fact which few Europeans know but which is true nevertheless.

However the students and co-eds do not look like those attending a similar institution in India. But this difference is no longer as pronounced as it may have been twenty or thirty years ago, when the custom was such in Europe that every serious intellectual and especially every devotee of science was easily recognizable by his black gown. Since the war however, and especially in the summer-time, most of the students wear short leather trousers, sport stockings and bright peasant jackets, which the young Austrians love as dearly as the Scotchmen love their kilts. The girls also wear bright, flimsy dresses which remind one a little of the beautiful saris, fluttering in a graceful dance, such as are worn by girls in an Indian college at the close of school. But in the midst of this merry throng more and more frequent groups, robed in black, come into sight, who, with mien stern and sombre gaze hurry to the doors. Some are dressed in brown instead of black, and on their feet they wear sandals; a grey cord binds their woollen habits. The sunlight is reflected on the smoothly shaved crowns of their heads, marking the ascetic. The women are robed from head to foot in flowing black garments. Only the face is framed in starched white linen, protecting it from the rough black material. Rosaries of light wooden beads hang from their hands.

They are young priests and nuns of the different Catholic organizations who must complete their education in the

famous University of Vienna before they can take up their professions. They must learn education, and natural sciences, biology and languages in order to become teachers in the boys and girls' boarding schools of the land. The rules of the order demand that the nuns learn nursing and many endeavour to obtain the degree of doctor of medicine. The young priests and nuns, who are being trained for missionary work, attempt also to get a thorough instruction in ethnology and anthropology. Perhaps it was just such a missionary, who, somewhere in a foreign country came across the saying of the Prophet Mohammed, "Seek knowledge even if it is as far as China," and who then inculcated the practice of this doctrine upon his ecclesiastical organization. Because no other religious body of our day demands that its priests and nuns have such an excellent education as the modern Catholic Church, although this Church threatened such scientists as Galileo with the horrors of the inquisition, and forbid the study of anatomy at the time when the foundation of European science was still nourished in the lap of Islamic Spain. But not only the abstract knowledge of chemistry, mathematics, physics, astronomy and geography as well as medicine as now taught in the universities of Europe had its starting-point from the teachings of Muslim scholars: No, Muslims were also the ones who built in Spain the first universities on European soil. At that time the word "Mullaism" would have remained incomprehensible. The teachings of Islam, naturalness, simplicity and joyous activity in life became rules for the priests, and seemed to be adopted by the young Catholic movement, although this conception of things was combatted by practical Christianity with every expedient possible, and although it was almost forgotten by the Muslims themselves, to their great loss.

Even the habit of the nuns is criticized by many of the enthusiastic members of the Catholic Church. They say that it is harmful for health, especially in the warm weather, as it prevents the skin from breathing. Furthermore it does not suit the dignity of the wearer as it coerces her into an unhygienic custom. It detracts, they say, from the respect due to the Church. Besides it causes a disagreeable perspiration, which is not only unpleasant for the nuns but leaves an odour behind it. Also the ugly and sombre clothing gives a repellent impression and disturbs the pious social work of the nuns. . . . in one word, the habit is not fit for life while at the same time the nuns themselves, as teachers, nurses and doctors, hold an important place in the middle of life.

The other day an enthusiastic Catholic student rode home with me. On the other end of the tram sat a young nun. The unnatural renunciation of all worldly things in her life, she seemed to bear quietly. An education in the University, her interests in science and social work seemed a complete compensation for her. From looking at the pretty face of the pious girl one could believe that she was completely satisfied with her ascetic calling. But the unhygienic habit has left its mark behind it. While the other students are enjoying sports and outdoor exercise, and their joyous faces are browned by the sun, the poor nun excites attention through the sickly pallor of her weary face. She draws back timidly in her corner. Beads of perspiration run down her forehead. Bravely does she wear her unhealthy clothes, but she doesn't want to disturb others by coming near to them in her dress which is wet with perspiration and therefore unpleasant to smell. Everyone must feel pity who sees these highly cultured as active workers, such as the Catholic nuns are for the most part, so unnecessarily torturing themselves and ruining their health.

Also the young generation of enthusiastic Catholic Austrians find it senseless, and wish that among the many reforms within the Catholic Church the habit of the nuns will be included. At a large Catholic Conference for women in Vienna, the question of woman's work is just now being comprehensively discussed. The attitude of the National Socialists in Germany, which is so hostile to women, is being sharply criticized in Catholic official circles. They believe that married women should devote themselves to their callings as mothers and that the cloister is ready to receive those who wish to remain unmarried for religious reasons. But the young unmarried girls who will later marry the men of their choice, must, for the good of all concerned, be allowed to work. In the first place, they say religion demands that a girl enter marriage willingly and this can only be attained if she herself understands something about the calling of her husband. In the second place, everyone demands that the unmarried women who have not yet become mothers should work also for the public good. How much both of these ethical principles owe to the commandments in the Quran which especially emphasizes the freedom of women in their choice, was probably unknown to a single woman who took part in the conference. Quite the contrary, my young companion, for example, just as the average European, is convinced that Islam means regress and lack of refinement,

especially for women. He hopes that the dress of the Catholic nuns will be reformed and remarks, smiling, "This costume must be quite familiar to you.... our nuns still look like Turkish women. But it is only the outward dress which they took over from Constantinople. Their scientific education, their energy and ability is pure European. I am well informed about that since my sister is being taught by nuns in the boarding school, "Sacre Coer." She knows just as much about the theoretical subjects as we boys did at her age, and besides, she learns home economics, gardening, the elements of farming, typewriting and book-keeping. If she marries, as she probably will, she will be a splendid housekeeper and will know how to bring up her children, if she does not marry she can follow some practical calling and work for the public welfare; and if she wants to become a nun she is assured of finding a position as a teacher, perhaps abroad as a "Missionary to the heathen." In any case she knows all the possibilities, can think for herself and can choose her own calling."

The proud words of my young friend hurt me because in them the true and the false was mixed together in such a strange draught. He, just as most Europeans, has some knowledge of the superficialities of Islamic culture but knows nothing of its real nature. It takes a long time before I can clear up the most glaring mistakes about Islam. Yet it is possible for me to discuss it with my friend, since, through his scientific studies he has learned the pre-requisites to an objective exchange of ideas.

So I begin to explain to him: "Not only did the esteem for education and the democratic versatility of knowledge among the layman and the broad masses of the people come directly from the teachings of Mohammed and the practical life of the early Islamic civilization, but also the whole system of knowledge and education in Europe was found on the religious organizations whose models were the mosques in Spain, with their libraries, schools, universities and hospitals. Yes, and even more, word for word, every point which my young friend made, all which he believed to be European, Christian virtues were borrowed from the cultural impulse of Islam. Islam was the first to make it possible for women to attain their high position in Europe today. Before the revelations of the holy Quran, the woman not only in the Arabia of Djahiliyya, but also in all Europe under the influence of Roman culture, in other words in all lands where

Latin and the Teutonic languages were spoken, had sunk to the deepest degradation possible. Not only was there the corruption in pre-Islamic Arabia where newly-born girls were murdered, but far away from there the women were not given the right to their own inheritance, and were themselves handed down from father to son as their property. Also according to Roman law women were without any will of their own and were first the property of their fathers and then of their husbands. Without asking them they were given by the one to the other. Also then there were some highly educated women such as Livia or Diotima who was immortalized in Plato's "Symposium." But for the most part women were uneducated, a matter of indifference to the masses and enslaved.

But Islam raised women to a place in the world from which they were enabled to climb to the height which they enjoy in Europe today. The holy Quran gave women not only the same civil rights as men but also the same rights in philosophical, religious and psychological spheres. When, in the Sura: 33, 35, the good qualities of humanity were counted, men *and* women were stressed with clear emphasis. "The men who submit and the women who submit," and so forth to the end of the verses. "For the men who remember God and the women who remember God much, God has prepared for them forgiveness and a mighty reward."

The same powerful commandment of equality is further asserted by the fact that the teachings of Islam declare that the origin of all physical and psychical entities sprang from two elements, two poles. . . . male *and* female energy. Just as this idea is the basis of the Jonen theory and the foundation of modern psychology as well, so the importance of women in building a healthy nation and a healthy culture is clearly expressed in the holy Quran. The true Muslim in the early period of the development of Islamic culture lived also according to the divine dictates of the holy Quran. Not only were many Hadith preserved through the efforts of the highly educated women, as Hazrat Ayesha and the comrade Salama al Fazaraijja, but also many famous women as Karima Bint Ahmed from Merw, and Zeynab Bint al Shari (who died in 605 A.H.) or Bint al Kamal who was particularly popular in Andalusia, have received many Igazi diplomas, thus exercising a decisive influence on the religious life of early Islam, while the European Christian clergy, for example at the council of Meicou in 529 A.D., were still disputing whether

women had souls or not. And even more! The Muslim girl was unmistakably given the right to marry only when she of her own free will and knowledge accepted a man as her fiancé. This right gave women within pure Islamic circles, not only an unconstrained choice in the matter but also the possibility to know her fiancé's work and interests, for it was forbidden by the law of God to give a girl in marriage until she knew the character and the worth of her future husband herself. Here again do we see that the Islamic virtues are those on which the education, the industry and the ability of modern European women were built. It was Islamic Spain which gave European women the beauty, art and refinement which they later developed to the highest point ever reached.

Before the arrival of the Arabians, the European women were simply despised beasts of burden, who, only because of their motherhood assumed a certain importance in the household. As human beings they took no part in directing society. But Islamic chivalry and poetry was the model, which in the "Minnesong" period, caused the first blossoming of European culture. The shining example of Islamic women who were instructed in all questions of religion, art and practical life, gave the first impetus to the European women in the middle ages, an impetus which, after the expulsion of the Arabs, was followed by a hostile reaction, from which it took many years to recover. But this impetus naturally came to life again, and became one of the most important reasons for the success of European nations. And yet the foundation of European culture, the powerful co-operation of women for the public good came originally from Islam! Even in the smallest things of everyday life one can find traces of Islamic respect for women. The gallant custom of kissing the hand of a woman as a greeting came from the Islamic Arabians of Andalusia to Europe, and one still finds this originally oriental custom in many European countries today. For example in Austria, France and Italy. In the Islamic lands it has fallen into disrepute as so many customs.

These and other arguments which are too well-known in India for me to repeat here, I advanced to my young and enthusiastic friend.

"Yes," said he after a while, "You cannot deny the fact that the habit of our nuns was borrowed from Constantinople, and that this is the only old-fashioned thing about them. Why isn't their knowledge and their education and energy shared by the Mohammedan women?"

Again the same mistake mixed with a little of the truth, which can be traced to the false accounts of the Islamic world. This unhealthy, closely veiled habit, such as only the nuns wear now in Europe, was at one time in Christian Byzantium, in the Constantinople of the Greeks, the daily dress of the women, and spread from there to the rest of Europe. It was unknown in the Islamic world until six hundred years later when Byzantium was conquered by the Turks, thus bringing it into close contact with Islam. The old Christian Grecian habit then slowly disappeared in Europe except with the nuns, while it spread universally in the East. Not because of but *in spite of* Islam did this dress remain in style longer in the East than in the West. But seen apart from this, the underestimation of the modern Islamic women is partly a mistake. Not long ago I read the plan of founding a separate University for Mussalman girls in India where the officials of the government and the professors will see to it that a thorough, and in every way complete education is given. I called to his attention the beautiful book, "The Daughter of Smyrna" by Maulvi Yakub Khan, in which the awakening of the Turkish woman is described. Not only have the Muslim women in Turkey put aside the Byzantine Christian nun's habit: the Beduin women of Middle Arabia and the Barber women of the North African mountains where many of the pure customs of the old Islamic life of the time of the great Khalifs are still retained, have never worn the Byzantine habit at all.

Concerning the general position of women, especially those in the Indian purdah system I had to be silent although with a heavy heart. But it is the silence of expectancy, not the silence of despair. Already in numerous places in the Islamic world, but most actively in India does the pure old Islamic way of life revive. Even now the teachers of the present day have begun to recognize the holy book, the Quran as the guiding star of their lives, the source of harmony and love, the source of justice and God's eternal will.

"Truly Islam is a blessing for the Muslim and the non-Muslim."

BARON OMAR ROLF EHRENFELS.

THE SO-CALLED GARDENS AND TOMBS OF ZÊB-UN-NISA AT LAHORE

It is a strange phenomenon that with the passage of time, fabulous, fictitious tales creep round correct historical facts, distorting and disfiguring them beyond all recognition: so that, in a decade or two, these myths themselves come to be sublimated into, and later acknowledged, as facts. Exaggeration, for better or worse, is in the nature of man. But the aim of History is resurrection of fact, the differentiation of correct from incorrect accounts.

A good deal of fiction has been written about Zêb-un-Nisâ, the talented daughter of Aurangzêb. But when we apply the torch of scientific research, the real facts, suppressed intentionally or otherwise by our budding historians, emerge. Some of these writers claim that Zêb-un-Nisâ is lying buried in Lahore; others give her the credit of having laid out gardens for her stewardess and herself in the vicinity of Nawan Kot,¹ Lahore, and the most imaginative attribute to her the honour of having written a book of verses called "The *Diwân of Makhfi*."

Zêb-un-Nisâ was born in 1048 A.H. She was well versed in the humanities and was really a good poet, but it cannot be said definitely that she ever used or did not use the *nom-de-plume* of Zêb or Makhfi (hidden). It is absolutely wrong to attribute to her the so-called *Diwân of Makhfi*.² (vide *Ma'ârif*, 1923, p. 364). It is well known that Aurangzêb never met with so much favours at the hands of Shâhjahân as his elder brothers and sisters received. It is often seen that Shâhjahân was not favourably disposed to him, as, for instance, during 1053 A.H., when he was not on good terms with Aurangzêb, recalled him from the Deccan where he was serving as viceroy, and deprived him of other honours.

(1) *History of Lahore* by Syed Mohammad Latif, 1892, p. 188-190.

(2) *Ma'âthir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 208, and *Maarif Aazamgadh* 1923, p. 364. The article of Mahfuz-ul-Haq.

During 1054 A.H. Jahân Ara the eldest sister of Aurangzêb with difficulty sought the favour of the emperor for him and induced him to forgive his faults. Zêb-un-Nisâ remained unmarried throughout her life, and died in 1114 A.H. = 1702 A.D. According to *Ma'âthir-i-'Alamgîrî* and other contemporary records she was buried at Delhi. This bereavement greatly saddened Aurangzêb. He commanded his courtiers—Sayed Amjad Khân, Sheykh Atâu'llâh and Hâfiz Khân to see to the erection of her tomb and the preparation of the necessary charities for the deceased. She was buried in the garden of Sâhiba-tuz-Zamâni of thirty-thousand trees outside the Kâbulî Gate.¹ Her tomb was pulled down to make way for the Rajputana Railway in 1885.² The manuscript of Seyru'l-Manâzil in the British Museum bears testimony that her tomb was opposite the Kâbulî Gate on the highway due north.³ There was a mystic's (Bholu Shah's) resting place, where was Zêb-un-Nisâ's tomb and a mosque of red stone with two walls one of which bore inscriptions in *thulth* style, of Quranic quotations and her name with a date in these Quranic words *wadkhulî jannatî* (enter my paradise) = 1114 A.H. = 1702 A.D.

” كل من عليها فان - هدامر قد البنت الكبرى للعبد المذنب العاصي المخفوفة
برحمة الرحيم الكريمة الحافظة زيب النساء المرجود عباد الله الصالحين ان يدعوا لها
بالغفران والرضوان وتاريخ فوتها قوله سبحانه ” وادخل جنتي“

I think it clears away all doubts as to her never having been buried at Lahore in Nawan Kot, or as to her having any connection with Chouburji. It is just possible that her visit to the Shalimar Gardens at Lahore might have inspired her to extemporise her well-known quatrain when she saw the waterfall there at its best:—

“ O waterfall! for whose sake art thou weeping?

“ In whose sorrowful recollections hast thou wrinkled thy brows?

“ What pain was it that impelled thee, like myself, the whole night,

“ To strike thy head against stone and to shed tears?”

The question arises here, then, who is responsible for the construction of Chouburji and other monuments of Nawan

(1) *Ma'âthir-i-'Alamgîrî*, p. 426.

(2) *Punjab Notes and Queries*, April 1885, p. 123.

(3) *Catalogue of Persian MSS.* add. 24.053.

Kot, the so-called garden and tomb of Zêb-un-Nisâ. We are fortunate that the Chouburji bears inscriptions and a date 1056 A.H.=1646 A.D.—when Zêb-un-Nisâ was hardly eight years old—one year before the final completion of the Taj Mahal at Agra. During those years especially Aurangzêb and his daughter Zêb-un-Nisâ had no importance as has been noted above; also Shâhjahân had other grandchildren in whose names he could erect such grand monuments. People attribute these monuments to Aurangzêb's daughter simply for two reasons:—Aurangzêb was the only emperor after Shâhjahân, who could possibly erect such buildings, and one of the Chouburji's inscriptions bears a word Zêbindah (decorator) in the fourth line of the couplets which is interpreted as representing Zêb-un-Nisâ. Neither externally from the point of view of art nor internally from the books at our disposal can we prove that these buildings had any connection with Aurangzêb's period.

Chandar Bhan Brahman, a well-known Hindu poet and scholar of the Persian language, was a native of Lahore and amongst the courtiers of Shâhjahân and Aurangzêb. He has left a number of literary compilations bearing ample testimony of the literary activities of those days, and of high historical value especially for the Shâhjahân period. He died in 1073 A.H.=1662 A.D. at Benares. One of his most important works is called *Chahar Chaman** (Four Meadows), which is a sort of a collection of his memoirs of Shâhjahân's time. He supplies us with very useful information concerning our subject because he had many opportunities to attend the royal functions and recite his poems before the emperor. Especially as concerns the topography of Lahore, *Chahar Chaman* proves very helpful. One of its four parts is devoted to provincial descriptions of those days; thus we get ample information about Lahore which, since he was a native of Lahore, must be more correct and reliable than others. He mentions in it the great men of those days residing at Lahore in their own buildings who had great influence at the court; places of public interest; gardens and many other details concerning Lahore. However, it cannot be called a complete topography. Regarding the gardens at Lahore he supplies us with the names of Bagh-i-Dilkusha, Bagh-i-Dilamez, Bagh-i-Namus-ul-Alimen Begam Sahib Jahân Ara the daughter of Shâhjahân, Bagh-i-Mirza Kamran, Bagh-i-Noulakha and the Shalimar Gardens then recently built. Of these the garden

*MS. Punjab University Library.

of Begam Sahib invites our special attention. Shâhjahân used to regard Jahân Ara as the best of all his children, and she was all in all in the *harem* after the death of her mother Mumtaz-uz-Zamâni with Siti Khanam as the head stewardess, who was sister of Talib A'mli holding the charge of the household affairs.¹

Now it is for us to find out which of the above-named gardens is that magnificent one of which only one gateway, under the name of Chouburji, with lustered tiles on its walls, is left, reflecting to some extent the splendour of the whole. It was built three centuries ago and its only remaining gateway is now named Chouburji because of four minarets on its corners, of which one has been lost in modern times. Sujan Rai has mentioned in his *Khulasatu'l-Tawarikh*² that during the fourth year of Aurangzêb's reign a great flood in the Ravi washed away a good many magnificent buildings at Lahore, on its eastern bank; when by especial royal command a *band* was constructed to check the flow of the water in future, which cost the official treasury a huge sum simply for public safety.

It is possible that these gardens, in the vicinity of Nawan Kot and others, whose names are only found in the accounts of historians, might have perished by this havoc or we should not have been in the dark concerning them.

In the circumstances and in view of the historical evidences noted above one may take it for certain that the garden of Begam Sahib mentioned by Brahman is the same as that of Chouburji which is to-day attributed to Zêb-un-Nisâ, because this was made in 1056 A.H. as inscribed on the façade of the gateway at the termination of the inscription which is a quotation from the Holy Quran—*Ayatu'l-Kursi*.... Begam Sahib Jahân Ara must have bestowed it upon either her foster-mother or a maidservant named Mia Bai, whose name is also inscribed thereon; and it was constructed under her own supervision as is manifest from the inscriptions both on the eastern and western façades of the gateway. The inscriptions in verse on the façades so far referred to are incomplete, having been damaged by some devastation after 1869, because I have been fortunate enough to supplement the missing portions of the inscriptions through my researches from some old papers in the library of Prof. H. M. Shairani of the

(1) *Ma'âthir-ul-Umara*, the account of Aqil Khan Inayat Ullah, vol. I, p. 259-261.

(2) *Khulasatu'l-Tawarikh*, edited by K. B. Zafar Hasan, p. 65.

Oriental College, Lahore, which are dated 1869. Here are the complete couplets:—

کتابت:—

East:— آية الكرسي سنة ١٠٥٦ هـ - مشرق -

بفضل قادر قیوم وخالق دوران - بنا پذیر شد این باغ روضه رضوان
بکشت مرحمت این باغ بر میابائی - ز لطف صاحب زیننده بیکم دوران

West:— مغرب -

ساخت میابائی نخرنسا - روضه عالی ارم احتشام

East—"By the grace of the Powerful, the Self-existing
and the Creator of the Universe,

"The Garden, in the pattern of the Paradise,
has been founded,

"The Garden has been bestowed on Mia Bai,

"By the bounty of the decorator Begam Sahib
of the age."

West—"Built by Mia Bai the pride of women,

"Lofty garden like Paradise of modesty."

in the fourth line of the former inscription occur two words Sahib and Begam in a poetical order otherwise it is a clear title Begam Sahib of Jahân Ara and the word Zêbindah may be translated either beatifier or decorator.

Shâhjahân's court was full of talented artists and men of skill in almost every branch of science and art and letters because he himself was not only a great connoisseur like his father Jahângîr, but also a great practical architect who has to deal with almost all sciences. The *Badshah Namah* tells us that the emperor himself was a great architect and Asif Khân, the father of the lady of the Taj Mahal at Agra and the father-in-law of Shâhjahân was appointed to explain the designs to the artists for proper execution of the work. Afzal Khân *alias* Shukrullah of Shîrâz was a highly skilled astronomer and mathematician, who had taken an active part in the struggle for the enthronement of Shâhjahân against Shahryâr. 'Ali Mardân Khan was, no doubt, an engineer of an outstanding ability. Sa'adullah Khân and Wazîr Khân were men of all round merits who according to Chandar Bhan, had their own splendid mansions in Lahore. Almost all these courtiers of Shâhjahân had enriched the beauty of Lahore by

the erection of grand buildings which even to-day can easily be located in different parts of the city, with the exception of Afzal Khân's *Afzal Manzil*—home of exaltation—to the location of which no-one has ever devoted attention though it is really a matter of great importance, specially in connection with our problem of the so-called garden and tomb of Zêb-un-Nisâ at Nawan Kot. Chandar Bhan was the pupil of Mullâ 'Abdul Hakîm of Sialkôt, and afterwards came into the service of Mîr 'Abdul Karîm, then the building superintendent in Lahore, whose name still exists in the inscription on the inner entrance of the Lahore Fort. It was under his supervision that the additions were made in 1041 A.H. = 1631 A.D. in the Lahore Fort on the suggestion of Shâhjahân, and during the same year he was transferred to Agra to supervise the construction of the Taj Mahal, then in progress, in conjunction with Mukarramat Khân. After Mîr 'Abdul Karîm's departure from Lahore, Chandar Bhan sought refuge with Afzal Khân, the chief Minister of Shâhjahân. It is quite evident that Afzal Khân had built his one home in Lahore known as *Afzal Manzil* in 1038 A.H. = 1628 A.D.¹ Chandar Bhan the employee of Afzal Khân addresses a letter to his master, in his usual ornate style, just after arriving at Lahore in which he reports the progress of the construction of his buildings at Lahore,²—"Your most obedient servant, Chandar Bhan, states, I have just arrived at Lahore which is a Paradise for its climatic various qualifications and became busy in praying for your long life and prosperity. The paradise-like buildings, for their suitable situation, spacious atmosphere, varieties of decoration and embellishments, recall the mind to the supposed picture of heaven. I, having paid a visit to every apartment and stage of the buildings, uttered spontaneously the praises of your exalted highness. They in every way bear testimony to your accomplishment. The superintendent and curator of these buildings Khwâja Ishwar Das appears to be capable of carrying out his duties and keeping the buildings in decent order. It is hoped that very shortly your visit to these buildings will find them an object of envy for the heavens. For years we will reside therein in peace and varieties of pleasures. Praying again for your long life and prosperity." After the completion of these buildings

(1) *Ma'âthir-ul-Umara*, the account of Afzal Khân; and Oriental College Magazine, August 1928. Syed Abdulla's Article on Chandar Bhan.

(2) MS. of Chandar Bhan's Letters addressed to various contemporaries, in the Punjab University Library.

Nawâb Afzal Khân was very anxious to invite the emperor to his newly-built palaces at Lahore. Accordingly during the sixth year of the reign he begged Shâhjahân to honour him by visiting his house *Afzal Manzil* which was most majestically decorated for the occasion from the place of mounting to the house itself a distance of twenty-five *jaribs*, varieties of carpets were laid down worthy of a royal visit. Then Chandar Bhan was also especially presented to the emperor with great honour. Afzal Khân died in Lahore in 1048 A.H. = 1639 A.D. at the age of seventy. His funeral was attended by Wazir Khân, then the Governor of the Punjab, Mu'tamad Khân, Mukarramat Khân, and others. He was buried at Lahore which is not, however, clearly mentioned. When later on Shâhjahân came to Lahore he held a darbar at which all the great officials and nobles attached to the court were present, and at which the emperor especially commanded the presentation of all the relatives and dependants of the late Afzal Khân as a meeting of condolence. Brahman says, 'as an employee of the late Nawâb, I had an opportunity to be presented before the emperor and read a quatrain which was very much appreciated.*' This all shows that he was buried in Lahore otherwise this condolence could have happened where he was buried and his relatives lived. Shâhjahân frequently said that in eight and twenty years of service he had never heard from Afzal Khân a bad word against anyone. He died childless.

I conclude from all this that the remains of monuments at present existing at Nawan Kot were the residential quarters of Afzal Khân which have been so much praised by Brahman, where he was ultimately entombed, i.e., the existing so-called tomb of Zêb-un-Nisâ is really the tomb of Nawâb Afzal Khân.

I have arguments to put forward that the present so-called tomb of Zêb-un-Nisâ in Nawan Kot cannot possibly be the tomb of a lady. The citizens of Lahore should recall their observations of some of the Lahore tombs of the Mughal period—for instance that of Nûr Jahân, of 'Ali Mardan Khân's mother in the North-Western Railway premises in which he himself later on was buried by his sons, that of Dai Angah inside the Gulabi Bagh, that of Anarkali, Rustam Ghâzi's wife's near Nawan Kot built in 1046 A.H. and so on. All these tombs are of women of the Mughal days and they all without exception have underground sepulchral vaults where the real graves exist. Had this so-called tomb of Zêb-un-Nisâ

*MS. of *Chahar Chaman*.

been of a lady it would have had subterranean room for the real grave. This form of female tomb amongst the Mughals was brought to India from Central Asia by them.¹

Writers on Agra have stated that Chini-ka-Rouza on the bank of the Jamna is the tomb of Nawâb Afzal Khân about which Mr. E. W. Smith says in his *Mughal Colour Decoration, Agra*,²—"For whom the tomb was built we do not know. It bears no inscription, but is traditionally ascribed to Afzal Khân, a poet who died at Lahore in 1048 A.H. = 1639 A.D. In all likelihood it was built during Aurangzêb's time." But I can positively say that it has no connection with Afzal Khân because its sectional elevation (Pl. X) shows that it has underground sepulchral vaults beneath the edifice for female graves, and Afzal Khân had no wife or children who could have been buried there either before or after him.

Under these circumstances I am sure that the reader will agree with me that the so-called tomb of Zêb-un-Nisâ can neither be that of Zêb-un-Nisâ nor of any woman, and it is clearly the tomb of Afzal Khân built in the premises of his own buildings in Nawan Kot.

Sakinatu'l-Auliya, one of the many compilations of Prince Dara Shikoh the eldest son of Shâhjahân, a clever writer on mysticism, bears a special chapter on the public haunts of Lahore of Shâhjahân's days, where usually, his spiritual leader Shâh Mîan Mîr Sâhib lying buried at Lahore, used to go in the company of his disciples. It is really a very useful work as far as our interest in Lahore antiquities is concerned. It takes note of many important places many of which to-day are not traceable. *Sakinatu'l-Auliya* was written in 1052 A.H. = 1642 A.D., i.e., four years before the Chouburji Garden was laid out; therefore, to expect its mention here is useless, however, one most interesting thing occurs herein, it is the mention of the Anarkali garden on the southern side of the city with a dome in the corner of its southern wall, as well as the mention of 'Abdur Rahîm Khân Khâna's garden.³

Unfortunately it does not furnish us with any reference appertaining to the person buried beneath the dome in the precincts of Anarkali garden. At least, it can safely be said that

(1) *Islamic Culture*. January 1934. "What India owes to Central Asia in Islamic Architecture." My own article.

(2) *Mughal Colour Decoration* by E. W. Smith, 1901, p. 17.

(3) MS. of *Sakinatu'l-Auliya* in my own Library.

so far it is the first mention of the word Anarkali in the Mughal annals applied to a garden, so it is just possible that the garden might have been noted for its production of pomegranates of a fine quality. Dâra Shikoh could easily have mentioned the fact if it was the tomb of Anarkali concerning whom such a thrilling and horrible drama is related only by the European travellers who came to Lahore many years after the occurrence of the alleged episode, according to the date inscribed on the grave. It is conceivable that in the later period the garden fell into a general desolation and only the tomb was left which was afterwards named Anarkali instead of the garden or locality, because for credence it is also necessary that the contemporary writers would mention this dreadful event. Prof. Sâlik wrote a brief account of Anarkali sometime ago in the light of history and showed it to be the tomb of Sâhib-i-Jamâl, one of the wives of Jahângîr died in the same year. But we should also view it in the light of two dates found on the sarcophagus. One is 1008 A.H. the year of death and the other 1024 A.H.—the year of the construction of the tomb after the usual custom.*

Inscription on the sarcophagus:—

West:—

بجنون سلیم اکبر - آہ گرمین بازیمن روئے یار خویش دا

East:—

تاقیامت شکر کویم کردگار خویش دا - سہ ۱۰۰۸ ہزار و ہشت

North:—

اللہ اکبر

South:—

فی شہور سنہ ۱۰۲۴ھ -

We should remember that Jahângîr was forty-one years old in 1008 A.H.=1599 A.D., undeniably an age of seriousness. This dramatic episode is attributed to Jahângîr on the part of his father Akbar and as a result Anarkali is walled up alive in the wall of the palace by way of punishment. History cannot conceal that Jahângîr from 1007 A.H. to 1011 A.H. was far away from Lahore, as also was his father Akbar. And as regards mention of Khân Khâna's garden in the *Sakinah*

*Syed Mohammad Latif has entered in his *History of Lahore* under the account of the Dome of Anarkali فی لاہور سنہ ۱۰۲۴ھ instead of فی شہور سنہ ۱۰۲۴ھ i.e., in the months of year 1008 as noted above.

not a trace is found. Although *Ma'athir-i-Rahîmi* supplies us with an account of Khân Khâna's public works at Lahore in the form of a garden and a magnificent palace in whose praise one of his poets Maulâna Wahshî Yazdî composed couplets in the *Ma'athir-i-Rahîmi* (p. 609, v. 3) these public works of Khân Khâna were situated on the grand trunk road in Lahore leading to Agra, then the capital of the empire.

It seems necessary to add that the monuments of Jahân Ara and Afzal Khân, mentioned above, from the architectural point of view are clearly earlier than the period ascribed to them. Their construction, planning and decoration make us bold to say that they really belong to Shâhjahân's time. Especially when we compare them with their prototype, in many respects, the mosque of Wazîr Khân built in 1045 A.H. we find on great difference in the general appearance with the exception of the different functions of the buildings. It will also interest experts to explain here that the mosques of Wazîr Khân and of Dai Angah in Lahore were built in the same year. A close examination will also reveal that their *tughra* style inscriptions in mosaic of coloured tiles, bearing only the Kalimah, the name of the Prophet and other names,* are results of joint efforts of the inscription-writers who must have consulted one another specially as to the position of the words. They are in complete agreement with each other. Similarly, many other such details can be cited, from other buildings in Lahore, to help our notion. In short, in Lahore the gradual process of architectural development can easily be studied from the earliest Mughal period to the downfall of the empire, although the vandalism by the Sikhs has already ruined much.

One should not expect mention of all the monuments in the official records because these have neither been written from the topographical point of view nor did the nobles' houses deserve mention by the official diarists and historians unless they were connected with State affairs. Also it is not necessary, nor even possible, that the writer would be able to cover the account of all the buildings in writings which depend entirely on his point of view. We are lucky to possess ample information concerning some of the Lahore public haunts in Dâra Shikoh's mystical work *Sakinatu'l-Auliya* and in Chandar Bhan Brahman's *Chahar Chaman* of Shâhjahân's period—though to-day many of them are not traceable—otherwise

**Anjuman Himayat Islam*, Weekly special number 1929. My own article "Lahore Mosques,"

we should have had to go on depending on absolutely false local traditions and legends. The account of Dai Angah's mosque built in 1045 A.H. and her tomb built in 1082 A.H., Gulabi Bagh built in 1066 A.H., 'Ali Mardân Khân's mother's tomb perhaps built in 1054 A.H., and so on, is not available from the contemporary writers. I think, many buildings of the nobles after their deaths were never properly kept up, which is another obstacle in the way of the writer. We know that Afzal Khân died childless and there was no-one to look after his buildings after him. Amânat Khân, one of his influential relatives, also retired from the world and made a separate *serai* near Amritsar for his residence.* Another cause of ruin is that some of these monuments, being rather out of the way, have scarcely been visited and have never been repaired. Our people, seeing them ownerless, occupied them and disfigured them in their own way, which also became a source of myths concerning them.

Zakhiratu'l-Khawânîn, an important work regarding the history of the nobles of the Mughal period, assures us that many nobles in the periods of Akbar, Jahângîr and Shâhjahân built grand buildings in Lahore, which to-day are not found. I consider that the monuments of Lahore require a especial research for their proper attribution and history—a work which will give us the real history of this ancient city.

Any writer on old monuments would be ungrateful if he omitted to pay a tribute to the Government of India's most efficient Archæological Department, whose duties are not only to restore the old monuments and preserve them from any sort of vandalism, but also to provide the public with adequate information about them in the shape of monographs from the pens of great experts. It is matter for thanksgiving that the monuments of Nawan Kot, Lahore have recently been acquired by this department and have been properly repaired and fenced at great expense. It is to be hoped that very shortly the tomb of Afzal Khân will also be restored. During the 19th century, especially in the Punjab, many superb buildings were robbed by the Sikhs of their stones and precious material, and to-day are standing stark naked, lamenting their past glory. The public at large should make an effort to get rid of myths which really mar and disfigure our cultural history.

M. ABDULLA CHUGHTAI.

**Ma'âthiru'l-Umara*—the account of 'Aqil Khan Inyat Ullah and Amritsar Gazetteer.

SOME INDIAN ASTROLABE-MAKERS

SOME time back I received a letter from Dr. H. Van Klüber, Astrophysikliches Observatorium, Einstein Institute, Potsdam, in which he asked me to throw some light on Zia'u'd-dîn Muhammad, the maker of an astronomical instrument dated 107 A.H. which is in the Berlin Museum. I have been able to glean some details about Zia'u'd-dîn Muhammad which I give below, but I shall be grateful to the readers of "Islamic Culture" if they will give me further information on the subject.

The full name of Zia'u'd-dîn Muhammad is Zia'u'd-dîn Muhammad Astrolâbî Humâyûnî Lahôrî. A little digression will explain the significance of the long name.

The most famous instruments of astronomy used in Arabic educational institutions are the globe and the astrolabe. The globe is an instrument not of daily use, but is used only for educational purposes. The astrolabe is used in measuring the height of the sun and other stars, so it is in daily use by astrologers, astronomers, and connoisseurs of the art. It is therefore that a manufacturer of astronomical instruments was called in later times Astrolâbî (اصطرلابی). He could not be appropriately called کروی (a globe), because کروی (spherical) is one of the terms of astronomy. اصطرابی is not a scientific term of the art. The manufacturer of the astronomical instruments was so called in reference to this instrument.

"Humâyûnî is with reference to Humâyûn, who was the successor of Bâbur, the Timurid conqueror of India. The Timurid Sultans always took an interest in astronomy. The grandson of Timur, Mirza Ulugh Beg (who died in 853 A.H.) established a famous observatory at Samarqand, where the renowned astronomers of the period, such as Qâzizâda Rûmî, Ghiyâsu'd-dîn Jamshed and 'Alî bin Muhammad Qaushjî made researches, and the almanac prepared there was named

after Ulugh Beg. Bâbur has mentioned the ruins of the observatory in his Tuzk.

Bâbur's son Humâyûn, whose name is mentioned in connection with astrolabe was a past master in astronomy and astrology. Mullâ Badaûnî writes of Humâyûn in his *Muntakhab-u't-Tawârikh* dated 1004 A.H.—

“He was matchless in the science of astronomy, astrology and all other strange arts.”¹

Ferishta says:—

“He had much proficiency in mathematics, always associated with scholars and the learned, and constant discussion on learned topics took place in his presence.”²

The king learnt the art of astronomy from Ilyâs Ardbelî, who was a mastermind in all branches of this science.³

During his stay in Irâq and Persia the king was accompanied by two famous scholars: one was this very Ilyâs Ardbelî, and the other was Abu'l-Qasim Girjânî. The king was wandering in the wilderness after he had lost the throne of India, still he took lessons from these two scholars of Qutub Shîrâzi's (died 710 A.H.) recondite book *Durratu't-Taj* (درۃ التاج) which is a compendium in Persian of scientific theory and practice.⁴

An interesting anecdote is mentioned in the *Akbar-Nâmah*. When Humâyûn reached Tabrîz during his journey in Persia, he ordered his slave Pîk Muhammad Akhtâ Begi to search for a globe (کره) in that old city. کره means colt in Persian. The intelligent slave obeyed the orders by bringing a number of colts to the royal presence. The king laughed when he saw the multitude of colts before him. Abu'l-Fazal begins this anecdote with the following words:⁵

چون به تبریز نزل فرمودند از آنجا که توجه اقدس با اصطربلاب و کره
و سایر آلات رصدی درجه کمال داشت

(When he reached Tabrîz, there he, who had extraordinary

(1) Vol. I, p. 467, Calcutta.

(2) Vol. I, p. 243, Nawalkishore.

(3) Badaûnî has given his description in his *Muntakhab-u't-Tawârikh*, vol. III, p. 131, Calcutta Edition.

(4) *Ma'âthir-i-Rahîmî*, p. 612, vol. 1, Calcutta and *Akbar-Nâmah*, vol. I, p. 642, Nawalkishore.

(5) *Akbar-Nâmah*, p. 241, Nawalkishore Press.

excellence in the astrolabe, globe and other instruments of observatory.....).

The king himself gave lessons in astronomy and mathematics like learned teachers. The king's chief associate Nûru'd-dîn Turkhân Sufidinî (died in 994 A.H.) who was well up in the art, was tutored by the king Badaûnî says—

“Mullâ Nûru'd-dîn Turkhân Nûrî Sufidinî, the jagirdar of Sufidun in Sindh was a celebrated scholar of arithmetic, mathematics, astronomy and astrology and was one of the confidants and attendants of the lamented king.”¹

Nûru'd-dîn Khân Turkhân is described in *Ma'âthiru'l-Umara* thus:

“The maulâna was noted for his accomplishments, chivalry, and charity. He was fond of astronomy, arithmetic, and the astrolabe. He had a regular association with the Resident of Paradise (Humâyûn). He was one of the many associates and courtiers of Humâyûn. The king was sometimes benefited by his learning but more often than not he derived advantages in mathematics and particularly in the astrolabe from the king who was well versed in these arts.”²

That the king had an extraordinary liking for astronomy and celestial sciences may be corroborated by the statement of the Turkish naval commander who describes Humâyûn's fondness for these arts in his *Mirâ'atu'l-Mamâlik*. This naval commander was sent by Sultân Suleymân Khân to drive out the Portuguese from the ports of Gujarat, but his naval expedition ended in destruction and he had to return to his country by land through India, Persia and 'Irâq. Humâyûn wanted this Turkish naval officer, who knew astronomy profoundly, not to go away from him. But the latter persisted in going back to his country, and the king at last permitted him on the condition that he should go after three months of the rainy season when roads were very difficult to pass. In the meantime he must make calculations of solar and lunar eclipses, and help the astronomers of the place in learning the intricate details of the movements of the sun and the axis. He engaged himself in the work and completed the astronomical observations.³

(1) Vol. III, p. 197.

(2) *Ma'âthiru'l-Umara*, vol. I, p. 478, Calcutta.

(3) Prof. Wembri *Mirâ'atu'l-Mamâlik*, Urdu version, chapter VIII.

Humâyûn's sister Gulbadan Begum, the authoress of the *Humâyûn-Nâmah* tells on one occasion how Humâyûn himself once fixed the auspicious date for a marriage by making astral calculations. She writes:

"In short, after forty days in the month of Jamâdi-ul-Awwal, 948 A.H. at Yatur on Monday noon, His Majesty the King took the astrolabe in his hand and fixed the fateful hour."¹

Humâyûn had such an ardent love of mathematics and mathematical instruments that his friend Commander Beiram Khân Khânkhâna composed a Qasîdah in his honour, in which the astrolabe is fully described.

آن چرخ چیست کامده بر خورش مدار آن بدر کز میان شهابش کند گذار
با آنکه می کند به مه و خور برابری آمد بجان زحلقه بگوشان شهریار
نار د بچشم کو کبه آفتاب را چون مهجه لوائے شهنشاه نامدار
پیوسته آسمان و زمین زیر حکم اوست همچون نگین خاتم شاه جم اقتدار
بر کف نهاده خوان زری پر ز اشرفی تا بر قدوم اشرف شاهان کند تار
شاه بلند قدر هایون که از شرف بر در گهش سپهر نهد روی افتقار
(بدا یونی، جلد سوم صفحه ۹۲، کلکته)

In this Qasîdah (Circumference) مدار (Axis) محور (Sky) چرخ (Halo), (Sun) خور (Meteor) شهاب (Full Moon) بدر (Height), شرف (Earth), زمین (Sky), آسمان (Sun) آفتاب (Sky), سپهر (Sky), are various astronomical terms.

It is generally known that Humâyûn died of a fall from the stairs of his library. But the truth is that in old Delhi Shêr Shâh had built a very high three-storeyed building which was known as Shêr Mandal. On the third storey was a bastion which was higher than all the buildings.² The king had converted it into a library, because its height served the purpose of an observatory. In the evening of the day when he fell, he believed that the planet Venus would appear. The king was busy there in discussion with some mathematicians and was awaiting the appearance of the planet when the evening prayer call was heard. He was going hurriedly when

(1) p. 53, London.

(2) Sir Syed's *Atharû's-Sanâ'id*, p. 51, Cawnpore.

he slipped off. He fell down and was hurt. The injury was fatal.

The author of the *Akbar-Nâmah* writes:

"On the last day he went upstairs to his library. He called for a group of mathematicians. That night the planet Venus was to make its appearance and he wanted to see it."¹

All the work of the king was performed on astronomical principles. The different functions of the court on various days were divided on an astrological basis. Ghiyâthu'd-dîn, in his *Humâyûn Nâmah* and Abu'l-Fazal in his *Akbar-Nâmah* have given full details² of these days which were apportioned astronomically. The organization of the court, the camp and the orchard was also made on these scientific principles. He had erected pavilions for the court in which the nine skies of the Greek astrology and the different stars of each sky were emblematically represented.

Humâyûn took immense interest in such innovations. He had made a *سائط نشاط*, where all the celestial circles and spherical elements (*کرات عناصر*) were to be seen. The first which was ascribed to the unspotted sky was white. The second was blue (*کبود*). The third, which was proper to Saturn was black. The fourth was sandal-like with reference to Jupiter. The fifth was red as Mars. The sixth was golden like the Sun. The seventh was green in relation to Venus. The eighth was bluish as Mercury. The ninth was white like the moon. After this there were figures of the four elements. Of these there were maps of the seven realms in the terrestrial globe. The colour of the public Court-hall changed each day according to the colour of the daily star as fixed by astrologers. He had likewise made a pavilion with the twelve signs of the Zodiac. He had made up his mind to build observatories at many places and had prepared various instruments for the purpose.³ Among these various instruments there was the astrolabe.

(1) *Akbar-Nâmah*, Nawalkishore, p. 399 and *Ma'âthir-i-Rahimî*, vol. I, p. 609, Calcutta.

(2) *Akbar-Nâmah*, Nawalkishore, p. 399.

(3) Elliot's *History of India*, vol. V, p. 116.

In March and May 1909—i.e., some twenty-five years ago—I wrote an article in *Al-Nadwa*,¹ Lucknow, on “Muslims and Astronomy.” I had for the first time made mention of Zîa’u’d-dîn Humâyûnî Astrolâbî. I wrote in that connection:—

“It was Humâyûn who made the astrolabe in vogue in India. Humâyûn was a mastermind in astronomy. He had invented a special kind of astrolabe, which was called Humâyûn’s astrolabe (اصطرلاب همايونی). In the library of the Nadwa there is an old astrolabe which bears the following inscriptions.

عمل ضياء الدين محمد بن قائم محمد بن ملا عيسى بن شيخ الهداد اصطرلابي همايوني
لاهورى سنه ۱۰۵۹ھ

(The work of Zîa’u’d-dîn Muhammad, son of Qâ’im Muhammad, son of Mullâ ‘Isâ, son of Sheykh Allah Dâd, Humâyûnî Astrolâbî, Lahôrî, 1059 A.H.)

I am sorry to say that this statement of my article finds no corroboration in any book, although from that time onward I have been making earnest researches for it. The learned Maulânâ Ghulâm Huseyn of Jaunpur (1250 A.H.) writes in his *Jam‘-e-Bahâdur Khânî*: “the mechanics of the later period” made these changes.” It would be no wonder if the later period might refer to this very Humâyûn’s astrolabe.

The mechanics who manufactured astronomical instruments, maps and globes for Humâyûn are not mentioned in any history. Only Maulânâ Maqsûd Herwaî is mentioned in *‘Ain-i-Akbarî*:—

“He was one of the lovers of the Resident of Paradise (جنت آشیانی)..... He manufactured astrolabes, globes and other instruments which took the people who saw them by surprise.”

I have not been able to find any description of Zîa’u’d-dîn and his family in any history or biography. It is however clear from the name and genealogy inscribed in the globes and astrolabes manufactured by Zîa’u’d-dîn and his father Qâ’im Muhammad that Zîa’u’d-dîn’s great-grandfather Allah Dâd was a mechanic of Humâyûn’s reign who manufactured globes and astrolabes after Humâyûn’s fashion (همایونی طریق).

(1) *Al Nadwa*, March 1909, p. 24.

(2) *Jam‘-i-Bahâdur Khânî*, p. 501, Calcutta.

Accordingly in the library of Nawab Sir Salar Jung Bahadur (Hyderabad), there is an astrolabe, which bears the following inscriptions

صنعت استاذ الهداد اصطرابی لاهوری فی سنه ۹۷۵ هـ

(Work of Master Allah-Dâd, the Astrolabe-maker of Lahôre, dated 975 A.H.).

I have discovered the following manufactures of Zîa'u'd-dîn and of his father Qâ'im Muḥammad.

There is one astrolabe made by Qâ'im Muḥammad in Calcutta which belongs to Qâzi Obeidu'l-Bârî.* It bears the following inscription.

عمل قائم محمد بن عیسی بن الهداد اصطرابی هماونی ۱۰۳۴ هـ

(The work of Qâ'im Muḥammad, son of 'Isâ, son of Allah-Dâd, Astrolâbî, Humâyûnî, 1034 A.H.). On the other corner of this astrolabe is written the "21st year of Jahângîr's accession."

An astronomical globe of his is found in the Oriental Library, Bankipore, which reads thus

صنعة اقل العباد قائم محمد ابن عیسی ابن الهداد اصطرابی لاهوری هماونی

سنه ۱۰۴۷ هـ

(The work of the humblest creature, Qâ'im Muḥammad, son of 'Isâ, son of Allah-Dâd, Astrolâbî, Lahôrî, Humâyûnî 1047 A.H.).

On the other side of the globe is the following inscription.

تمت این کره مکل مشتمل بیک هزار و بست و دو کواکب که جمیع از ان
چهل و هشت صورت مرصوده نموده اند - اهل (؟) علماء و حکماء تنجیم چنانچه
مرصوده در رصد مرزا الغ بیگ است و بر تقویم هر کواکب ثابته سه درجه زیاده
کرده ایم بحساب حکماء این فن تابان تاریخ سنه ۱۰۴۷ هـ

This globe is made of pure brass metal. There is a silver nail near each star and all Zodiac signs are made therein.

Vol. I, p. 31, Nawalkishore.

*He comes of an old family of Calcutta. I am indebted to Prof. Maḥfuzul Haqq of the Presidency College, Calcutta, for my information concerning this astrolabe.

I have come to know of the following globes and astrolabes of Qâ'im Muḥammad's son, Zîa'u'd-dîn, which I mention here in chronological order.

1. His oldest manufactured astronomical globe is to be found with Maulvi Yusuf Sahib of Phulvari District, Patna. It is of pure brass. There is a silver nail near each star. It weighs $1\frac{1}{4}$ lb. This family is in possession of this globe since 1238 A.H. The globe bears the following inscription:

عمل ضياء الدين محمد بن قائم محمد بن ملا عيسى ابن ملا الهداد اصطرلابي
همايوني لاهورى فى سنة ١٠٥٨ هـ

(The work of Zîa'u'd-dîn Muḥammad, son of Qâ'im Muḥammad, son of Mullâ 'Isâ, son of Sheykh Allah-Dâd, Astrolâbî, Humâyûnî, Lahôrî, 1058 A.H.)

2. After this comes his astrolabe which is preserved in the library of the Nadwatul-'Ulamâ, Lucknow. It bears the name and date:—

عمل ضياء الدين محمد بن قائم محمد بن ملا عيسى بن شيخ الهداد اصطرلابي
همايوني لاهورى سنة ١٠٥٩ هـ

(The work of Zîa'u'd-dîn Muḥammad, son of Qâ'im Muḥammad, son of Mullâ 'Isâ, son of Sheykh Allah-Dâd, Astrolâbî, Humâyûnî. Lahôrî, 1059 A.H.)

3. Another astrolabe of his is in the Library of Nawab Sadar Yar Jung, Maulâna Habîbu'r-Rahmân Khân Sherwânî (Habib Ganj, District Aligarh). The date and inscriptions are thus:—

عمل اقل العباد ضياء الدين محمد بن قائم محمد بن ملا عيسى ابن شيخ الهداد
اصطرلابي همايوني لاهورى فى سنة ١٠٦٣ هـ

(The work of the humblest creature Zîa'u'd-dîn Muḥammad, son of Qâ'im Muḥammad, son of Mullâ 'Isâ, son of Sheykh Allâh-Dâd, Astrolâbî, Humâyûnî, Lahôrî, in 1064 A.H.)

4. A globe made by him in the same year was in the possession of a physician of Rampur, but is now in the Tibbîyah College, Aligarh. It bears the following inscription:

عمل اقل العباد ضياء الدين محمد بن قائم محمد بن ملا عيسى ابن شيخ الهداد اصطرلابي
همايوني لاهورى فى سنة ١٠٦٣ هـ

(The work of the humblest creature Zîa'u'd-dîn Muḥammad, son of Qâ'im Muḥammad, son of Mullâ 'Isâ, son of Sheykh Allâh-Dâd, Astrolâbî, Humâyûnî, Lahôrî, dated 1064 A.H.)

5. The fifth existing work of his is the globe which is mentioned by Dr. Kluber, a photo of which he has sent me. This is in the Berlin Museum. It reads thus:—

عمل اقل العباد ضياء الدين محمد بن قائم محمد بن ملا عيسى بن شيخ الهداد اصطرابي
همايوني لاهوري في سنة ١٠٤١ هـ

(The work of the humblest creature Zia'u'd-dîn Muhammad, son of Qâ'im Muhammad, son of Mullâ 'Isâ, son of Sheykh Allâh-Dâd, Astrolâbî, Humâyûnî, Lahôrî, dated 1071 A.H.)

In addition we know of four other astrolabes made by him, which are all dated 1074 A.H. and are to be found in Europe and India.

6. One of them is with Maulâna Abu Bakar of Jaunpur (Chairman of Theology, Muslim University, Aligarh). It is comparatively smaller and bears the following legend:—

عمل اقل العباد ضياء الدين محمد بن قائم محمد بن ملا عيسى بن شيخ الهداد اصطرابي
همايوني لاهوري في سنة ١٠٤٣ هـ

(The work of the humblest creature Zia'u'd-dîn Muhammad, son of Qâ'im Muhammad, son of Mullâ 'Isâ, son of Sheykh Allâh-Dâd, Astrolâbî, Humâyûnî, Lahôrî, dated 1074 A.H.)

7. Another is in the official library of Rampur. Its inscription has become a little disfigured but is legible:—

عمل اقل العباد ضياء الدين محمد بن قائم محمد بن ملا عيسى بن شيخ الهداد ...
سنة ١٠٤٣ هـ

(The work of the humblest creature Zia'u'd-dîn Muhammad, son of Qâ'im Muhammad, son of Mullâ 'Isâ, son of Sheykh Allâh-Dâd, dated 1074 A.H.)

8. The third astrolabe of the same date was exhibited in the Persian Arts Exhibition held in London in 1931 A.D. Its descriptions may be found on page 193 of the printed catalogue of the Exhibition—It has the following inscription:—

عمل اقل العباد ضياء الدين محمد بن قائم محمد بن ملا عيسى بن شيخ الهداد اصطرابي
همايوني لاهوري في سنة ١٠٤٣ هـ

(The work of the humblest creature Zia'u'd-dîn Muhammad, son of Qâ'im Muhammad, son of Mullâ 'Isâ, son of Sheykh Allâh-Dâd, Astrolâbî, Humâyûnî, Lahôrî, dated 1074 A.H.)

The compiler of the catalogue has made a mistake in reading the name of Allâh-Dâd. The name of the Indian which is a combination of Allâh (الله) and Dâd (داد) and which means 'Gift of God' has erroneously been read (الحداد) (Al-haddâd) which means in Arabic 'blacksmith.' Al-haddâd was thought right because of the mechanism of the brass, but this is altogether wrong.

9. The fourth astrolabe of the same date is in Bankipore Library. It is very big. It bears the following inscription:—

عمل اقل العباد ضياء الدين محمد بن قائم محمد بن ملا عيسى بن شيخ الهداد اصطرلابي

همايوني لاهوري في سنة ١٠٧٤ هـ

'The work of the humblest creature Zia'u'd-dîn Muḥammad, son of Qâ'î Muḥammad, son of Mullâ 'Isâ, son of Sheykh Allâh-Dâd, astrolâbî, Humâyûnî, Lahôrî, dated 1074 A.H.)

From the above information and the inscriptions we come to the following conclusions:—

That they belonged to Lahore (Punjab). Genealogically, Zia'u'd-dîn's father was Mullâ 'Isâ, whose father was Sheykh Allâh-Dâd. From the word Mullâ (ملا), it is obvious that they were men of education. Badaûnî describes one Sheykh Allâh-Dâd Langer Khân Lahôrî in the following words:—

"A ward of the city is named after him (Muhallah Langer Khân is still a part of the city of Lahôr). He was well-versed and efficient in various branches of learning. He gave lessons and never went to the houses of the rich nor solicited help from kings, nor begged favour of anyone for his livelihood. His age is about eighty years."

Badaûnî wrote his book in 1004 A.H. So the birth of Sheykh Allâh-Dâd may be believed to have taken place in 924 A.H. Accordingly this man may have been a young man of twenty-five or thirty in Humâyûn's reign. This man, however, cannot be positively said to be Zia'u'd-dîn's great-grandfather Sheykh Allâh-Dâd.

Zia'u'd-dîn and his ancestors may be chronologically placed with the Muslim kings of India thus:—

1. Sheykh Allâh-Dâd	1. Humâyûn	$\frac{937-963 \text{ A.H.}}{1530-1555 \text{ A.D.}}$
2. Mullâ 'Isâ	2. Akbar	$\frac{963-1014 \text{ A.H.}}{1555-1605 \text{ A.D.}}$
3. Qâ'im Muḥammad	3. { Jahângîr	$\frac{1014-1036 \text{ A.H.}}{1605-1626 \text{ A.D.}}$
4. Zia'u'd-dîn Muḥammad	4. { Shâh Jahân	$\frac{1036-1068 \text{ A.H.}}{1626-1665 \text{ A.D.}}$
	{ 'Alamgîr	$\frac{1068-1118 \text{ A.H.}}{1675-1706 \text{ A.D.}}$

Of these we have got the dates of only two, and the two are right according to this approximation. Qâ'im Muḥammad's first astrolabe is dated 1034 A.H. (the 21st year of Jahângîr's accession). His second globe is dated 1047 A.H. This proves that he lived in the reigns both of Jahângîr and Shâh Jahân.

Zia'u'd-dîn's first globe is dated 1058 A.H. and his last is dated 1074 A.H., which shows that the period of his activity as a craftsman lasted for at least seventeen years.

That they made instruments in such abundance proves that they were not amateurs in astronomical arts nor learned professors of any institution but were professional manufacturers. They manufactured at least four astrolabes in one and the same year, e.g., one astrolabe and one globe are dated 1064 and four astrolabes are dated 1074 A.H.

Dr. Kluber writes in the course of his letter that Zia'u'd-dîn or his globe might probably have some connection with Raja Jai Singh Sawai's observatory, but this is not historically true. That observatory was constructed by the order of Muḥammad Shâh by Jai Singh, the Chief of Jaipur and Subedar of Agra and Malwa in 1137 A.H. (1724 A.D.), that is, sixty years after the Berlin globe, and seventy-nine years after the first-made globe which is now in Phulwari District, Patna.

THE MIFTÂḤ AS-SA'ĀDAH OF TÂSH KOPRÜ ZÂDAH

THIS Encyclopædia of Muslim Sciences was published in two volumes by the Dâ'irat al-Ma'ârif (Hyderabad-Deccan) in 1329 A.H. and has, outside India, not received the attention which it deserves, though nearly a hundred years ago Flügel and others made ample use of it through the medium of the manuscript preserved in Vienna.

An Indian scholar discovered that the printed edition after all seemed to be incomplete and I was asked to ascertain in how far this discovery was accurate; for the Dâ'irah is anxious to publish the missing portion if such can be found.

The places where manuscripts are found in Europe are very far apart and as Mr. 'Abid Aḥmad, M.A. (of Aligarh University) was for a short time in Leiden I asked him to compare the printed text with the manuscript (Warner No. 644) which has been in that library for nearly 300 years. He writes me as follows:

"In the first place two things are obvious. First there is *no gap*, as you mention, after p. 67 in the first volume; the contents are continuous. But it is certain that the work is *not* complete in the printed edition (I have the two volumes before me) as a look into the table of contents will prove. For on page 226 of the second volume is الشعبة الثانية which is said to be divided into *seven* Maṭlābs, out of these the book till the end contains only *three*, the third commencing on page 238.

Further, it is certain that the work as produced here is only about one half of the original as planned by the author. His plan appears to be to divide the whole work into two big divisions, which he calls *Ṭaraf*, the one dealing with العلوم النظرية the other with العلوم الكشفية which is in fact the classification of sciences made by Ghazzâlî, whose influence is apparent throughout. He, however, calls these two

divisions علم المعاملة and علم المكاشفة. There cannot be any mistake about the headings, as the contents of the printed edition actually deal with العلوم النظرية and on page 323 of the second volume is the promise to deal with the other sciences in the second *Taraf*:

ستذكر هذا العلم في الطرف الثاني من الرسالة لانه من مقدمات العلوم الكشفية التي جعلناها الطرف الثاني لبيانها

"The second point is that the Leiden manuscript is *not* the *Miftâh as-Sa'âdah*. It is only a commentary on certain portions of the *Miftâh* by one who in his studies used also other works like the *Irshâd al-Qâsid* (of Muḥammad b. Ibrâhîm b. Sa'îd al-Anṣârî; *Bibl. Indica*, Calcutta 1849), the *Muzhir* of Suyûṭî, etc. It consists of 17 folia only and is of *no help* in filling up any gaps in the original work whatever. It is however of great help in throwing light upon the contents of the second *Taraf* of the *Miftâh* as in the beginning of it there is found a table of contents. As this table of contents agrees with the findings of the printed edition for the first *Taraf*, we may safely assume that it is also correct as regards the second *Taraf*. This table of contents is as follows:

الطرف الثاني في العلوم المتعلقة بالتصنيف فيه مقدمة ودوحة مقدمة - الدوحة في علوم الباطن لها اربع شعب

الشعبة الاولى : في العبادات وفيها عشر (كذا) اصول

(١) اصل في العلم وفهيه (فيه lego) ستة مطلب (١) مطلب في فضل العلم

وقد سبق (٢) مطلب فيما يجب على المعلم من العلم (٣) مطلب في العلم المحمود

والمذموم (٤) مطلب في آداب العالم والمتعلم وقد سبق (٥) مطلب في

آفات العلم (٦) مطلب في العقل

(٢) اصل في قواعد العقائد (٣) اصل في اسرار الطهارة (٤) اصل في اسرار الصلوة

(٥) اصل في الزكوة (٦) اصل في العلوم (٧) اصل في الحج

(٨) اصل في فضيلة الاذكار (٩) اصل تقسيم في الاولاد (١٠) ناقص

الشعبة الثانية في العادات وفي (فيها) عشرة اصول

(١) اصل في آداب الاكل (٢) في آداب النكاح (٣) في آداب الكسب

(٤) اصل في الحلال والحرام (٥) في آداب الصحبة (٦) في آداب العزلة

(٧) في آداب السفر (٨) في آداب السماع (٩) في الامر بالمعروف والنهي
عن المنكر (١٠) في اخلاق النبوة

الشعبة الثالثة في المهلكات وفيها عشرة اصول

(١) اصل في شرح عجائب القلب (٢) اصل في رياضة النفس (٣) في كسر الشهوتين
(٤) في آفات اللسان (٥) في الغضب والحقد (٦) في ذم الدنيا (٧) في ذم المال
(٨) في ذم الجاه (٩) في ذم الكبر والعجب (١٠) في ذم الغرور

الشعبة الرابعة في المنجيات وفيها عشرة اصول

(١) اصل في التوبة (٢) في الصبر والشكر (٣) في الخوف والرجاء (٤) في الفقر
والزهد (٥) في التوكل (٦) في المحبة والشوق (٧) في النية والاخلاص
(٨) في المحاسبة والمراقبة (٩) في التفكير (١٠) في ذكر الموت تم.

“The Leiden manuscript seems to be a copy made by one not very well educated, as it contains mistakes which no scholar would have made.”

From the above it appears to be clear that for the present we have only the Vienna manuscript in Europe which contains the complete text and it would be useful to ascertain the whereabouts of the original in Stambul from which this was copied.

F. KRENKOW.

NOTE ON THE KORANIC WORD 'SIJJIL'

STUDENTS of the Koran have long been familiar with the mysterious word سجيل which occurs three times in the Arabic text, viz., XI. 84, XV. 74 and CV. 4. The first two cases are in the story of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, while the last is in the account of the defeat of the invading Abyssinian army in the year of the Prophet's birth (A.D. 570). Various interpretations have been proposed, perhaps the most ingenious being that it is a reference to a sudden epidemic of small-pox or according to Dr. Krenkow's surmise a pestilential visitation of insects. But the usual, and traditional explanation is that the word means literally "claystone" or baked clay (being a compound loan-word from the Persian سنگ "stone" and گل "clay"). Let us consider the passages in question.

I. (The Destruction of Sodom)

"We rained upon it (i.e., the doomed city) stones of baked clay thick together, marked by thy Lord" (Kor. XI. 84).

أمطرنا عليها حجارة من سجيل منضود مسومة عند ربك

"And We rained upon them stones of baked clay" (Kor. XV. 74).

وأمطرنا عليهم حجارة من سجيل

There are five other passages in the Koran which describe the downfall of the Cities of the Plain. In three of these (VII. 82, XXVI. 173 and XXVII. 59) the expression used is simply "We rained upon them a rain" (أمطرنا عليهم مطرا). In another passage (LIV. 34) there is the expression: "We sent upon them a stone-charged wind" (أرسلنا عليهم حاصبا) or "a violent wind that raises the pebbles" (so Lane s.v.). But the remaining passage (LI. 34. cf. XI. 84 above) seems to confirm the equation سجيل = "baked clay," because it

substitutes طين (clay) for سجيل thus, "*stones of clay marked by thy Lord*" (حجارة من طين مسومة عند ربك)

II. (*The Destruction of the Abyssinian Army*)

When the Prophet first uttered the words of Sûrah CV many of his listeners must have been eye-witnesses of the actual defeat, so it is not some dim and distant legend to which reference is being made. The verses in question are :

(3) وارسل عليهم طيرا ابابيل

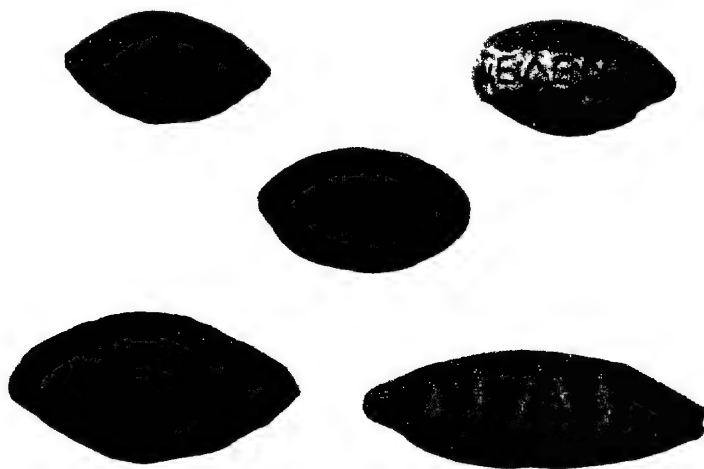
(4) ترميهم بحجارة من سجيل

[and God] "*sent against them birds in flocks (ababils), Claystones did they hurl down upon them.*"

(Rodwell)

[Did He not] "*send against them swarms of flying creatures, which pelted them with stones of baked clay*" (Marmaduke Pickthall)

There is a persistent tradition that these "*stones of baked clay*" which, as shown above, are described as "*marked by thy Lord*" were stones with the names of those destined to be smitten engraved on them. My suggestion is that we have here a record of the use in the engagement of inscribed baked clay or stone sling-bolts such as were used in Greek and Roman times of which the following are illustrations.*



*The reproduction of these examples in the British Museum I owe to the courtesy of Mr. Forsdyke the Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department

The British Museum *Guide to Greek and Roman Life*, (1929) p. 101 tells us that these sling-shot "bear legends or devices in relief: a personal name or badge of the maker or the general or the slinger; or the name of the State by whose army it was shot—"of Zoilos," or "From the Corinthians"; or a word to the bullet or to the enemy—"Strike hard," and "Take this." And as for the طيرا ابابيل of verse 3, would it be too fantastic a theory that we have here an account of the Meccan "*flying squadron*" hurling their destructive sling-shot on the enemy?

JOHN WALKER.

THE ORIGIN OF THE BOHRAS

THE famous Gujrati book *Ras Mala* says: "The Bhats are of opinion that the Brahmans and the Mahajans (money-lenders) converted to Islâm in the reign of Ahmad Shâh I, ruler of Gujrat (813 A.H.) are called 'Bohras,' because they made بیوہار (بیوہار, transactions) with the Arabs. بیوہار became بوہرے by constant use."¹ This is as much as to say that the Bohras did not exist prior to Ahmad Shah's reign, but we have reasons to believe that the Bohras existed long before that. We learn on the authority of the *Mal'ûzat* of Mahmûd Airjê² that when Sheykh Ahmad Khatto reached Sirkhus (Sirkhuj), near Ahmadabad, in the reign of Sultân Muzaffer Shâh, (793 A.H.), the grandfather of Sultân Ahmad Shâh, he took up his abode in the house of a Bohra. Even before that, when Ibn Batûtah (in Muhammad Tughlak's reign) went to Gandhar, he was received by the Raja of the place as well as by the sons of a Bohra chief.³ It obviously shows that there were numbers of the Bohras, who were organized under a chief, who claimed allegiance from them.

Qâdi Nûru'llah Shustrî (died 1019 A.H.) writing incidentally of the Bohras in his book *Majâlistu'l-Mu'minîn* says that three hundred years before his time, a learned missionary of this sect, Mullâ 'Alî came to India and made converts, who became numerous later on.⁴ This assertion is also not true, for we believe on the strength of *Majâlis Seyfiyah*, written by 'Abd-i-'Alî, (1224), a missionary of the Bohras, and *Kumar Pal Charitar*, which was written in 545 A.H. (=1150 A.D.), that there were Bohras found abundantly in Patan and Verim Gam at the time when those books were written. Mullâ 'Alî may have been a private missionary but

(1) *Ras Mala*, vol. I, p. 415.

(2) A very old manuscript in Pîr Muhammad Shâh's Library, Ahmedabad.

(3) *Ibn Batûtah's Travels*, p. 130, Egypt Edition.

(4) *Majâlistu'l-Mu'minîn*, p. 140.

the first official preacher or missionary is recorded to have been Maulâ'î Ahmad, who came to Gujrat in 460 A.H. (1067 A.D.) accompanied by Maulâ'î Abdullah and Maulâ'î Nûru'd-dîn.¹

Behramjî opines that the Bohras were originally Hindus and it is for that reason that some of the Hindu customs and ancestors are still in vogue among them. Some of the ancestors of these Bohras, he says further, living in Marwar, Rajputana and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh are called Hindu Bohras.² Dr. T. W. Arnold in his able book writes that the Bohras became Musalmans between 400 and 700 A.H. (1100 and 1300 A.D.), because the Hindu Rajas of Northern Gujrat treated well the Shī'a missionaries.

The above statements show merely that the Bohras are Muslims from pretty ancient days, but the problems are: what does the word 'Bohra' mean? When did the Bohras come to India? Are all of them Neo-Muslims?

We have already quoted *Ras Mala*, which opines that as Neo-Muslims had transactions (يوهار) with the Arabs, so the latter called them Bohras.

Azad Bilgrami quotes Mîr Nûru'llâh Shustrî, who writes: "These people (the Bohras) earned their livelihood by trade and manufacture, as the word 'Bohra' itself shows signifying 'Trader.'"³

A book written by the brother of Muhammad Siddîq, the Bohra missionary of Ahmedabad, and contemporary of Nûru'llâh Shustrî contains on the margin the following line:

هو مشتق من البهرة وهي الاستعمال في البيع والشراء في التجاره والكسب

[بواهر is derived from بوهره, which is used to mean trade, commerce and business]. The *Târikh-i-Ahmadi* gives a similar opinion interpreting the meaning of 'Bohra' as 'commercialist.' But we have to know, whether this word is Arabic or Hindi.

If 'Bohra' is Hindi, it means "Trade," and "Trader," as interpreted by *Ras Mala*. Azad Bilgrami, who was a learned scholar both of Sanskrit and Hindi holds the same view on the authority of Nûru'llâh Shustrî. Some have interpreted

(1) Vide *Sittah Resâ'il* by Khoj Bin Malik.

(2) *Gujrat and Gujrati*, p. 289.

(3) *Subhatûl Marjam*, p. 45, Bombay Edition.

the words as **بوء راه** (straight way) and **بهوراه** (many ways), i.e., agglomerations of tribes. 'Bohra' is also used to mean a caravan of camels, which may signify 'commercialist.' 'Bôhrâj' sometimes means 'Farsighted people.' In the Arabic *Qâmûs* (Dictionary) we find:

بهراء قبيلة ، وبهرة بالضم بنواحي المدينة وباليامه

(Bohra is a tribe and Buhrah with *ḍamm* is in the neighbourhood of Al-Madīnah and in Yamâmah).

In *Sarah* we get:

بهراء قبيلة از قضاة

(Bohra is a tribe from Qadâ'ah).

This gives us to suppose that this word is Arabic, and our supposition is supported by the origin of some of the Bohra families living in Ahmedabad, viz., Nirmawallas, Kâmkôri-wallahs, and the dynasty of Waliu'llâh, who claim to have come to India direct from Tayef and Madīnah.

In 303 A.H. the famous traveller Mas'ûdî came to Barûch and Khambat. He writes: "In the part of Cheymûr (near Barûch), besides natives of Baghdâd and Basrah, there are ten thousand Beysra (**بيسره**) Muslims." He gives the meaning of *Beysra* as 'people born in India.' In the *Qâmûs* we get:

"والبياسره جيل بالسند يستأجرهم النواخذة لمحاربة العدو والواحد بيسرى."

(The *Biyâsarah* are a community in Sind, hired by sailors to fight against enemies. *Beysrî* is the singular number.) It is just possible that traders, who came to India accompanied by such hired soldiers may have been also called *Biyâsarah* (**بياسره**) that when some of the Arabs settled here, they also began to be known by the same name; and in the course of time this term came to be exclusively used for their descendants born in India. We get similar instances in other languages. There is a word **كلا** in the Burmese language. Its original pronunciation was **كولا**, which means 'one, who came swimming,' i.e., a man who came by crossing the sea, hence a 'foreigner.' In the beginning this word was used for foreigners. But, when the English took possession of Burma, the Burmese used some other words for them, and **كلا** became a term for the Indians living in Burma and more often than not for the Muhammadans only.

Similarly, *یسره* may have become *Bohra* (*بوهره*) by constant use, because in Gujrati *ہوڑا* is often changed into *س*, for example, *سارو* (Good) has been changed into *ڈوسا* (old man) into *کنسارا* (tinker) into *کنہارا*.¹

Whether the word *Bohra* meant 'common trader' or 'Trader of Arabia' or 'Trader having relations with the clan of Qadâ'ah,' it is clear that the word was used without any discrimination of religion and community for Muslim traders only. That Muslim traders came to India in the first century A.H. is an established fact. Bilâdhuri attributes the cause of Muhammad bin Qâsim's invasion of Sind to the plunder of an Arab merchant-ship by Indian pirates.²

Suleymân of Basrah, and Abû Zeyd of Seyraf speak of Khumbeyt, Barach, Cheymûr, Gandhar, Thana, Supara, where Musalmans lived in great numbers. Both of them came to India in the middle of the third century A.H. Mas'ûdi, who came to India at the beginning of the fourth century A.H. speaks of ten thousand Muslims in one place.³ Then came Ibn Haukul, Istakhri, Bashshari, who all talk of Muslim populations in India. Besides, in Patan there is still a tomb of Nûru'ddîn Satagar (*ست گرو*), who died in 487 A.H., as the chronogram written on his grave shows. He was an Ismâ'îlî missionary, who preached the doctrine of seven Imâms. He came to Gujrat by land via Multân and Sind.

These evidences prove conclusively that Arab traders (*Bohras*) came to India not in the 7th century A.H. as contended by Qâdi Nûru'llâh Shustrî, but long before that, rather in the first century A.H., and they maintained commercial relations with Arabia until they were checkmated by the Portuguese, who gained naval supremacy in the Arabian Sea.⁴

(1) One of my friends gives an interesting explanation of the word: this word is originally Gujrati, and is composed of two words *سرا* and *بے*. In Gujrati *بے* means 'two,' and *سرا* means head. *بے سرا* means 'of two heads' signifying 'a man born of an Arab and Indian parent.' So *Beysra* means what *Muwallad* means in Persia and Anglo-Indian in India. Even to-day, the people in Gujrat, when intending to insult a person, use *بے سرا* for him.

(2) Bilâdhuri, *Fatûhât Sind*, p. 4.

(3) Mas'ûdi, vol. I, p. 54.

(4) Vide *Tuhfatu'l-Mujâhidîn* for full details.

Are all of them Neo-Muslims? That is now the question. The author of *Ras Mala* and others believe that they are. Maulâna Azad Bilgrami is also of the same opinion. He writes:¹

والاصل ان اسلاف البواهر جديد اسلامهم

(The truth is that the ancestors of the Bohras were Neo-Muslims).

But our researches do not say so. There is a manuscript in the monastery of Hadrat Pîr Muhammad Shâh at Ahmedabad of a book *Sidqu'llâh* written by Muhammad Sâlih, the brother of Muhammad Siddiq (1041 A.H.), the preacher, who is famous for his standard explanatory notes on the Holy Qur'ân and another book تنبيه الجهال (Warning to illiterates). In the Introduction of this book, the author says that 'one Sheykh Ahmad Qureyshî came to Khambat from Madînah and settled there. His descendants are still (1041 A.H.) existing.' He has also given a genealogical tree of Sheykh Ahmad Qureyshî's family, which goes up to the first Caliph Abû Bakr As-Siddiq. Similarly, the Nirmawallas, Bohras living in Ahmedabad and Sûrat, claim that their original homes were in Tayef. They assert that they came to India as traders and settled in Port Sûrat, migrating to Ahmedabad later. This group of the Bohras claims to have produced a very learned scholar, viz., Mullâ 'Abdu'sh-Shakûr who had the privilege to receive one hundred bigahs of land for his maintenance from Shâh 'Alam and Mohammad Shâh. The firmans are still in his family. Haji 'Abdu'r-Rahmân Nirmawalla personally told me that thirty years back he had relations in Tayef.

There is a Bohra family (that of Waliu'llâh), which possesses some sacred relics of the Prophet. It claims to have come direct from Arabia. The Bohras contend that they came from Kûfa in 132 A.H., in the reign of the Caliph As-Saffâh the 'Abbâsid. They are still proud of having Arab blood in them.² One Sheykh Qâḍî Asahu'ddîn came to India in 1166 A.H. from Mecca and his descendants are still in Patan. There are several other families in Barôch, Sûrat, Khambat, etc., which claim Arabian origin.

Azad Bilgrami writes in the 'Life of Sheykh Ghulam Muhammad bin Tâhir of Patan' that his grandson Sheykh

(1) *Subhâtul-Marjân*. Bombay Edition, p. 44.

(2) *Gujrat and the Bohras* by Muhammad Arif Dakhilî Randîrî.

'Abdu'l Qadir bin Sheykh Abû Bakr (died in 1138) was the Mufti of Mecca, whose book on Fatwas consists of four volumes. His teacher was Sheykh Abdullah Ansârî, a Shafî'î (شافى) of Mecca. When he (the Mufti) died, his teacher composed an elegy, a verse of which shows that Muhammad bin Tâhir was genealogically connected with the first Caliph Abû Bakr As-Siddîq. But Azad is reluctant to believe it and alleges on the authority of Qâdi Nûru'llâh Shustrî that Muhammad bin Tâhir was a Neo-Muslim. Azad has also made a very queer statement regarding the word 'Sheykh,' prefixed to his name. He says that in India the Neo-Muslims call themselves Sheykh Siddîqî, because they believe they have followed in the true wake of Sheykh Abu Bakr As-Siddîq by adopting Islâm. This statement may be true of some Neo-Muslims of India, but it cannot be held universally true. There are hundreds of Rajput families converted to Islâm, who call themselves Rajputs and not Sheykh Siddîqî. Similarly other Neo-Muslims of India have not adopted this title. The appellation Sheykh was a distinction for the chief of an Arab tribe; later on it was applied to a scholar or a religious head. Many of the Bohras were eminent religious scholars, so their superiority was acknowledged by the designation Sheykh. Besides the religious head of the Ismâ'îlis received the title of Sheykh, which is still a great honour.

The view that some of the Bohra families were originally Arabs is supported further by complexion, features, colour, eyes, eyebrows of their women, which speak eloquently of the remnants of the exiled people of Egypt and Yemen. Historically speaking, some of the Bohras are exiles, who came as refugees to Gujrat and Sind. When Sultân Salâhu'd-dîn (the Saladin of European histories) gained predominance over Egypt and Shâfi'ism was propagated instead of Ismâ'ilism, the Ismâ'ilis had to leave Egypt, and some of them went to Yemen and some came to Gujrat. In 946 A.H., when the Zeydites subjugated Yemen and made no gesture of religious toleration the Dâ'ûdis had to change their centre from Yemen to Gujrat.

These historical facts give us solid ground to maintain that some elements of the Bohra population are non-Indians and old in Islâm.

Muhammad Amîn Madanî writes accordingly on the margin of *Subhatu'l-Marjân*, pp. 44, 45

” البوهره الخ الذى يدل عليه ان اصل البوهره اسلامهم قديم ”

(Bohras.....history shows that the Bohras are old in Islâm).

Again he writes:

” ولما انقرضت دولهم من مصرى قرن السادس هاجر اكثرهم وسكن اليمن ثم منه رحلوا الى الهند وتوطنوا فيه “

(When in the 6th century A.H. their (Fâtimid) rule came to an end they emigrated to Yemen, and thence they came to India, where they settled).

Other points worthy of consideration are that some of the Bohras have the ancestral designation of Khân and are certainly Afghans by descent; that in Gujrat, Kathiawar and other territories especially in villages there are Bohras, who are not traders by profession, but cultivators, Brahmans, Rajputs, Kolis, etc. These are doubtless Neo-Muslims who were converted by the Bohra missionaries. Muhammad Amîn Madanî writes:

“ They (the Bohras) came to India (Gujrat and Sind) from Yemen and settled here. They preached Islâm among the Hindus, who were converted in large numbers. Azad Bilgrami perhaps meant these Neo-Muslims who were converted by the Bohra immigrants from Egypt and he writes of them that they are Muslims since three hundred years.*

Writers of the *Gazetteer* and other books, who take the Bohras to be Neo-Muslims, have been misled in the same way. That these new converts are called Bohras is either because their ancestors were traders or because they were converted by the Bohras who absorbed them in their community and so they began to be called Bohras, just as every Muslim in Europe was called Moor or prior to Moghuls every adherent of Islâm a Turk.

SYED ABU ZAFAR NADVI.

**Subhatu'l-Marjân*, pp. 44-45.

AL-MANFALUTI—AN EGYPTIAN ESSAYIST

THE TREATISE ON PARDON*

WHAT happened to me while I dozed I do not know, nor how long it lasted. When I came to consciousness, I was in a plain which stretched as far as sight could reach, covered with countless multitudes of every sort of folk. Then I realised that I had been raised from the dead and that this was the Day of Judgement. Whereat terror seized me, when I remembered that the duration of the Day of Judgement is a thousand years as we reckon time; and I asked my soul how it could bear to wait, where he who waits must stand consumed by thirst and hunger, scorched by a sun between whom and himself is but the thickness of a finger-nail. No more than a few months could my treacherous soul forbear till it led me to Ridwân, one of the guardians of the portals of Paradise. In my hand I carried a certificate of repentance with which I intended to appeal to his mercy and to persuade him to let me enter before the termination of the judgement-gathering. To flatter him, I set myself to read him laudatory odes, specially composed in his name and honour, like those which had found me favour in the eyes of the mighty ones and masters of the transitory world; until, seeing that he heeded me not nor seemed to understand one word, I forsook him for another guard whose name is Zufar. With him there befell me what had befallen me with his colleague, save that he was somewhat more compassionate and complaisant, making me signs that I should approach the Prophet whose follower I am, and giving me to understand that his was the authority in this matter. God knows with what pre-occupation and anguish I was returning when, pushing my way through the jostle, I noticed the crowd thick around a very old man. Looking carefully at him, I saw that he was the Sheikh Abu 'Alî al-Fârisî, the grammarian, and the crowd around him Arab poets, shouting and trying to get their own back on him.

*A synopsis and adaptation of the book of Abu'l-'Ala al-Ma'arrî (973-1057) which bears the title *Risâlat al-Ghufrân*.

"You quoted the line wrong," said one. "I didn't mean it to be parsed like that," said another. Fascinated like the rest by this idle talk, down I went into the field of battle, supporting the bombardment of accusatives and genitives and predicates and subjects, until I suddenly became aware what an ill-omened thing I had done.

I had lost my certificate of repentance.

In that moment I invoked the curse of God on poetry and criticism and books and literature, and said to myself that they were as damned a nuisance in the latter world as they had been in the former.

There I stood, not knowing what to do, as lost as a lizard in the scorching heat of midsummer; and there I remained till my glance fell upon the Commander of the Faithful, the Caliph 'Alî ibn Abi Tâlib, standing amidst a group of the Holy Family of the Prophet. To him I shuffled, humbly confessing the loss of my certificate.

"You are not to blame," he said, "Have you witnesses to your repentance?" When I had named them and they had been summoned and had given the necessary evidence on my behalf, he bade me wait awhile until the Lady Fâtimah, the daughter of the Prophet, should pass by, promising to ask her interest on my behalf. For she, he said, has a power of intercession with her father which we have not; and although it has been vouchsafed her to enter Paradise before the parting of the Assembly, yet she issues forth sometimes, to greet her father; which done, she returns to her abode.

As we were still talking, behold, there came a herald crying, "Close your eyes, O people of the Judgement, till the daughter of the Blessed Prophet, the Lady Fâtimah, has passed."

While my patron was fulfilling his promise and interceding for me, I hastened towards the cavalcade where Fâtimah and her brothers and sisters had reined in their steeds of flame. "Take charge of him, Ibrâhîm," said Fâtimah to her brother; and he to me, "Catch hold of my stirrup." On the instant the steeds sped through the firmament, trampling the centuries and parting the generations, until we reached the spot where the Blessed Prophet Muhammad presided over the taking of evidence. Informed about me by Fâtimah, he searched the Great Register and, finding my name amongst the repentant, interceded for me. Whereupon I returned with the cavalcade of Fâtimah, rejoicing and at ease. Woe is me, I had

forgotten the Passage of the bridge Sirât. For when we reached it and I saw its narrowness, I dared not advance.

At which Fâtimah bade one of her handmaidens help me across; and the girl took me by the hand and led me forward till I began to sway to right and left and feared that I should fall, and said, "Please carry me pick-a-back." "Whatever is pick-a-back?" replied the girl. "Don't you know the lines of Jahjalûl," I said, "of the people of Kafr-Tâb: 'I found it best to be behind, for pick-a-back travelling suits me well!'"

"I never so much as heard of pick-a-back," she said, "of Jahjalûl or Kafr-Tâb either." "Take my hands on your shoulders," I said, "and let my belly rest against your back."

With her carrying me thus, we were over Sirât like a flash of lightning, and standing at the gate of Paradise. But for all my longing to enter, I was more lost than ever, for there was Ridwân opposite me, asking for my passport. Noticing the willow-tree of Paradise, Safsâf, growing in the courtyard, I tried to persuade him to let me have a leaf of it to take back with me to the place of judgement, and have the permit written upon it; but in vain. Then spite overwhelmed me and I forgot my manners. "By God," I cried, "if you were doorkeeper at the house of the charitable or guardian of the king's treasure, devil a poet would get the gift of a sixpence or beggar a penny,—only the poor would catch their death of hunger and exhaustion." Whereat the Blessed Ibrâhîm caught hold of me and gave me a jerk which sent me flying into Paradise under the shocked nose of Ridwân.

Thus I entered and thus I saw "what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man."

I saw rivers of fresh water purer than the surface of the sky, more lucid than a fair mirror; whose tributaries come from Kauthar, the pool of Paradise, whose least taste brings to the drinker Life Eternal, and frees him from the fear of death. I saw rivulets brimming with wine, whose banks were agleam with golden flagons and goblets of topaz.

At the first sip therefrom I cried, "If the sojourners of the transitory world could have known the flavour of this wine and its purity that punishes not the drinker with nausea, they would not have exchanged one drop of it for all the jars and flagons of Babylon and Qutrubbul. And if Al-Uqâishir al Asadi with the eye of clairvoyance could have seen the

gold of these flagons and the topazes of these goblets he would have been ashamed to say,

“Most perishable of heirlooms and of all the wealth
I gathered
Was the tinkle of the goblets as their mouths kissed
the flagons.”

Above the surface of these rivers fly vessels in the shape of cranes and peacocks, ibises and flamingoes, wine flowing from their beaks, evanescent as mirage; and in its waters swim fishes of gold and ruby.

“They swim with their fins in the water
As birds spread their wings in the sky.”

And I saw rivers of milk and rivers of honey whose nature thought cannot realise save it taste what the bees of Paradise sip from the blooms and blossoms of the garden of felicity. I saw all these rivers expand before me and then contract, and beheld they were lines of fire, or white writing on a green page; I read the writing and it said, “The likeness of the garden which is promised to the God-fearing; rivers of water, incorruptible, rivers of milk whose taste does not suffer change, rivers of wine pleasant to the drinker, rivers of honey purified; they have there all kinds of fruit.”*

As I advanced I took no step without observing some novelty so admirable that it made me oblivious of its predecessor; and I began to wish that the earth could be folded up beneath me that my sight might reach speedily to the recesses of Paradise and its rarities. No sooner had the thought established itself in my mind than I saw before me a steed of precious stones, and I knew that I was fortunate and my wish fulfilled. So I mounted and gave him a sign at which he raced off like rain from the clouds or sword from its sheath; and when I pressed him, made me not the complaints of the horse of the poet ‘Antara al-Absi, which

“Drew back from the blow of the spear at his chest
“And complained to me with tears and neighed.”

or the complaints of the steed of which ‘Umar ibn Abi Rabī‘a, wrote:

“The bay resented the course to which I put him,
“And had made complaint in words if he could.”

**Qurʾān*, 47, 16.

This brought to my mind the tales which I had heard in the world that had passed away, concerning the men of letters in old time, the poets and the critics, and the regret which I felt that I had not been their contemporary, and known them and been at home in their society. "God vouchsafe to me," I prayed, "to know His decree concerning them in this world, whether they be amongst the blessed or amongst the damned. Maybe there is permitted me in life eternal what was denied me in life transitory."

As I looked up, behold, a horseman approaching at the gallop through the air, not stopping till our steeds met, and foreleg touched foreleg and neck brushed neck.

"Who are you?" the rider said.

"I am such an one"; I replied, "and who are you, may God have mercy on your soul!"

To my amaze "I am 'Adî ibn Zaid al-'Abâdî," was the reply.

"What!" I said, "Is 'Adî ibn Zaid, the doubter and the stray in Paradise?"

"I was a follower of Jesus," he replied, "and not, as you, of Muhammad. Your master has no authority over those who lived before his sending and heard not his message."

"Agreed," I said, "but did not your drinking and your profligacy ruin you, your yielding to your lusts? Was it not you who wrote,

"At break of day they rose up and reproached me,
saying, 'Get up, get up,'

'They called for wine at dawn; the dancer came,
a flagon in her hand.'"

"God pardoned you," he said, "and he has pardoned me."

"I have a great longing" I added, "to meet the poets; no doubt but you, who were the title of the scroll and the first phrase of the antiphon, can tell me something of them?"

"Keep close," he said.

With that the horses flew till I cried in alarm "I am afraid this steed will throw me down upon the emerald rocks and ruby crags and crush my limbs."

Smiling, he replied: "What fancy is that of yours? This is the everlasting world which passes not away."

Flying above one of the gardens of felicity we saw below us a rivulet of nectar upon whose banks a goodly company took their ease, propped upon cushions, or on confronting couches laid. Thither my friend's steed swooped and I upon his traces; with "Peace upon you," greeted we the company; "How blessed the reward of the abode for those who have had patience to the end."

After we had been welcomed and greeted and asked who we were and had made ourselves known, the company resumed their occupations. Al-Asma'î recited verses from his collection; Abu 'Ubaida made an epic out of war and the prowess of horsemen; Sîbawaihî and Al-Kisâi had been reconciled after the misunderstanding at the reception of the Beni Barmak; Ahmed ibn Yahya no longer harboured any grudge against Muhammad ibn Zaid. Then there began to be wafted from the rivulet a perfumed breeze which recalled to me the words of Al-A'asha Maimûn, "As breath of musk, her breath." Thinking of Al-A'asha I recalled his woe and tragic death, and thought how, if the Quraish had not prevented him, he would have been present with us at that moment. And, behold, from behind me a voice, calling, "I am with you; I am here." Turning round I saw Al-A'asha Maimûn; at which I know not which astonished me most, his being in Paradise or his learning the thought in my mind and coming to me. Evidently, I thought, the knowledge of the people of Paradise is by inspiration. Then I asked him how he came to be pardoned. "Hell's warders" he said, "were already dragging me to the fire, when I saw in the resurrection courts One, the gleam of whose face was as the moon's gleam, and the people called to him from all around, 'Intercede for us, O Muhammad.' So I did as they did and called as they called and was bidden to approach and approached and was interrogated.

'It was I,' I replied, 'who wrote the lines,

"O man, who ask me whither I am riding,

"Know that my camel has an appointment with the
people of Yathrib.

"Have I not sworn that I will not spare her fatigue

"Nor let her slacken her gait, until she reach
Muhammad?

"When she kneels by the threshold of Ibn Hishâm,

"There shall she rest and receive a generous portion
from his nobleness.

"A Prophet, who sees what you see not ;

"Whose fame, as I live, has run swiftly through the nations and has been exalted upon high."

'Why then did you wait until to-day to recite me this?' asked the Prophet. 'When I had already toiled in my journey towards you,' I replied, 'men cheated me. For I was one that loved wine, and I feared that you would come between me and it.' And I was pardoned and was permitted to enter Paradise on condition that I drink not juice of grape but satisfy myself with what nectar lurks betwixt houri's lips and teeth."

Standing beside Al-A'asha I saw a handsome youth who, on enquiring, I learnt to be Zuhair ibn Abi Sulma. Can this be he, I thought, who wrote,

"The burden of life has become insupportable; is it not enough to have borne it for eighty years?"*

"What got you pardon?" I asked. "In the times of my ignorance," he said, "I awaited the mission of Muhammad, and hoped to remain until his coming. But since death came between us, I bequeathed the quest to my sons Ka'ab and Bajir, awaiting with confidence the day of reckoning. The lines of mine which helped me most at the judgement were these,

"Hide not from God your heart's secret, to conceal it; for God knows what is hidden. It is either adjourned, recorded in the register, kept back till the day of reckoning; or it is despatched summarily and avenged."

Noticing 'Ubaid al-Abras standing beside Zuhair, I asked him how he had fared. "The Fire was decreed for me," he replied, "but the multitude were for ever calling out my words,

'He is rebuffed who asks of man; who asks of God is not refused.'

Thereon my torture was lessened, little by little, until by virtue of this one line, I passed from Hell to Heaven."

* "I have knowledge of to-day and of yesterday, but what tomorrow will bring I know not.

Fate is a blind camel stumbling on; whom she strikes, dies; whom she misses, grows old and shrivels."

Wandering down every path of talk we went, till some of us drew apart to sip nectar from the stream in vessels of gems; whereat we grew dizzy and recovered only at the flutter of many wings, as the geese of Paradise flew down to us, shaking the dew from off their firm young breasts, singing in the loud mode and the soft and the trilling, to the harmony of psaltery and lute, and ere we had completed the eight melodies the earth revolved in space and we were possessed of that ecstasy which comes in dreams that bring felicity.

How Jabala ibn al-Ayham would gnash his teeth, I thought, if he could see us now, for spite that he sold his faith for a transitory enjoyment, for a little pleasant company, for a drum and a mandoline.

The thought of Jabala brought Hell to mind and the words of the Exalted: "He looked and saw him at Hell's centre."¹ And I desired to look and see the damned as I had seen the blest. Without word spoken, I knew that God had granted my request and I signed to my friend, and he rose; and I rose and we mounted our steeds and they flew with us to the edge of Paradise. There against the inside of the wall we saw a hut wherein lived an ugly old man whom we accosted. "Be not surprised," he said, "that I live thus. I am al-Hutaia, and had I not for once spoken the truth—when I said 'I see that God has created my face askew; it is hideous and its owner is hideous too'—by God, I should never have as much as slipped into Paradise nor achieved any sort of hut or den at all." So we left him and looked beyond; and no sooner did the inmates of the Fire notice us than they began to cry with one accord, "Give us to drink; give us of what God has given you."² There were Emperors and Kings writhing with hunger, chained and fettered, saying, "Lord, release us; we will work righteousness, not as we did before." And the voice of one crying answered them, "Did we not make your life long that he who would might consider; and there came to you a Warner. Taste then; the wrong-doer has no helper."³

Near me I saw a woman whom I recognised as Al-Khansâ. She was a spectator like ourselves; and, looking at a man like a lofty mountain upon whose head blazed a brand from hell-fire, she was vexed, and said, "Why Sakhr, is this what my

(1) *Qurân*, 37, 53.

(2) *Qurân*, 7, 58.

(3) *Qurân*, 35, 34.

description of you in the aforetime has come to? 'The leaders followed Sakhr, a man like a mountain, upon its top a flame.' "

And many I saw there of the type of Imru al-Qais and 'Antara and 'Amru ibn Kulthûm and Tarafa ibn al-'Abd; I saw amongst others Bashshâr ibn Burd having his eyelids held back with hooks of fire. When the pain became unendurable he kicked Satan with his foot, saying, "Because of you, I had to enter the Fire; because I said, 'Iblîs must be better than Adam our father; for consider, O community of sinners, Iblîs's element is fire and Adam's earth, and earth is less esteemed than fire.' "

We watched, shuddering, and had already decided to depart, when, behold, Iblîs crying to us, "Ho, you people from Paradise, give your father Adam a message from me. Tell him that if I am in Hell, at any rate I have taken the best part of his sons with me, his heart's darlings; he has no cause to congratulate himself on my misfortunes."

"God curse him" we said, "is he still envious of Adam's wellbeing until today?" On our return to Paradise our first care was to find the Father of mankind, on whom be Peace, and to deliver him the message. "Ah, woeful night," he said, "there was but little between him and faith; envy corrupted him and he was of those that perish." Whereon we kissed his hand and departed to the enjoyment of what God had promised us, great possessions and gardens and silken robes, maidens and cupbearers like rubies and corals; and we gave thanks to God who had guided us thereto; 'for we had not been guided, save that God guided us.'

(Translator's note concerning the preceding essay)

I. THE POETS

'Adî ibn Zaid (d. 604) is one of the few Arabs who attained distinction outside Arabia before the preaching of Islam. In the 6th century there existed two Arab principalities, Al-Hîra on the Mesopotamian frontier and Ghassân on the Syrian, the former being a dependency of the Persian, the latter of the Greek Empire. 'Adî ibn Zaid was a member of a noble Christian family at Al-Hîra; having as a boy learned Persian as well as Arabic, he was employed at the Persian foreign office as chief secretary for Arab affairs. Under his auspices, the Arabic language was for the first time employed in correspondence between the Persian King and the Arab

notables. 'Adî was admitted to the friendship of the Persian King, and was sent by him in charge of an embassy to the Greek Emperor at Byzantium. His wife, Hind, was a princess of Al-Hîra. The story of his first falling in love with her, then a tall girl of fourteen years old, at Mass on Maundy Thursday in the Church of St. Thomas at Al-Hîra, and of how one of Hind's girl attendants helped his courtship, in order that she might herself incidentally enjoy his favours (their meeting took place in one of the taverns of Al-Hîra) is told at length in the "Book of Songs." 'Adî, good-looking and gifted, spent most of his time in hunting, love-making and writing verse; his occasional incursions into politics however caused the resentment of the King of Al-Hîra, who had him put to death, risking the anger of the Persian King.

Hind, 'Adî's wife, was a patron of the Church and a builder of convents. It is said also that she was the first Arab woman to love one of her own sex, the object of her affection being Zarqâ, a Beduin woman, famous for her longsightedness. On the latter's tragic death in a tribal raid, Hind abandoned the world and passed the rest of her days in a convent which she had founded.

The lines of 'Adî, quoted by Manfalûti at the end of "Time's Lesson," are part of a poem inspired by the sight of a cemetery which 'Adî passed when out hunting one day with the King of Al-Hîra. The poem is said to have so affected the King that it was the immediate cause of his conversion to Christianity, which was already the religion of many of his subjects.

Imru al-Qais (d. 565)

'Antara (d. 600)

'Umr ibn Kulthûm (d. 570)

Tarafa (d. 550)

'Ubaid al-Abras (d. 565)

Zuhair (d. 605)

are all famous pre-Islamic poets. For the most part Beduin chieftains or sons of chieftains, their verse is concerned with the events of desert life. Their odes, which are strictly metrical and follow a regular sequence of ideas, rarely contain as many as a 100 lines. The poem opens with the invocation of a deserted camping-place; this leads to the mention and

more or less detailed description of some loved lady, and the adventures connected with courting her; the thought of parting from her serves to introduce the description of the steed which bore the poet away. The latter part of the ode may contain the description of some wild animal with which the poet's horse or camel is compared, or of a storm, or of desert scenery, and develops some theme special to the particular ode.

Imru al-Qais is generally held to be the greatest of these poets. Nobody who has once read the lines is ever likely to forget his account of Beduin love-making—how he climbed into Unaiza's litter as it swayed on the camel's back and nearly upset her and it, or how he came by night to the tent of the mother of a few months old child and the lady gave half her attention to him and half to the baby when it cried, and how he slipped past guards who would have killed him if they dared; or his description of a storm in the desert mountains of the Beni Yarbu.

"The torrent flings the debris down on the desert of Ghabî, as the pedlar from Al-Yaman strews the wares from his bundle over the ground. In the morning the little birds in the valley drink of the perfumed nectar; in the evening the drowned beasts in the far parts of the plain lie like squills that the children have uprooted."

Zuhair is distinguished from the others by his moralising. The couplet quoted in the "Treatise on Pardon" is followed by some remarkable lines concerning war.

"War is the thing which you have experienced, not learned of by hearsay. It seems a small matter that you provoke her; but she is greedy and when her appetite is stimulated she begins to raven. She will deal with you as the millstone which drops the ground grain into the sack beneath it. War is a womb that conceives suddenly and every year brings forth twins."

Al Khansâ (d. 670) was a poetess famous for the elegies which she composed for her brothers Mu'awiya and Sakhr who were both killed in tribal warfare. After she had become a Muslimah she was reproached one day by 'Aishâ, wife of the Prophet, for continuing to mourn exaggeratedly for her brothers after Islam had wiped out the past, to which she replied in a line that became famous:

"The rising of the sun reminds me of Sakhr
And I remember him when the sun sets."

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"The rising of the sun reminds me of Sakhr
And I remember him when the sun sets."

Al Hutaia was a dwarf, notorious for the venom of his verses. He was imprisoned by the Caliph 'Umar (634-644) because his satires on certain tribes were imperilling the public security.

Al-A'asha Maimûn (d. 629) was a poet of the pre-Islamic period who lived on into the time of the Prophet. A Beduin poet, he gained a living from the patrons in whose praise he wrote. He is famous for the melodious descriptions of the women he loved, as well as for his panegyrics. An Arab who had two grown-up daughters for whom he could not find husbands was advised by his wife to wait in *Al-A'asha's* way and offer him hospitality, even though it meant sacrificing the one camel on which their livelihood depended. The plan succeeded. *Al-A'asha* accepted the proffered hospitality and praised his host's generosity in an ode. At once a number of suitors appeared for the daughters, from amongst whom the Arab was able to choose two excellent and well-to-do sons-in-law.

Al-A'asha was a frequent guest of his friend the Bishop of Najrân (north of the Yaman), who appears to have influenced him in favour of monotheistic religion and so disposed him to accept the mission of the Arab Prophet. The story of his "tragic end" is told in the "Book of Songs."

In the seventh year of the Hijra, *Al-A'asha*, having composed an ode in praise of the Prophet (of which some lines are quoted in the "Treatise on Pardon"), set off to visit him and profess himself a Muslim. The Quraish, at that time at war with the Prophet, intercepted him and asked him where he was going.

<i>Al-A'asha</i>	To that friend of yours, to profess myself a Muslim.
<i>Spokesman of the Quraish</i>	He will cut you off the vices of which you are so fond.
<i>Al-A'asha</i>	What, for example?
<i>The Spokesman</i>	Fornication, in the first place.
<i>Al-A'asha</i>	Time has cut me off that already, whether I would or no. What next?
<i>The Spokesman</i>	Gambling.
<i>Al-A'asha</i>	Perhaps he will give me something in its place that will make up for it. What else?

The Spokesman Usury.

Al-A'asha I have never lent, nor borrowed. What else?

The Spokesman Wine.

Al-A'asha At the worst I can always go back and drink the rest of the water from my tank at Al-Mihrâs.

The Spokesman Well, will you consider a suggestion very much for your own interest?

Al-A'asha What is it?

The Spokesman For the moment there is a truce between the two parties. Suppose you accept a hundred camels from us as a gift, return to your home in Yamâmah, and watch events. If we win, you have received a certain compensation. If he wins, you can still go to him.

Al-A'asha There is something in that.

Abu Sufiân, chief of the Quraish, then collected the hundred camels from his followers, warning them that if Al-A'asha reached Muhammad he would kindle the passions of the Arabs to a white heat against them. On receiving the camels, Al-A'asha turned back and made for Yamâmah; but on reaching the spot known as "Winding Valley," not far from his home, he was thrown from his camel and killed.

Jabala ibn al-Ayham was the last ruler of Al-Ghassân. Ruling prince at the time of the Muslim invasion, he fought on behalf of his suzerain, the Greek Emperor, until Syria was definitely lost. He then submitted, accepted Islam, and went to visit the Caliph 'Umar at Madînah. Here he lived in great state, in striking contrast with the simplicity of the Caliph's life. When the latter went on pilgrimage to Mecca Jabala accompanied him. While he was performing the ceremonial rites around the Ka'abah, an Arab accidentally trod on his cloak, pulling it off his shoulders. Jabala struck the man a blow on the face which drew blood. The Arab complained to 'Umar, who summoned Jabala before him and told him that if he was found to have been in the wrong he would have to submit to a blow in retaliation. Jabala asserted that, as a prince, he was entitled to strike a commoner if he wished. 'Umar replied that no such right existed under Muslim law. Jabala then said that if he was punished he would abandon

Islam and return to Christianity. "In that case" said 'Umar, "You will be put to death as a renegade." Jabala then asked for a day's adjournment and, having been granted it, fled from Mecca. He made his way to the Greek Emperor, reverted to Christianity and spent the rest of his days living in luxury at Constantinople on a pension given him by the Emperor. A poem is attributed to him in which he regrets that his pride prevented him from accepting 'Umar's decision and expresses the longing to be back amongst people of his own race.

"Better that I were a camel-herd in the desert

"Or a prisoner of the tribe of Rabia or Mudar.

"Better that I were a beggar in the land of Syria

"Blind and deaf, but sitting amongst my people."

Al Ukaishir is a nickname meaning the "Red-Nosed." He was an early Islamic poet from the city of Cufa in Mesopotamia.

'*Umar ibn Abi Rab'a* (d. 719), son of a rich Meccan merchant, is famous for his love-poetry. The Meccan authorities found it difficult to decide whether to punish him for the erotic sentiments of his verse or to honour him for the beauty with which he expressed them. He had a habit of falling in love with all the most distinguished and beautiful lady-pilgrims to Mecca and of mentioning them in his verse; this naturally gave great offence.

The line of 'Umar ibn Abi Rab'a which Manfalûti quotes in his essay on the "Music of the Arabs" is part of a poem in which the following often-quoted lines occur.

"They pretend that she asked her maidens,

"One afternoon when she had stripped to cool,

"Do you find me, I adjure you, as his verse describes me,

"Or was he spendthrift when he praised?"

"Then they mocked her, saying to her,

"Why, everyone is beautiful to the eyes that love him,"

"Envy it was that made them say so,

"Amongst men was envy present from of old."

With *Bashshâr ibn Burd* we enter a civilisation totally different from that in which the poets hitherto mentioned lived. Born nearly a hundred years after the emigration of the

Prophet to Madīnah, Bashshâr spent his life in the great cities which Muslim civilisation created in Mesopotamia, whose culture was that of recently-settled Beduins modified by Islam and by Persian influences. In these centres, politics and religious discussions were beginning to attract the popular attention which in the desert had been given to the camel and the wild cow. Satire was still profitable, but more dangerous now that constituted political authorities were taking the place of the old tribal sanctions. Religion was a very delicate subject. Even erotic poetry, though as popular as ever, was liable to involve the poet in trouble now that the Government was impregnated with the religious ideas of Islam. The situation was further complicated by the problems of national feeling which originated in the amalgamation of different races under Arab political and religious dominion.

The conditions of Bashshâr's life made him peculiarly sensitive to all these difficulties. His grandfather was a Persian noble who had been taken prisoner and enslaved when the Muslims conquered Persia; his father remained a slave and worked as a master-potter. Bashshâr himself was born blind, and perhaps for that reason was given his freedom by a wealthy Arab lady by whom he had been purchased for two *dinârs*, perhaps twenty shillings. His appearance was repellent; his figure was squat, he had two bits of red flesh where his eyes ought to have been and his face was pitted by small-pox. If we add to this the sensitiveness of the poet, equally proud of his Persian ancestry and his Arab literary culture, we can imagine something of the difficulties of his youth. Being a precocious child, he was severely beaten by his father, in spite of his mother's protests, on account of complaints from people whom he satirized. The boy very sensibly pointed out to his father that his talent for satire might make a great deal of money later on, and urged him for the future to quote in his excuse a verse of the *Qurân* which says: "The blind are not to be blamed" (24, 60). This his father henceforth did, making the complainants as indignant at having the *Qurân* quoted at them by a Persian slave as they had been at the insolent rhymes of his son.

Somehow Bashshâr managed to establish himself, no doubt after humiliations which seem to have given a permanent twist to his character. Instead of attempting to mitigate his repulsive appearance, he accentuated it by his disgusting habits. Before reciting a poem, he would clap his hands together, clear his throat and spit to right and left. More

than once he brought mockery on himself by lines in which he described his elegance:

“My mantle cloaks a youth so slender,
“Did the wind blow, it would waft him away.”

No wonder that the advances which he made to various free-born ladies whom his verse had attracted met with rebuffs; though the vengeance of one lady at any rate was unnecessarily crude and cruel.

A curious persistence of the Persian love of art in him, in spite of his blindness, is indicated by his ordering a silver cup with a picture of birds on it and complaining when it was delivered that the design was not as he wished.

He did not trouble himself to conform at all strictly to the demands of Islam. He notoriously neglected the five daily prayers; while the verses quoted in the "Treatise on Pardon" suggest that he sympathised with Persian religious ideas, as was indeed almost inevitable. A tendency to Zoroastrian fire-worship seems to be suggested in another line of his which has been preserved:

“The earth is dark, but fire is light ;
“Since fire was made, its worship has not ceased.”

Complaints of his irreligion became so frequent that Bashshâr and a friend of the same character as himself decided to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, to rehabilitate themselves. Having purchased camels, they set off on the arduous journey, only to be presently overcome with boredom and wander off the road to a place called Zurâra, near Cufa, which had been notorious for its cabarets even in the days of the Caliph 'Alî, who destroyed half the town to mark his disapproval. As the caravan came back the two poets rejoined it, giving themselves out at Cufa as returning pilgrims. As Bashshâr had feared, however, the true story got known through the indiscreet tongue of his friend, who composed and recited the following lines:

“Did you not hear how Bashshâr and I went on pilgrimage?”

“That pilgrimage which is the best of this world’s undertakings.

“A long journey we went, till a road led us aside to
Zurâra:

“When the pilgrims returned from sin absolved, we
two returned by sin full-loaded.”

In spite of all, Bashshâr managed to live in reasonable prosperity until he was over sixty years old. The Arabs could forgive much in a poet, particularly when he was blind and yet invented comparisons like that in which he spoke of galloping horsemen:

“The dust above our heads like the darkness of night, and
our swords like shooting stars.”

The populace too liked his songs and used to sing in the streets the verses of the poet who loved what he could not see.

“Friends, fancy can be engendered in the ear; for the
ear falls in love before the eye sometimes.

“‘Do you rave’ (they said) ‘for what you see not?’

“I replied, ‘The ear like the eye can bring the heart
tidings.

“May a man not be love-lorn, pray, for a maiden
whose coming brings fragrance with her and
consolation.’”

In the year 783, for some reason, the Caliph Al-Mahdi or his minister Yahya ibn Dâ'ûd refused to continue the payments which Bashshâr had been accustomed to receive for his panegyrics. After repeated rebuffs, Bashshâr lost patience, and composed a couplet in which he called on the Bani Umayya, deposed and proscribed by the Bani al-'Abbâs twenty-five years before, to awake from their sleep and search for the Caliph straying amidst the wine-flasks and the lutes. The Caliph, having been informed of the verse, proceeded in person from Baghdad to Basra to chastise its author, and is said to have reached Bashshâr's house precisely at the moment when the poet, intoxicated, was singing the Call to Prayer upon the roof of his house, at a time of day when it is not lawful. Al-Mahdi ordered the inquisitor to arrest him on the charge of an offence against religion; Bashshâr was then taken upon a man-of-war in the river and beaten to death.

It is said that the poet's papers were subsequently examined, with a result wholly favourable to him, and that Al-Mahdi repented of his hasty action which he excused by saying that the Vizier had misled him by false evidence into believing that Bashshâr secretly practised Zoroastrianism.

* * * *

2. CRITICS AND GRAMMARIANS

The Arabs at the time of the Prophet were fully conscious of their national individuality. They knew that this individuality was the product of the nomad life of the desert; they distrusted the effects of town life upon body and upon character. For this reason the townfolk of Mecca used to put their children out to nurse with a woman of some tribe in the neighbouring desert, that their most impressionable years might be spent in a healthy Beduin atmosphere. Thus the Prophet himself, though born in Mecca, did not begin to live with relations in the city until he was four years old.

The symbol of Arab nationality was the "clear Arabic tongue" of which the Qurân speaks. The test was the speech of the great tribes of the Hejaz and Nejd who were least subject to the influence of the kindred Semitic languages, Abyssinian in the South-West, Aramaic and Syriac in the North-West.

The first dynasty which ruled the Arab Empire after the rise of Islam were the Bani Umayya (661-750), whose capital was at Damascus. These rulers were Arabs of the Arabs; they married Beduin wives and, not only as princes but also as Caliphs, spent a great deal of time in the desert, as the still remaining ruins of their hunting-lodges on the east of the Jordan show.

By the time of Al-Mahdi (775-785), third Caliph of the Bani-al-'Abbâs, conditions were very different, as we have already seen in the case of the poet Bashshâr ibn Burd. The tribes had poured out of Arabia to the West and to the East, and were rapidly mingling with the races amongst whom they had settled, forming a new stock which was only partly Arab. In addition, a great mass of foreigners had been drawn into the Muslim-Arabic world and were at once assimilating and modifying its outlook.

The influence of the Arabic language was spread amongst the foreigners in the first place by the prestige which it enjoyed as the language of revelation. All Muslims learnt as much as they could of the Qurân by heart in the original language, in a standard text which had been settled as early as the time of the Caliph 'Uthmân (644-656). In the second place, it was cultivated as the medium of intercourse with the dominant class, and in the third place for its own sake on account of the high degree of perfection which the language had attained, as is incidentally witnessed by the volume and quality of the poetry of the sixth and seventh centuries.

In Arab circles, Arab traditions were preserved by the honour given to all who spoke or wrote good Arabic, or composed good Arabic verse, or cultivated with distinction any of the arts or sciences connected with the Arabic language. The sons of good Arab families were regularly sent to spend a year or two in Beduin company in order to acquire good speech and manners. Verse and tradition, which had hitherto been preserved chiefly in the memories of professional reciters, of whom one or more were attached to every poet, were now collected in writing. Thus the critic *Al-Asma'i*, early in the ninth century, used to travel with a library of eighteen boxes of books, having left as many more at home.

Definitely grammatical studies were the speciality of Arabized foreigners, particularly Persians. The Arab trusted his instinct to lead him to speak a beautiful and correct Arabic. The Persian "Arabist" on the other hand had to learn the grammar of the language as laboriously as the modern Orientalist. It is then not surprising that the two most distinguished grammarians at the end of the eighth century were of Persian descent. *Sībawaihi*, greatest of all Arabic grammarians, was formed in the grammatical school of Basra; *Al-Kisâi*, a much inferior man, came from the rival school of Cufa.

The famous dispute between them occurred in Baghdâd in the presence of the Vizier Yahya ibn Khâlid al-Barmakî, and concerned the use of a nominative or accusative in a proverb about the respective severity of wasp and bee strings. A Beduin, uncontaminated by the speech of towns, having been consulted in private by *Al-Kisâi*'s party (which included his pupil, the future Caliph *Al-Amîn*) unhesitatingly supported *Sībawaihi*. They then tried to bribe him to read *Al-Kisâi*'s version at a public session and declare it correct. This the Beduin refused to do, saying that his tongue could not thus betray the Arabic language. Finally, however, he agreed to accept the bribe when a formula had been found by which he could give the decision in favour of *Al-Kisâi* without himself reciting the faulty phrase and declaring it to be right. The session was held and *Sībawaihi* then left Baghdâd in disgust. His book on grammar which (as he died before he was forty) was written when he was quite a young man is still known to students of the Arabic language as "The (unique) Book."

The leading part in collecting and verifying the old Arab poetry and traditions was taken about 800 by the Arabs

Al Muffaddal al-Dubbi, *Al-Asma'î*, and Abu Tammâm, Abu 'Ubada al-Buhtari and, more than a hundred years later, by a remarkable descendant of the Bani Umayya, *Abu'l-Faraj al-Ispahâni*, composer of the "Book of Songs," and by *Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi*, client of the Umayyad Prince of Cordoba. The two talented Persians, on the other hand, *Al Hammâd* (d. 776) and his pupil, *Khalaf al-Ahmar*, while also famous collectors of verse, had not the same respect for Arab antiquities, and are known to have interspersed the text of authentic poems with clever forgeries of their own. *Abu 'Ubaida* (d. 825), of Persian-Jewish descent, possessed an encyclopædic knowledge of Arab antiquities, but was unable to read a page of the Qurân without blundering.

Abu 'Ali al-Fârîsi (d. 990?) is a late grammarian, an elder contemporary of Abu'l-'Alâ al-Ma'arrî himself.

Abu'l-'Alâ al-Ma'arrî, author of the book "The Treatise on Pardon" from which Manfalûti's essay is extracted and adapted, was born in 973 and died in 1057. He belongs to the period when the distinction of Arab and non-Arab had lost much of its importance and when the Beduin had relapsed into insignificance. He was born shortly after the death of *Abu'l Faraj al-Ispahâni*, whose "Book of Songs," a wonderful collection of pre-Islamic and early Islamic verse and literary history, marks the close of the golden age of the Arabs. In spite of the blindness which befell him at the age of three as the result of small-pox, Abu'l-'Alâ devoted himself to intellectual pursuits, studying not only the Arab arts, but also Greek philosophy and Persian and Indian speculation. Having resided in various towns including Baghdâd for the purpose of study, he settled in the town of Ma'arrî, near Aleppo, where he led a retired and ascetic life, abstaining entirely from meat. He is the author of several works, including two well-known books of poems and an elegant and ornate collection of letters, besides the remarkable "Treatise on Pardon" which in the original is a volume of some two hundred pages.

NEVILL BARBOUR.

(To be continued)

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

THE END OF LEGEND*

THE exploits of the late Colonel Lawrence in connection with the Arab rebellion, with his conscientious impersonation of an Arab, appealed so strongly to a British public avid of romance that they have been magnified out of all proportion to their human value or political importance into a glamorous legend—which has quite obscured the facts which first gave rise to it—or, rather, to two separate legends, of the East and of the West. The legend current in the East made Lawrence the very demon of guile and treachery, ever active on behalf of “British Imperialism,” possessed by bitter hatred of Islam and seeking always to foment dissensions among Muslims. The legend current in the West represented him as a mixture of Sir Richard Burton and Sir Galahad, a man with unexampled knowledge of the East, a hero from the days of chivalry, a patriot, perhaps a saint, but certainly the greatest genius of the age. His dramatic withdrawal at the height of honour and success and in the face of unexampled popularity into the drab disguise of Aircraftsman Shaw—as a penance, it would seem, for the failure of the British Government to fulfil all those obviously hasty promises to the Arabs of which he had been the mouthpiece—was regarded in the Eastern legend as sheer guile, in the Western legend as a proof of almost superhuman modesty. The appearance of his “Seven Pillars of Wisdom”—which is the full and original version of the work already published under the title, “Revolt in the Desert”—will explode both legends.

Muslims will have no horror of the romantically-minded youth, brave to a fault and conscious of commanding genius, who, as a boy at school—so he tells us when describing the entry of the Arab horde into Damascus—had dreamed of just such an opportunity as this which fate and the chances of war actually gave him. He had always thought of himself

**Seven Pillars of Wisdom.* By T. E. Lawrence. London, Jonathan Cape. 1935. Price 30 shillings.

as destined to command troops and lead a movement. He was not himself to be the prophet of the movement but he was to conduct the prophet. We had imagined Lawrence devoted to the Amîr Feysal, but here we learn from his own pen that he had no high opinion of the man; almost he complains that fate has given him such wretchedly poor material wherewith to work. He did not like the men with whom he lived and fought and was prepared to die. He forced himself against a strong distaste to be as one of them in all respects, like an actor determined to make the best of a bad play. He suffered more than would a man of coarser type from such association and took a certain pride in his sufferings, as an experience, as something done which he had not been sure that he could do.

Of his bravery there was never any doubt either in his own mind or the minds of others. He did what he set out to do completely and the entry into Damascus was his day of triumph. One feels that he would have performed any difficult task imposed on him regardless of its human worth and future consequences; or perhaps we should not say "regardless," but misled by his own vision which, as is evident from this work, was singularly keen for the matter actually in hand, but defective in the general view. He really thought the Arabs a more virile people than the Turks; he really thought them better qualified to govern; he really believed that the British Government would fulfil punctiliously all the promises made on its behalf, however casually and in however roundabout a way, to the Hijâzî Arabs. He really thought that it was love of freedom and his personal effort and example, rather than the huge sums paid in gold as wages by the British authorities and the idea of looting Damascus, which made the Arabs zealous in rebellion; he really thought that the Sharîf of Mecca, as such, had a better claim to the allegiance of all Muslims than the Sultan of Turkey. Or so it appears from this book. Therefore, the Eastern legend is proved groundless; and we think the Western legend will not long survive.

Instead of the armed hero—who had real existence for a time—a pathetic figure stands before us as we close the book; a figure almost as pathetic as Don Quixote, in spite of the acclamations he received, in spite of real achievement. Where are his Bedû of the Hijâz to-day? A feeble, whining, broken remnant of them beg their bread beside the pilgrim's way, from the pilgrims whom they once so arrogantly robbed

and murdered. Where is the Arab Empire he imagined? The dream has vanished; he saw it vanish, and it broke his heart. But it was bound to vanish, for it was untrue to life, made up of personal ideas and not of noted tendencies. To us the Lawrence thus revealed appears a much more human figure than the haloed hero of the newspapers.

As for the book, it owes to the legend more than half its interest and all its vogue. Not until the Western legend dies away completely, it is probable, will it sink down to its proper place in English literature. Then the author's arrogant and childishly expressed objection to use any system of transliteration from Arabic will be recognised as a sign of lack of scholarship and a blemish among other blemishes that mar the work.

M. P.

ARTIFICIAL NATION-BUILDING*

"In March 1917 there was no Arab demand for an Arab State in the Baghdad Vilayet," writes Mr. Main in his chapter entitled "Lawrence and the Arabs of Iraq." We would go further; we would say that there was nowhere in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire any such general disillusionment with Turkish rule and keen desire to end it as is postulated in all post-war British histories and even by Mr. Main himself for regions other than 'Irâq. It is his failure to perceive this fact—with its corollaries: that such rebellious movements as existed prior to the war were instigated and maintained by foreign powers for their own ends, and that the whole body of Muslim opinion in the world was sure eventually to deplore the destruction of the last great Muslim power by such insidious means—that mars this author's diagnosis of the consequent disease and leads him sometimes to mistake a symptom for the malady. After reading his account of the various conflicting British policies during the war and the reckless opportunism of our post-war policy, one can sympathise with the remark here quoted of the late Miss Gertrude Bell; "It is almost impossible to believe that a few years ago the human race was more or less governed by reason."

At the same time the individual Englishman maintained his prestige in 'Irâq as elsewhere. The personal honour of

**Iraq from Mandate to Independence.* By Ernest Main, M.A., with a Foreword by Lord Lloyd of Dolobran. London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1935. Price 16/- net.

the Englishman remained intact amid the collapse of the national honour so that we find an Englishman admired and trusted by a people who distrust and dread the English. This is really no anomaly but the logical and natural outcome of historical events.

It is to individual Englishmen that the political and economic development of 'Irâq since the war is due, and anyone who would estimate the magnitude and value of the work which they have done should read Mr. Main's book where it is described in detail, with the reasons why the future of that country is of interest to British statesmen and an account of the "safeguards" provided for British political interests in the treaty which has given 'Irâq complete independence.

"There has been, for some considerable time, talk of a Haifa-Baghdad railway. Such a railway would greatly help in the consolidation of British influence in the Middle East, especially in the event of a hostile Russo-Turkish alliance. A Haifa-Baghdad-Basrah railway would tend to cut out the Suez route; it would open up the Iraqi and Persian markets to the West; it would become the new passenger route to India. . . . The projected railway would follow the line of the pipe-line—Haifa-Tiberias-Haditha—thence turning south-east to Baghdad. Already a great trans-desert telephone has been constructed under British auspices."

In his chapter on the Minorities, Mr. Main gives an account of the behaviour of the Assyrian Christians which fully justifies the attitude and action of the government of 'Irâq except in the matter of the massacre of unarmed men at Simel. But

"The state of Muslim opinion was such that the Government dared not, if it would, punish any individual for his share in the massacres. The general in command was given the rank of Pasha. The troops on their return to the garrison towns had hysterical receptions and at a great parade at Mosul the Crown Prince, a few days before he was to become King, pinned decorations to the colours of the regiments which had distinguished themselves in the fighting against the Assyrians; in fairness I must, as an eyewitness, say that the motor machine-gunners, who were responsible for the actual massacres, were not picked out for any mark of special favour by the populace or distinction by the authorities. But the identification of the Assyrians with the British was most obvious from the demeanour and shouts of the crowd. There were many shouts for the Crown Prince, not one for the King."

In spite of all his work for 'Irâq and for Arab independence, the late King Feysal, as the protégé of England, became unpopular until the news of his untimely death made the people conscious of irreparable loss.

The mandatory period is ended. Al-'Irâq is now a member of the League of Nations; but as it is a kingdom and a nation of anything but natural growth there is much doubt in the author's mind, as there was doubt in the minds of the Commission of the League of Nations, as to its viability. Had the Mandatory Power really had time to complete its creation and training?

"In the end the Commission decided to base its judgment on the British presentation of the case. It recalled a statement, a few months earlier, by the British High Commissioner, that should Iraq "prove unworthy of the confidence which has been placed in her, the moral responsibility must rest with His Majesty's Government"; and it concluded—"Had it not been for this declaration the Commission would have been unable to contemplate the termination of a régime which appeared some years ago to be necessary in the interests of all sections of the population."

Mr. Main's doubt is concerned with the competence and integrity of the new Muslim officialdom:

"Given time, the effendi class will find its feet, and will furnish in plenty capable seniors in all the Government services. But at present the effendi, as Baghdad knows him, needs public spirit as much as patriotism (which he has in plenty). He must be made to develop a wider outlook. He must give proof that he can stick at a job through discomfort and danger. So far he has had no opportunity to do so. When he has given this proof he may conciliate the tribesmen and the minorities, religious and racial, with whom he is not so popular as he might be, and Iraq will have solved what is perhaps her greatest problem."

Lord Lloyd in his statesmanlike "Foreword" says:

"The prospect indeed holds some disquieting features. Apart from the Assyrian problem which is not yet solved, there are the Kurds in their inaccessible country still hardly reconciled to Arab government; there are the Shiah of the middle Euphrates nursing religious and political jealousies; there is mutual disdain and lack of sympathy between tribesmen and townsmen; an Iraqi Air Force equipped with bombing machines and an Army willing, and apparently able with impunity, to brush aside civil control and take the law into its

own hands; there are headstrong, inexperienced and none too scrupulous politicians; worst of all, there is no King Feisal on the throne, with his unrivalled experience in the handling of Arabs of all classes, to manipulate and control these jarring elements."

Indeed the success of the 'Irâq experiment hitherto is largely due to the personality of the late King.

The book is illustrated with a large number of photographs. It contains three appendices and a very full index.

M. P.

THE SUCCESSORS OF SHER SHAH*

THE reign of Islâm Shâh, Shêr Shâh's son and successor, has received so little attention from historians that his name is apt to be omitted from the list of Muslim kings of Delhi and Agra. Professor Roy's little book is intended to fill in this blank in the average reader's historical memory, and to remind people of the fact that Shêr Shâh's empire did not fall to pieces at his death but was maintained with vigour and success by Islâm Shâh and still existed at the time of Humayun's return. In Prof. Roy's opinion Islâm Shâh deserves particular commemoration by the Hindus because he it was who really started the era of toleration for which the Mughal Emperor Akbar now gets all the credit. The author writes:

"The continuation of his father's liberal policy towards the Hindus by Islam Shah, the further development of the excellent administrative system founded by the former, the Reformation movement in Islam, the ascendancy of Himu and his lieutenants like Ramya and Bhargarvan Das foreshadowing the future eminence of Raja Man Singh and Todar Mall—all these invest the period of this book with a singular interest. It is now unmistakably proved that many of the achievements of Akbar's reign—the establishment of the King's supremacy in the State, the growth of a feeling of national unity, the administrative and military organisation, had their roots deep in the immediate past. It would now be no exaggeration to say that but for the reign of the Sur kings there could have been no 'Age of Akbar.'"

And again:

"His (Islâm Shâh's) illustrious father Sher Shah, with all his great gifts, had been merely the leader of the Afghan

**The Successors of Sher Shah.* By Nirod Bhushan Roy, M.A. My-mensingh, Bengal. 1934. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

chiefs, many of whom like Haibut Khan and Shujaet Khan had exercised almost royal power within their domains during the lifetime of Sher Shah. It was Islam Shah who broke down the power of the territorial lords. Under Islam Shah kingship lost its feudal traits and became essentially modern. Served by a body of officials, armed with a code of laws uniformly operating throughout his kingdom, attended by men of intellect and wisdom, culture and refinement, Islam Shah set the pattern for a new type of kingship which reached its culmination in the brilliant personality of Akbar. A great warrior, an able administrator, an enlightened and essentially modern king, his is a little known figure that ought to attract the attention of new India that is in the making."

Prof. Roy is evidently much impressed by Islâm Shâh's patronage of Himu, who became pre-eminent in the brief reign of his successor 'Adil Shâh, and was executed as a prisoner after the battle of Panipat though, as Prof. Roy is convinced and will convince his readers, not by Akbar's hand as has been variously stated.

The story of the ten years which elapsed between the death of Shêr Shâh and the return of the Mughals is exciting, and Prof. Roy is not a dull narrator. We find the number of unnecessary headlines breaking up the text, as in some daily newspapers, irritating; they detract a little from the literary dignity of the production. We have also noticed a large number of quite evident misprints and a few errors—e.g., "*Abdul Mulk*" (p. 35). The book, which is the result of real research, deserves to be cleansed of such small blemishes. It includes an index of proper names and an appendix.

M. P.

THE "ESOTERIC" DOCTRINE*

WE have more than once already had occasion to refer to the good work which is being done by Prof. Ivanow for the Islamic Research Association, Bombay, in editing and co-ordinating authoritative, or so reputed, documents of the *Ismâ'îlîs*. The Association's latest publication—*Kalâm-i-Pîr* (The Saint's Discourse) edited as regards the Persian and translated into English by Prof. Ivanow—is documentarily important only on account of the veneration in which it is held by the *Ismâ'îlîs* of Central Asia, who ascribe its authorship to

**Kalâm-i-Pîr*. A treatise on Ismaili doctrine, also (wrongly) called *Haft Bab-i-Shah Sayyid Nasir*. Edited in the original Persian and translated into English by Prof. Ivanow. Islamic Research Association Series No. 4. Bombay, 1935.

Nâsir-i-Khusrau, a well-known saint and theologian of the Fatimid period. Dr. Ivanow has shown conclusively that the treatise cannot possibly be the work of the great Nâsir in spite of its concluding with these words:

“This is the end of the book called Seven Chapters by the king of wise men and chief of seekers after truth..... Sultân Shâh Nâsir-i-Khusrau.”

He has shown also that the ostensibly autobiographical story of the conversion of that famous saint to the Bâtîni or esoteric doctrine as the result of an alleged interview with Hasan b. Aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ which forms the first chapter, is quite apocryphal, the whole treatise, including this narrative, being from internal evidence the work of a lesser person at a later period. He adds: “With all this there is no reason to treat the *Kalami Pir* as a ‘fake.’ The work obviously was composed by a devoted and highly inspired Ismaili, whose thorough knowledge of his religion is beyond doubt. Whatever was the real reason or purpose of the introduction of the portions connected with Nâsiri Khusrau’s authorship, they do not detract from its importance and value as a genuine document concerning the evolution of Ismailism.”

The Persian treatise is extremely curious in its mixture of eternal verities with sectarian ideas and catchwords which have the effect of limiting the application of the verities in a rather bewildering way. It is largely concerned with the Nizârî controversy—which arose after the time of Nâsir-i-Khusrau. Indeed it carries to the utmost the Nizârî exaltation—one might almost say, deification—of the imâm for the time being. Occasionally one lights upon a childish argument as, for instance when, desiring to refute a serious school of theology, the unknown author quotes (p. 54 of the translation): “In the *Fusûli Mubârak*..... it is mentioned that once a Daylamite had a dispute with a representative of this particular school at Isfahan. His opponent said; ‘God has no hands, no eyes,’ etc.—he mentioned every part of the human body. The Daylamite replied; ‘O thou tail-less! The thing that thou describest is a melon or a water-melon!’”

The Persian text is here well edited and clearly printed. The introduction and notes supply all necessary information, and the English translation, though not literal, adequately conveys the meaning of the original. Occasionally we note

small inaccuracies which seem to us to give a meaning slightly differing from the Persian author's. For example, on p. 9 of the text:

هر بنده بمقتضای لما ما کسبت وعلیها ما اکتسبت آنچه مستحق باشد بنده

which Prof. Ivanow has translated (p. 2 of the translation) :

"Every one of the faithful, following the principle—
'It (the soul) shall have what it has earned, and shall
owe what has been earned from it'—will become
the slave of what is true (*mustahaqq*).'"

Mustahaqq does not mean what is true, but what is merited or deserved. The translation ought to be "will become the slave of his deserts"—as the quotation from the Qur'ân, besides, suggests.

The omission of the word "as" after the verbs "consider" and "regard" in certain contexts, though freely practised in India, is a mistake in English. The omission of a preposition here and there we should attribute to a printer's error in a work which showed less evidence of careful proof-reading.

A very interesting appendix, full indexes (including an index of the Hadith and of the Bâtinî technical terms which are mentioned in the text) add greatly to the value of a very interesting work.

M. P.

A NOTABLE ARABIC PUBLICATION*

THE translation of Dr. William Seaman Bainbridge's authoritative work on the problem of cancer into Arabic seems to us an event of importance as a symptom of awakening, on the part of Syrians and Egyptians at any rate, to the real nature of that problem. The scourge has always been among them, but until recently it was regarded, and probably is still regarded by the illiterate, as something dark and mysterious to be combated by charms and semi-magical concoctions. Dr. Bainbridge's book tells of the war which has been waged against it by the medical profession from the

*معضلة السرطان تأليف ولیم سیمن با ینبرج دکتور فی العلوم دکتور فی الطب
دکتور فی الجراحة ترجمة يوسف اسكندر حتى وشاكر خليل نصار طبع
في المكتبة الاميركانية في بيروت ١٩٣٥ع

The Cancer Problem. By William Seaman Bainbridge, Sc. D., M.D.,
C.M. Translated by Yûsuf I. K. Hitti, M.D., and Shâkir kh. Naṣṣâr, B.A.,
Beyrût, American Press, 1935.

earliest times and of the especially earnest endeavours to ascertain its origin and causes with a view to prevention which have been made in the last half-century. Its origin has not yet been discovered, and the whole medical profession is of the opinion that the only cure for it, in the present state of human knowledge, is removal in the early stages by the knife. The reason why no cure of cancer was recorded for some hundreds of years was that in treating this disease recourse was had to medicine and not surgery. This fact, when known to the Arabic-speaking peoples will convince them of the uselessness of so-called cures for cancer, and will save the lives of many, who would otherwise have perished miserably, by inducing them to resort to surgery on the first appearance of the malady. The book enumerates the conditions which appear to be favourable to development of the disease and therefore ought to be avoided, and the diet and surroundings which appear to be hostile to it and are therefor to be sought. Indeed it tells us all that is yet known for certain on the subject.

"The Cancer Problem" was first published in 1914, and at once got general recognition as a standard work. It has been translated into almost every European language, and the author has used each new translation as an opportunity to add fresh facts, thus bringing his material up-to-date. This latest (Arabic) translation, therefor, is also the latest revised edition of his work. Dr. Hittî and Mr. Naṣṣâr are to be congratulated on their translation which is perfectly adapted to the nature of the work and quite free from that affectation of a precious style and that exaggeration in the choice of words which mar the works of many Syrian translators. It is a book that should be read by every Indian doctor who knows Arabic, and ought to be translated into every Eastern language. It includes an index and a full list of errata.

M. P.

A PAHLAVI-PERSIAN GRAMMAR*

It is rather surprising to learn that Mr. Dîn Muḥammad could not find a publisher in India for his Pahlavi-Urdu grammar and only succeeded in finding one after he had performed

دستور پهلوی، قواعد دستور زبان پهلوی و مقایسه آن با قواعد صرف و نحوی فارسی نگارش دین محمدی - اے۔

Pahlavi Composition; the rules of Pahlavi composition and a comparison of them with the rules of Persian grammar and syntax. By Dîn Muḥammad, B.A. Printed at the Fort Printing Press, Bombay, and published by the author, Ar-Riyad, Hall Bazar Amritsar. Price Rs. 8.

the arduous task of translating the whole Urdu portion of the work into Persian. It is a practical and comprehensive work, of which many Indian students must have known the need, and we should have thought that the demand for the Urdu version would have been greater than that for the Persian. The *Muqaddamah* is a survey of the linguistic history of Persia from the earliest times with a special view to fixing the exact position and relationships of the Pahlavi language. Specimens of the scripts in use at various periods, with Persian translations, are given in photographic reproduction, and it is seen at a glance that powerful Semitic influences had been at work on Persian culture long before the Arab conquest. Such influences are particularly noticeable in the case of Pahlavi, which thus may be regarded as a step towards modern or Arabised Persian. The last chapter is a comparison of Pahlavi with modern Persian, enforced and rendered interesting by a number of quotations. The bulk of the work is a grammar in the ordinary acceptance of the word, dealing with the various parts of speech severally and in order, with literary examples which are well selected for the purpose of fixing the lesson in the reader's memory. There is an index, and a *ghalat-nâmah* (table of errata), the latter commendably short and, as far as we have been able to check it, complete. Mr. Dîn Muḥammad's system is simple and practical, his work is thorough and conscientious; and a reader who devotes a month of study to his book will have not only a good working knowledge of Pahlavi but also a clear conception of its rank in the commonwealth of languages.

M. P.

THE BEDOUIN SCENE*

ARABIA Deserta is the spiritual home of Carl R. Raswan; for one-and-twenty years he breathed in its spirit, dwelling in the goat-hair tents of the Ishmaelites as a blood-brother, sharing their stern nomad life and risking his own in many hair-rising adventures.

Neither quest of adventure, however, nor the desire of geographical or ethnological exploration prompted him to this prolonged sojourn with the Bedouin, but purely love of the wilderness, its peace and calm and, above all, its superb horses. On this subject his prose—always imbued with that

**The Black Tents of Arabia*, by Carl R. Raswan, London, Hutchinson, 1935. Price 18 s. net.

gravity of expression which the desert seems to confer on the written word of its devotees—becomes lyrical, he is stirred to emotion.

As a secondary interest he came to study the wanderings of the tribes. "This grew more fascinating" he writes "the further I proceeded, so that I came to study the geographical features of their pasture areas and lines of migration, their historic past and ethnographical peculiarities—subjects on which I have published in various lands a series of special articles, maps, and tables."

Living entirely as a Bedawi, an adopted member of the independent and powerful camel-breeding tribe of Ruala, he sees with their eyes. He is accepted by them and we doubt if any European can claim a more intimate knowledge of the Bedawin. Little is changed in the ancient life of these wandering tribes save the introduction of old Ford cars and modern arms in their forays. Their home, the vast and forbidding inner desert lands of Arabia, has moulded them; they move in a world of their own; its clear reflection in these pages is almost startling to the reader, for the speech and customs, pastimes and equipments of this people might have been lifted straight from mediæval times. Everything the Bedawi and his flocks need comes originally from the soil; they live where others would perish, cheerfully facing the waterless stretches of the desert in Inner Arabia.

Constant migration in search of fresh pastures is the secret of the good health of the Bedawi, but "fatalities are numerous, and only a small number of these people reach the age of forty-five or fifty. About three-fifths of the men between sixteen and forty-five lose their lives in war and raids, through accidents, famine, and other hardships. However, the actual "survival of the fittest" begins among the babies. Only about a quarter (or in "good" years a third) survive the first year. Wounds heal quickly and thoroughly, but people seriously injured often succumb suddenly to the hardships and sufferings imposed upon them."

The tribes in their periodic migrations turn their backs on all cultivation; and men, women, children and beasts innumerable face with an equanimity that is amazing the empty lands, vast areas of gleaming flints and pumice, interminable sand-dunes where nature struggles to put forth a meagre show of vegetation near the scarce water-holes. Sand-storms—especially of white or yellow sand which has

less specific gravity than the red—of terrible force may be encountered. Of one such storm the writer says: "Half-suffocated by day, by night we were chilled to the bone by icy blasts that searched our moist bodies, and made them shake with ague.

"Our hands and faces were chapped. Even our tongues ached though we had plenty of water. The fine, white sand penetrated everywhere—under the clothes, into nose, ears, and eyes, and covering the hair. The lips became parched; the eyes, the throat, the palate hot with inflammation and pain; the breath came in pants; the blood hammered heavily in the heart and in the temples.

"Our camels dragged themselves along only with the utmost effort, groaning and complaining. In one of the saddle-bags we carried one of our slaves, who had collapsed from exhaustion on the second day....."

To such seasonal journeys the tribes are well accustomed, taking the rough with the smooth. But prolonged drought forces them to a general tribal migration in search of pasture; it amounts to a fight for life, a hunger-march through the pitiless wilderness with the spectres of thirst, starvation and death over all. This dread necessity, moreover, drives them into the territory of enemies ready to defend their own grazing-ground at all costs. Mr. Raswan accompanied the Ruala on one such wholesale migration—thirty-five thousand of the tribe with seven thousand tents and three hundred and fifty thousand camels driven onwards day by day by fear of death.

"Hot winds swept over the Hamad and the Syrian steppe—but never a drop of rain. Unusual heat brooded over North Arabia so that everything withered. The Ruala pushed onwards faster and faster and lengthened the days' marches. From one horizon to the other the vast herds covered the wilderness. It was almost as if the herders had lost all control over the starving and thirsty animals. Every morning, like clouds of locusts, the camels overflowed the desert on a front of fifteen to over twenty miles. Small, shrivelled herbs were their only nourishment and the scant moisture in the plants was all that saved them from dying of thirst.

"There was something gigantic and exalting in this unexampled struggle of man and beast for very existence against

the pitiless forces of Nature. Those who were unequal to the struggle quietly succumbed. The countless herds moved slowly over the boundless plains which here and there still showed faint touches of forage, more grey than green. To my amazement I discovered that the fat, brick-red hairy caterpillars which, in spite of the drought were to be found on every stalk and flower, not only helped to nourish hundreds of thousands of desert fowl, bustards and gazelles, but also our camels and horses. Troops of gazelles were in flight from death in the wilderness, striving with a last effort to reach the distant Euphrates. It was as if a tremendous fire was sweeping up from the heart of Arabia, and man and beast were on headlong flight to escape from its consuming breath.....

With gnawing stomachs and with drooping spirits, the Ruala followed their dying herds. Ever farther northwards they pressed on, close to the enemies' territory. Every day hundreds of camels and also many people fell by the wayside, while the survivors strained all the more desperately to reach the hills of Abu Rijmeyn. The weaker remained where they fell....."

"The multitude of the assembled tribe with its chattels and herds had swelled to gigantic proportions. Nothing like it had happened for generations. The whole nation was in movement. This was not one of the ordinary migrations that take place in the spring or autumn; rather was it one of the historic tribal crusades that occur once in a generation—or century.

"In their hundreds of thousands, grunting camels swarmed over the face of the wilderness. Their long necks rose and fell rhythmically. They undulated and flowed on as if they were carried forward by some invisible movement of the ground. Like locusts, they looted the scanty greyish-green pasture before their hungry mouths. Not a trace of vegetation survived their passage. They left behind nothing but naked, trampled earth, and over it a veil of dust and mist that hung in the still air for hours."

A few Ruala went ahead to explore the promised but forbidden land. They found abundance and brought back proof to the wretched tribe—"We spread out our silent witnesses—the bunches of grass, herbage and flowers which were no less precious for being withered. All night long the people came, even from the most distant camping-places, to

see and touch them. They fingered the long grasses with exclamations of joy and praise to God. Now and then Tra'd ibn Sattam handed out a blade, which passed from hand to hand, and some would lift it to their lips with a murmur of "*Ta hayat—O Life!*" And each time Ibn Sattam proffered one of these precious specimens from the grazing grounds of the enemy, he would say "Here are the proofs of Life. Tell your children that we shall go on." And the tribesmen vaulted on their horses and galloped into the night to show the emblems of hope to their women and children and neighbours, and to tell them of the wonders of the highland pasture."

At the risk of his life the writer and a few companions went to treat with the enemy for temporary rights of pasturage. A qualified peace is announced by the leader (Ibn Meheyd) of the hostile forces—but it was no less than a miraculous respite for the spent hosts of the Ruala—.....

"After the coffee-cup had circled once more, Ibn Meheyd leaned back on his cushions and said solemnly:

"O ye assembled ones! It is our wish to keep peace with the Ruala. But it is God's will that there is war between Fuaz ibn-Sha'lan, Tra'd ibn Milhem (Chief of the Wuld 'Ali) and our Shiyukhs. We decree therefore that there be peace between the tribes, but war between the Chieftains."

In dramatic style Mr. Raswan describes the ambush which awaited their return journey, a battle with armed motors, carbines and steel bullets, which had dire results. One need hardly add that the attackers were not of those who had pledged their word for peace. The Bedouin code is unaltered; the cruelty, rapacity, stoicism, unconcern, indifference to danger, hunger and thirst, as well as the sterling worth of their friendship are here set forth with neither praise nor blame.

Mr. Raswan pays tribute to the well-known work of Lady Anne Blunt—the Arabs of Najd still know her as "Our beloved Lady of the Horses"—in connection with the breeding of pure Arab horses; in an exceedingly interesting appendix to this volume, accompanied by charts and photographs, he summarizes his own prolonged researches into the strains, families and pedigrees, and his practical efforts to carry on the good work of perpetuating the blood of the genuine desert horse of Arabia. We were unaware that this is a distinct *species* of horse; despite its physical peculiarities we thought

it accepted as a derivative of that one established species from which man's process of selection has evolved all equine races and varieties, even though these may vary in size, colour and proportions as much as any two closely allied species of wild animals can be said to be defined from each other. Seventeen years of study and research and the writer found that "out of twenty strains and more than two hundred and thirty sub-strains and families, only *three types* of Arab Horse can in truth be established. All the others become subject to the one or other of the three distinguished patterns." As with their Bedawi masters, the fine qualities which distinguish these horses are a product of the hard conditions of life imposed by their environment—the survival of the fittest throughout many centuries.

A glossary, an appendix on the nomadic tribes of Arabia, and many photographs of great interest illustrating desert life complete this charming and valuable work.

R. C.

To the Editor of "Islamic Culture"

SIR,

Islamic Culture, July 1935

WITH reference to Mr. Barbour's article on the Egyptian Novel '*Aûdatu'r-Rûh*', his note about the employment of senseless idioms in Egyptian colloquial language (p. 490) is hardly right especially when compared with the idioms of certain other languages. Egyptian idioms and sayings have never been properly collected and studied and unless the task is soon attempted, many of them will be lost altogether.

Younger Egyptians are so far removed from their own culture that not only are they rapidly forgetting things that belonged to the past but whenever asked to explain some curious little expression, are absolutely at a loss to do so. Even all those expressions that were at one time an essential part of Egyptian etiquette are being thrown aside. But the old people are still familiar with this beautiful part of their language, especially the women, while those Egyptians who seek to air their knowledge of European languages are usually indifferent about their own.

Unfortunately, Mr. Barbour—or the author whom he quotes—has not picked up the idiom in question correctly; it should be ‘*Ḥuṭ fi baṭnak baṭikhah ṣifi*’ Baṭn (belly) not Qalb (heart)—which explains itself, ‘you can sit down and eat a whole summer water-melon’—A summer water-melon is large and much time would be required to eat it all, a task a person who is worrying or frightened about something could hardly contemplate.

Eating water-melon also blows out the belly, (yanfukhu’l-baṭn) and so the idea is that the frightened one should fill his belly to the point of satiety in order to acquire ‘peace of mind’ and, according to the Egyptian saying, there is nothing better than a water-melon for this purpose.

Compare also the saying ‘Unfukh Baṭnak wa nam.’

Yours, etc.,

J. HEYWORTH DUNNE.

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The second instalment of Mr. Heyworth Dunne’s careful work, which will be complete in two more volumes, making the first printed edition of Aṣ-Ṣûlî famous and much quoted *Kitâb al-Awrâq*. A very important publication. To be reviewed at length in our next issue.

A History of Administrative Reforms in Hyderabad State. By M. Fathulla Khan, Secunderabad, Deccan, New Hyderabad Press. 1935. To be reviewed in our next issue.

Tûzak-i-Wâlâjâhî by Burhân ibn Ḥasan. Translated into English by S. Muhammad Ḥusayn Nainar, M.A., LL.B., Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu, University of Madras. Part I. From the early days to the Battle of Amber. University of Madras. 1934. No. 1 of the Madras University Islamic Series: Sources of the history of the Nawwâbs of the Carnatic. To be reviewed in our next issue.



Index

to

Islamic Culture
Vol. IX
1935

Islamic Culture

Vol. IX

1935

'Abbâsîd period, art during the, 131 ff.

Caliphate, 562-3, 577

'Abbâsîds, the, 150, 562

and the Tahirîds, 571 ff.

'Abd al-Jabbâr, 235, 236, 237

'Abd Allâh b. Tahir, 573, 575, 576, 577, 578

'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jîlânî, 363

'Abd al-Rahmân b. Salim b. 'Abdallâh b. 'Uwaim b. Sa'idah, 544

'Abdul 'Aziz Khân, Amîr of Bukhara, 126, 128

'Abdu'l Malik b. Merwân, Khalîfah, 469

'Abdur Rahîm Khân Khânân 617 (and n.)

'Abd Wadd, 190

'Abid Ahmad, Mr., 632

Abu Ayyûb Khalid b. Zayd, 54-5-6

Abu Bakr, and the Prophet, 44 ff.; 540, 541-2.

Abu Hamid al-Tusî, 552

Abu Hurairah, 19

Abu Jahl b. Hishâm, 41, 42

Abu Kabshah, 199

Abu'l Barakat Sa'd Allah b. 'Ali al-Bazzâr, 5, 544

Abu'l Faraj al-Ispahânî, 664.

Abu'l Fath, 145, 146

Abu'l Fazl, 149-50, 168, 426, 622

Abu'l-Ma'ali al-Juwainî, 392 (and n.)

Abu'l Qasim al-Balkhî, 10 (and n.), 387

Abu'l-Wafa 'Ali b. 'Aqîl, 206, 393

Abu Muhammad al-Hasan, b. Mûsâ al-Naubakhtî, 9, 379

Abu 'Ubaida, 650

Abû 'Umar'az-Zâhid, 444

Abu 'Uthmân al-Mazîni, 540 (and n.)

Abû Zubaid, 446

Abyssinian Army, destruction of, (A.D. 570), 635, 636

Achemenian Empire, the, 167, 168

Adab al-Kuttâb, 446

Adab-i-Alamgiri, 60 (n.), 61 (n.), 62 (n.)

Adam, 189, 199

Aden, 402, 406, 407

'Adî ibn Zaid, 653

Afghans, the, 265, 644

Afzal Khân, *alias* Shukrullah of Shîrâz, 614-616, 619

Agrâ, 38, 617

Ahmad Khan, and strife in the Deccan, 277 (and n.)

Ahmad Shah I, 639

—————II, Coins of, 296, 297, 298

Ahmedabad, 640, 642

Ahsanu't-taqasim, 154 (n.), 155 (n.), 166 (n.), 426 (n.)

A'idgâh, the, 124

'Ain-i-Akbari, 149 (and n.), 168 (n.), 434 (n.)

'A'ishah, 45, 533

'Aja'ibu'l-Hind, 152 (n.)

Ajanta, frescoes, 215

Ajmere, 481-2

Akbar, and the Rajput struggle, 61-3 and Sind, 160

211, 212 (n.), 214, 411, 415, 618

Akbarâbâd, 418

Akbar-Nâmah, 622 (and n.), 625 (and n.)

Al-A'asha Maimûn, 650, 651, 656, 657

Al-Ahkâm al-Sultâniyah, ('The Laws Concerning Rulership'), 566-7

'Alam 'Ali Khân, 32, 251, 256 ff.; death of, 261

'Alamgirnama, 124 (n.), 125 (n.), 126 (n.), 129 (n.)

Al-Asma'i, 650

- 'Ala-ud-dîn (Ahmad Shah), 272, 277;
Coins of, 295 (Plate 6)
Alexander the Great, 168, 466
Al-Fârâbî, 335
Al-Ghazzâlî, 336, 362, 552
Al-Hâkim, 445
Al Hasan b. Abu'l Hasan, 46
Al Hasan b. Sâlih
'Alî, 534 ff.
'Alî Adil Shah II, 216 (*and Plate facing*)
'Alî b. Abî Tâlib, 42, 45, 53, 55, 544-547, 646
'Alids, the, and opposition to the Caliphate, 577
Alî Ibn Isâ, 565
'Alî Mardân Khân, the rebellion of, 117; 419, 420
'Alî Tigin, 68 ff., 235 ff.
Al-Jauharî, 136
Al-Khansâ, 655
Al-Khatib, 541
Al-Kindî, 335;—*And his Philosophy*, 335 (n.)
Al-Kisâi, 663
Al-Kumeyt Ibn Muqbil, 446
Allah-Dâd, Sheykh, 626 ff.
'Allâmah Sam'âni, 434
Al-Ma'arrî, 362; adaptation of the *Risalat al-Ghufrân* of, 645-664
Al-Madinah, the emigration of the Prophet to, 44 ff.
Al-Mahdi, Caliph, 661, 662
Al-Majalis wa'l-Musayarat (wa'z), 111
Al-Ma'mûn, Caliph, 150
Al-Manfaluti—An Egyptian Essayist.
'The Civilisation of the West,' 359-367; The Treatise of Pardon, 645 ff., Notes on, 653 ff.
Al-Mansûr, Caliph, 39
Al-Mu'izzli-dinî'llâh, 107
Al-Mutanabbi, 362
Al Nadwa (Lucknow), 626 (and n.)
Alptigin Hâjib, 240
Al-Tabarî, see Tabarî
Altuntash Khwarazmshah, the House of, 68-79, 234-243
'*Amal-i-Salâh*, 113* (n.), 115 (and n.)
Amber, 35
Ambergris, 405
Ameer Ali, 107
Amîrak Bayhaqî, 69 ff.
'Amir b. Fuhayrah, 46, 47, 48
Amirul-Umarâ, the, and Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I, 22 ff., 244 ff., 263, 421
'Ammâr b. Yasâr, 55
'Amr b. 'Anbasah, 197
'Amr b. Luhayy, 190, 192, 193
Anjuman-i-Taraqqi Urdu, 259 (n.)
An-Najat, foot-notes pp. 339, 344, 347, 349, 352-3, 354
Ansab, 131 (n.), 134 (n.), 137 (n.) 139 (n.)
'Antara al-Absi, 648, 654
Arab *Chaunt, The*, (Poem by Nizamat Jung), 209-210
tendencies in Egypt, see 487 ff.
traders, in India, 641
nationality, 662
Arabia, trade routes of, 408; and India, see 423 ff.; 641; Jats in, 441
Arabic tracts, MS. collection of, 218
novels and other literature, 487
language, critics and grammarians, 662 ff.
Arabs, and paganism, see 187 ff.
Architecture, of ancient India, and Persian influence, 169
of India, (in the *Dhakh-irah*), 414 ff.
of Lahore tombs, 619
Ardshîr, Emperor of Persia, 473
Aristotle, 19, 335, 358, 460 (n.)
Arnold, Dr., 435, 639
Arslan Beg, 121
Art, of Warâqat, 131 ff.; Painting, see under "Painting"
Asasu't-Ta'wil, 111
'Asifan, 435
Asirgarh, surrender of, 250
Asmâ bt. Abî Bakr, 47, 48
Asoka, 169-70 (and n.), 440-1
As-Sihah (Arabic Dictionary), 136
Astrolabe Makers, Indian, 621 ff.
Astrologers, delusions of, 385
Astronomy, 458; Indian makers of astronomical instruments, 621 ff.
At-Tahdhib (Al-Azhari), 445
"(Audatur-Ruh)—An Egyptian 'Novel,' 487-92
Aurangâbâd, 25, 29, 32, 265, 267
Aurangzib, 22, 58, 59, 60; and Persian relations, 122 ff.; 610, 611
Avicenna, 18, 141; "A Tract of," 218-233
Aws, the, 57

Azad Bilgrami, 639, 642, 644
 A'zam, Prince, 64, 65
 Az-Zuhri, 49
 BABAK AL-KHURRAMI, 548
 Babakiyyah, the, 548
 Babylon, 168
 Bada'uni, 622 (and n.), 630
 Badshah Namah, the, 614
 Baghdad, 119, 137, 139, 142, 150, 152,
 388, 405, 407, 442, 451,
 485, 560, 563, 564, 565, 566,
 571, 575, 576, 577
 Chronicle (Levy), 560 (n.),
 561 (n.), 562 (n.)
 Bahar-i-Sukhan, 119 (n.), 127 (n.),
 130 (n.)
 Bahmani Kings of the Deccan, *The*
Coins of the, 268-307 And Plates
 1-XX; Chronology of the, 274-5;
 end of the, 279
 Baladhari, 148 (n.), 150 (n.), 151 (n.),
 152 (n.), 426 (n.), 435 (and n.)
 Balaji Vishwanath, 32, 33
 Balban, coins of, 271; Plate I, 282
 "Banera Raj, the Founder of the,"
 58-67
 Bani Umayya, the, 662
 Banu 'Adi b. An-Najjar, 54
 Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf, 51, 52
 Banu Malik b. An-Najjar, 54
 Banu Sa'idah, 54
 Barthold (*Turkestan*), 574 (n.), 575
 (n.), 577 (n.), 578 (n.)
Basatinu's Satatin, the, 212, 213 (n.)
 Bashshari, on Multan, 147, 154, 157,
 166; 434, 435 (n.), 436, 438, 641
 Bashshar ibn Burd, 658-661
Batinyyah (Esoterists), beliefs of the,
 546, 552 ff.
 Bedu, the, 491, 662
 Begam Sahib Jahan Ara, 613, 614
Beglar-namah, 164
 Behistun, rock inscriptions of, 169
 Behramji, 639
 Berar, the 'Imad Shahs of, 279
 Bernier, 125, 127 (n.)
 Beruni, 146
 Bhim Singh, 58 ff.
 Bidar, 274, 277, 279, 281
 Bihzad, 211, 421
 Bijapur, 27, 128
 "Two Miniatures From,"
 211-217
 the 'Adil Shahs of, 279

Biladhuri, 641
 Bint al Kamal, 607
 "Biographical Sketches of Great Men,
 a Treasury of," 411-422
 Bird, Dr., 153 (n.)
Bohras, the Origin of the, 638-644
Bombay Chronicle, The, 440
 Book, The, "Of Opinions and Relig-
 ions" (Naubakhti), 9,
 17
 "Of Doubts," 10
 "Of Religious and Philo-
 sophical Sects," 335
 (n.)
 "Of the Dead," 491
 "Of Canals," (Kitab al-
 Qunry), 578
 "Of Songs," 664
 Book-binding, 138-9
 Books Reviewed—
 Kitabu'l-Awraq, Abi Bakr, Muham-
 mad ibn Yahya As-Suli, 172
 The Prophet of the Desert, Khalid
 L. Gauba, 174, 368
 Administration of Justice during the
 Muslim Rule in India, Wahed
 Husain, 176
 *Polemics on the Origin of the Fati-
 mid Caliphs*, Prince P. H. Ma-
 mour, 179
 L'Evolution social et politique des
 Pays Arabs, Louis Jovelet, 182
 The Early Caliphate (2nd Edition),
 Muhammad Ali, M.A., LL.B., 368
 The Balance of the Crescent and the
 Cross (in Urdu), 370
 Mubtala (trans. by Khan Sahib
 Khaja Khan, B.A.), 371
 Die Unverzeihliche Sunde, (trans. by
 Prof. Otto Spies), 372
 The Holy Qur'an, A. Yusuf Ali, 519
 Popular Handbook of Indian Birds,
 Hugh Whistler, F. Z. S., 521
 Turkistan Solo, Ella K. Maillart, 523
 Ottoman Statecraft, Prof. W. L.
 Wright Jr. (trans.), 527
 The Influence of Arabic Poetry on
 the Development of Persian
 Poetry, Dr. N. M. Daudpota, M.A.,
 ph.D., 529
 Seven Pillars of Wisdom, T. E. Law-
 rence, 665
 Iraq from Mandate to Independence,
 Ernest Main, M.A., 667

The Successors of Sher Shah, Nirod Bhushan Roy, M.A., 670
Kalami Pir, trans. into English by Prof. Ivanow, 671
The Cancer Problem, W. S. Bainbridge, sc.D., M.D., C.M., 673
Pahlavi Composition, Dīn Muhammad, B.A., 674
The Black Tents of Arabia, Carl R. Raswan, 675
 Book-trade, the, in 'Abbasid period, 139
 Brahmins, the, 202, 203
 Brockelmann, Prof., 445, 485 (n.)
 Budâq Beg, 126 (and n.), 127 (and n.)
Bughya, footnotes, pp. 133, 134, 139, 140, 142
 Bukhârâ, 68, 69
 Bûkhârî, 441
 Bu'l-Qâsim Iskafî, 240-1
 Bu Nasr, 68, 69
 Bundi, 247
 Burhânpur, 32, 250-3, 256, 265, 267
 Byzantium, 609

CALIPHATE AND KINGSHIP in Mediæval Persia, 560-579

Caliphs, decline of the power of the, 560 ff.
 the office of the, 566 ff.
 Calligraphy, the art of, 136, 212, 421
Cambridge Shorter History of India, 274 (n.), 276, 277 (n.)
 Carnatic, the, 27
 Caves, of Orissa, 170
Chach-Nâmah, 426 (and n.)
Chahar Chaman, 612, 619
 Chandar Bhan Brahman, Hindu poet and scholar, 612, 614
 Chouburji, 611 ff.
 Christ, 380
 Christians, the belief of, 364; 477, 483
 delusions of, (Ibn Al-Jauzi), 379 ff.

"Classical Prayer, for the King's Use, A," 485

Coins, of the Bahmani Kings, 268 ff., with Plates I-XX
 of *Southern India* (Eliot), 269
 of the *Andhra Dynasty*, (Rapson), 269
 of Md. bin Tughlaq, 274, Plate I, 282
 of *Muhammadan Dynasties*, (Lane Poole), 566 (n.)

Contributions to the Modern Persian-English Vocabulary, 80-106, 308-334, 493-518, 580-602

Copying and copyists, the Art of, 132 ff.

Cremer (*The Orient under the Caliphs*), 570 (n.)

Crusaders, the, 143

Cutch, 426

Cyrus of Persia, 167, 168

DA'A'IMU'L-ISLAM (Numân), 109

Daf' Shubhat al-tashbih, 396 (n.)

Dai Angah, mosque of, 620

Dâ'irat al-Ma'ârif, the, 632

Dalva Rai, Rajah of Sind, 165

Dâra Shikoh, 618, 619

Darius the Great, 167, 169

Daûd Khân, 24, 25, 26, 35

Daulatabad, 270, 274, 279

Da'wat-i-Islam, 435 (n.)

Deccan, the, 23 ff., 63, 65, 114, 128, 272, 610

Kings of, and Art, 212 ff.

Nizamu'l-Mulk's march on, 249; his final supremacy over, 262

Coins of the Bahmani Kings, 268 ff.

and Muhammad bin Tughlaq, 274

and strife with foreigners, 277 (and n.)

Delhi, 32, 34, 124, 263, 267, 416, 418, 424

Deogir, capital of the Maratha Kingdom, 271, 272, 274

Deosuri, 61-4

De Slane, 131

Devil's Delusion, The, by Ibn Al-Jauzi, 1-21, headings of sections, 6, 7; 187-208, 377-399, 534-557

Dhakhiratu'l-Khawânin, 411 ff.

Dhamm al-Hawa, 3

Dhkru's-Sind, 152 (n.), 153 (n.)

Dhu'l-Khulasah, 195

Dhu'l-Khuwaisirah, 533, 539

Dilâwar 'Ali Khan, 247, 248, 253, 254, 255-6

Dissidents, the, 533

Diwân of Makhfi, the, 610 (and n.)

Durratu't-Taj, 622

ECLIPSE, 563 (n.), 566 (n.), 571 (n.)

- Egypt, early Fâtîmids in, 110
A History of (Budge), 167 (n.)
 and modern use of Arabic, see 487 ff.
- Egyptian, the, and Civilization of the West, 359 ff.
 novel, 487
- El-Ghazzali, *On the Theory and Practice of Politics*, 450-474
- Elliot, Sir W., 145, 156 (n.), 158 (n.), 165; *Coins of Southern India*, 269; 426; *History of India*, 625 (n.)
- Elphinstone, 438 (and n.)
- El-Wâthiq, Sultan, 408-9
- Encyclopædia of Islam*, 138 (n.), 426
Britannica, on "Sind," 165, 426
- Eriwan, 116, 117
- Esh-Shihr, 402 ff.
- FARIDABAD, 416
- Farrukhsiyâr, 22, 25, 30, 36, 130
- Fatehpur Sikrî, 38
- Fathâbâd, 415
- Fatimid Caliphate, the, 407
 Empire, code of laws in the, 109
- Fatuhât-i-Âlamgiri*, 59 (n.), 60 (and n.), 61 (n.), 62 (n.)
- Ferishta, 276, 277, 622; on Mahmud Gavan, 278-9
- Fihrist*, 131 (n.), 132 (n.), 138 (n.), 139 (n.), 141 (n.), 142 (n.), 446, 447
- Firdausî, 168, 450
- Fire-worship, 199
- Firishta, 159, 275-6, 424, 427, 430, 432, 433
- Firoz Khaljî, 271
- Firoz Khan, 276
- Firuz Shâh, 424, 427, 433
- Flugel, 632
- "Forgotten Morn, A" (poem by Ameen Khorasane), 558
- Frankincense, in Arabia, 405
- Futuh'u'l-buldan*, 148 (n.), 150 (n.)
- Fyzee, Asaf A. A., 107 ff.
- GABRIEL, 541, 546, 552
- Galen, 16, 19, 385
- Gardens, Shalimar, at Lahore, 420, 611
 612
 of Zeb-un-Nisa (Lahore), 610 ff.
 Anarkali, 617, 618
- Gardizi, 573 (n.), 575 (n.), 577 (n.), 578 (n.)
- Geography, of *Strabo*, 167 (n.)
- Ghaznawis, the, and Sind, 160; and Kashmir, 439
- Ghazzâlî, 632
- Ghias-ud-dîn Tughlaq, 272-3
- Ghilzais, the, 129
- Ghiyas Khân, 252
- Gibbon, 561
- Globes and Astrolabes, 621 ff.
- Golconda, 128, 270; the Qutb Shahs of, 279
- Gomorrhah, 635
- Greek philosophy, influence of, 335
 sling-bolts, 636
- Gujarât, 415; archæology of, 440; 623; 639
- Gujrati book (*Ras Mala*), 638-9
- Gulbarga, 275
- HABARI DYNASTY, a relic of the, 159
- Hadiqatu'l-'Alam*, 256
- Hadith, literature, 108
- Hadramaut, 402, 403, 404
- Hafiz, 212
- Haig, Sir Walseley, on Muhammad bin Tughlaq, 273-4
- Hamdani, 403
- Hamdan Qarmat, 549
- Hanbalite system, the, 2
- Haq, Prof. Abdul, 217 (n.)
- Harun, the son of Khwarazmshah, 234 ff.; murder of, 239
- Harun a'r-Rashid, Khalifah, 467
- Hasan Gangu, 274, 275
- Hazrat Ayesha, 607
- Herodotus*, *History of*, footnotes, pp. 167, 168, 170, 171
- Heykal, Dr. Huseyn, 487
- Hibat Allah b. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wâhid, 379
- Hijrah, The*, A Chapter from Ibn Hisham, 39-57
- Hindu, works of art, 216
 kingdoms, 270
 Relations with India, see 423 ff.
 customs, and the Bohras, 639
- Hindustan*, the name, 168; invasions of, 276
- Hindustani writers, 422
- Hippocrates, 19
- Hisham al-Ghuti, 391
- Hishâm b. Muhammad b. al-58'ib al-Kalbî, 189 ff.

History of the Musalman Dynasties, 485

Hobbes, 460 (n.), 463 (n.)

Hudhaifah, 5 (and n.)

Humayun, 277; Coins of, 298 (Plate XII); his interest in astronomy, 621 ff.

Humayun-Namah, 624, 625

Hunain ibn-i-Ishâq, 335

Huseyn 'Alî Khân, 24, 26

Hydari, Sir Akbar, collections of miniatures of, 216 (n.)

Hyderabad, Coins of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, see 268 ff.

Mubârîz Khân of, and Nizamu'l-Mulk, 249, 265

Museum, 212

siege of, 66

State, Founder of the, 22 ff.

IBN 'ABBAS, 6 (and n.), 534

Ibn Abi Awfa, 539

Ibn al-Furât, 565

Ibn al-Jauzi, 1-21, 136, 143, 187 ff., 533 ff.

Ibn al-Rawandî, 557

Ibn al-Sabah, 556

Ibn 'Aqil, 542, 554

Ibn Athîr, 156, 561 (n.), 563 (n.), 564 (n.), 566 (n.), 568 (n.)

Ibn At-Tiqtaqa, 565 (n.)

Ibn Batûtah, 159, 161, 273, 406, 409, 430, 638 (n.)

Ibn Hajar, (*Raf'u'l Isr*), 112

Ibn Hauqal, 146, 149, 153, 402 (n.), 436, 439, 641

Ibn Hisham—*A Chapter From*, 39 ff.; 192 ff.

Ibn Ishâq, 40 ff.

Ibn-i-Sinâ, see 335 ff.

Ibn Jubair, 1 (and n.)

Ibn Khaldûn, 135 (n.), 156, 578 (n.)

Ibn Khallikân, 1 (and n.), 112, 136; footnotes pp. 133, 134, 136, 137, 140, 571, 572, 573

Ibn Khardadhbih, 149, 402, 574 (and n.)

Ibn Muljam, 538

Ibn Qutaibah, 199, works of, 443-9

Ibn Salam, 41 (n.)

Ibn Taimiyyah, 2

Ibn Ul-Tiqtaqa, 485, 565 (n.)

Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, 212, 214

Ibrahim Nakhafî, 457

Idolatry, see 187 ff.

Idols, and idol-houses, 146, 187 ff.

Idrisî, 438

Ihyâ, footnotes pp. 457, 461, 470, 471

Ikhlas Khân, 33 (and n.)

Ikhtiyâreyn, the, 444, 446

Ilyâs Ardebî, 622

Imperial News Letters, 66 (n.)

'Imrân Barmakî, 150-1

Imru-ul-Qais, the *Dîwâns* of, 449, 654

India, "Ancient, some proofs of Persian Influence On," 167-71

Archæological Survey of, 167

The Cambridge History of, 167 (n.)

Coins of, 268 ff.

In the 13th Century, 271 ff.

the Slave dynasty of, 270-1

Muslim Colonies in, 144 ff., 423 ff.

The Early History of, 437 (n.)

Sufism in, 475 ff.

purdah system in, 609

preservation of monuments in, 620

some astrolabe makers of, 621 ff.

early Muslim population in, 641

Indo-Islamic Culture, of Multan, 146

'Irâq, 115 (and n.)

Irshad, footnotes pp. 132, 133, 135, 137, 139

Isfahan, 555

Ishaq b. Md. al-Nakha'i the Red, 540 (and n.)

Ishmael, 192, 193

Islam, *The Preaching of* (Dr. Arnold), 162 (n.)

the true principles of, 363 ff.

the art of, 409

and India, see 423 ff., 475 ff.

and democracy, 471, 480

and Sufism, 475 ff.

and Medieval Persia, see 560 ff.

and the position of women, 607

Islamic bookbinding, 138

Libraries, 141 (n.)

philosophic works, 335

history, and the 'Abbâsîd Caliphate, see 560 ff.

culture, its effects in Europe, see 603 ff.

Ismâ'îl b. Ahmad, 534
Ismâ'îli Law and its Founder, 107-112
 Ismâ'îlis, the, 145, 146, 158, 562-3
 Isma'ilism, 107; and the Somaris, 162;
 562-3
 Isma'iliyyah, the, 547
 Istakhri, 146, 149, 440, 641
 I'timadu'd-Daula, see Muhammad
 Amin Khan Chin
 I'tiqâd Khân, 30, 31
 I'zdu'd-Daulah 'Ivaz Khân, 265, 267

 JABALA IBN AL-AYHAM, 657
 Jadunath Sarkar, Sir, 128
Jaiपुर Records, footnotes pp. 59, 60, 61,
 64, 66
 Jai Singh, 58 ff., 631
 Jalam bin Sheybân, 144
Jamia-i-Marasilat, 114 (n.), 119 (n.)
Jam-i-Bahadur Khâni, 626 (and n.)
Jami'u'l-Badaye'i, 218 (n.), 219 (n.)
 Jam Nanda, 429, 430
Jangnama, 259 (n.), 260 (n.), 262 (n.)
 Jat physicians, in Arabia, 441
 Jayhun river, the, 69, 76
 Jehangir, 113, 415, 417, 420, 421, 618
 Jews, the, 20, 166, 167, 377, 380, 381,
 560
 Jhilmara, 62-3
Jumhara (Ibn Duraid), 140
 Junaid of Baghdad, 475
 Jundub the Azdite, 536
 Jurisprudence, Isma'îli, 107 ff.; 134

 KA'BAH, the, 192, 193, 196
 Kabul, 122
 Kachwahās-Sasodias struggle, the 66-7
 Kafāyat Khân Md. Ja'far, calligraphist,
 421
 Karima Bint Ahmed, 607
 Kashmir, 439
Khâfi Khân, 23 ff., 245 ff.
 Khâlid b. 'Abdallah, 395 (and n.)
 Khan, Maulvi Yakub, 609
 Khânderão Dâbhade, 26, 27
 Khan-i-A'zam, 421
 Khan-i-Dauran, 31, 36
 Khan Jehan Lodi, 420
Khatut-i-Shivaji, 63 (n.)
 Khayyâm, see 'Umar Khayyâm
 Khojas, of Bombay, 163
Khulasatu'l-Tawarikh, 613 (and n.)
Khuld-i-Barin, footnotes pp. 115, 116,
 118, 119

Khurasan, 117, 239, 241, 572, 574, 576,
 578
 Khurramiyyah, the, 550
 Khusro, Sultân, 415
 Kingship and Government, El-Ghazali
 on, 450 ff.
Kitab ad-Diyar, 447
Kitab al-Azizi, 438
Kitab al-Fakhri, 564
Kitab al-Faras, 447
Kitab al-Ghurâr, 447
Kitab al-Harb, 447
Kitab al-Hawâmm, 447
Kitab al-Ibil, 447
Kitab al-Iqtidâb, 448
Kitab al-Ma'âni, 448
Kitab al-Ma'ârif, 446
Kitab al-Wuzarâ, 565 (n.)
Kitab ar-Riyâh, 447
Kitab as-Sibâ, 447
Kitab Ma'an Ash-Shir of Ibn Qutey-
bah, the 443-9
Kitab Tashif al-Ulamâ', 448
Kitabu'l-Adab-ul-Mufrad, 441
Kitabu'l-Ansâb, 434 (and n.)
Kitabu'l-wara', 442 (n.)
 Kluber, Dr., 631
Koran and the Sword, The, (poem by
 Nizamât Jung), 400-1
 Krenkow, Dr., 141, 635
 Kulthûm b. Hidm, 52-3
Kumar Pal Charitar, 638

 LAHORE, 124, 415, 416, 422, 610 ff.
 monuments of, 620
 mosques of, 619
Oriental College Magazine
 422
 Shalimar Gardens at, 420,
 611, 612
The So-called Gardens and
Tombs of Zeb-un-Nisa, at,
 610-620
 Landauer, Dr., 336
Latifu'l Akhbar, 123 (n.)
 Law, Muhammadan, 107
 Ismâ'îli, 107 ff.
 the, and El-Ghazali, 462
 Legal systems, 107 ff.
 Libraries, scribes and copyists employ-
 ed in, 135; 143
 Library, the, Ad-Damiriyyah of Marv,
 141
 of Aya Sofia, 443
 of the India Office, 443

- of Leiden, 632
 of Maulvi Abdul Haq, 411
 of the Punjab University, 615 (n.)
 Literalists, Ibn 'Aqib on the, 554
 Literature, Hadith, 108
 Ismaili, Guide to (Ivanow), 109 (n.)
 under 'Ali Adil Shah II, 216
 MA'ATHIR-I-ĀLAMGIRI, footnotes pp. 58, 59, 67, 610, 611
Ma'athir-i-Nizāmī, 263
Ma'athir-i-Rakīmī, 619, 622 (n.), 625 (n.)
Ma'athiru'l-umara, 117 (n.), 252, 412-414, 613 (n.), 615 (n.), 620 (n.), 623 (and n.)
 Madinite tribes, conversion of the, 57
 Maharana Raj Singh of Mewar, 58
 Mahmūd, Sultan, 144 ff.; invasion of Somnath, 156; 163; 437
 Mahmūd Gavan, 278
 Mahmud Shah, 278; Coins of, 302, 303
 Mahrāttas, the revolt of, 25; 248, 256-7
Ma'jamu'l-buldan (Yāqūt), 436
Majmu'l-Marasilat, 113 (n.)
 Makhdūn Bihārī, 484
 Makkah, 45
 Makran, 439
Malfūzat of Mahmūd Airjē, the, 638 (and n.)
 Malik b. Anas, 398
 Malik Shah, 219, 451, 555 (and n.)
 Malwā, 31, 32, 244-5, 247, 248, 251, 268
 Māmūn, Caliph, 560, 571, 576
 Manbah bin Asad, 144
 Mansurah, history of, 148 ff.; extinction of, 156
 Manucci, 127, 129 (n.)
 Maqdisī, 138 (n.), 153
 Maqrizī, 139, 142, 143, 139 (n.), 140 (n.), 143 (n.)
 Marathas, the, 66, 271
 Marco Polo, 405, 406
 Marhamat Khān, 245, 246, 248
 Mas'ūd, Sultan, 75, 78, 160, 239, 240
 Mas'ūdī, 152-3
 Maulvi 'Abdul Halīm Sharar, 166
 Maulvi Abdul Haq, 259 (n.), 411
 Māwardī, 464, 474, 566-7 (and n.) 568 (and n.) 569 (and n.), 570
 Mazdians, the, 380, 382-4, 550
 Mazyar b. Qārin, 576
 Meccah, 192, 193, 194, 196, 537, 563
 Medicine, 458
 Mental faculties, Proof of the Existence of (Ibn-i-Sinā), 336 ff.
 Metaphysics, see 377 ff., 458
 Mewar, 58 ff., *History of* (Hindi), 58 (n.)
Miftah As-Sa'adah of Tash Koprī Zādah, the, 632-4
Milahu w'an Nihal, 336
Minhaj al-wusul ila'ilm al-usul, 3 (and n.)
 Miniatures, 211
 Mints (Coins of the Deccan), 280-1
Murā'atu'l-Mamālik, 623
 Mir Abu'l-Qasim Tamkin, 417
Mirat-i-Ahmadi, 58 (and n.), 60 (n.)
 Mir Birkā, 114
 Mir Haidar Quli Khān, slays the Amir-u'l-Umarā, 264
 Mir Jumla, 22 ff.
 Mir Md. Nāmi Bhakkari, 417
 Mir Mohammad Ma'sūm, author of *Tarikh Ma'sūmi*, 163
 Mirza Iwaz Beg, 422
 Miskawayh, footnotes pp. 563, 565, 566, 569, 571
 Mohammad A'zam, 61
 Mu'allaqāt, the, 446
 Mu'awaiyah, 534, 538
 Mu'azzam, Prince, 129
 Mubariz Khān, 265
 Mughal *Relations with Persia* (from Babur to Aurangzeb), 113-130
 period, Lahore tombs of the, 616
 period, history of the nobles of the, 620
 Colour Decoration (E. W. Smith), 617 (and n.)
 Mughals, the, and the Rajput opposition, 58 ff.
 contest with the Mahrāttās, 26
 Muhammad I, 276
 II, 276
 Muhammad 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bazzāz 378

Muhammad 'Alī Khan, author of the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 261
 Muhammad Amin Khān, 31, 32, 36, 246, 263
 Muhammadan Law, 107
 Muhammad Anwar Khān (Qutb'ud-Daulah), 251-2
 Muhammad b. Abil-Qasim, 398
 Muhammad b. Abi Tāhir al Bazzar, 388
 Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm, 539
 Muhammad bin Qāsim, 641
 Muhammad b. Ja'far b. Az-Zubayr, 52
 Muhammad b. Sa'ad, 537
 Muhammad Ghiyās Khan, 256, 257
 Muhammad Siddiq, 642
 Muhammad Tughlaq (Ulugh Khan), 273-4, 424, 433
 Mu'izz, Imām, 107, 108
 Mu'jamu'l-Buldan, 141 (n.), 149 (n.)
 Mullā, 'Alī, 638
 Multān, 124, the Rulers of, 144 ff.; 431
 Munqidh, 456 (n.), 458 (n.), 459 (n.)
 Munsh'at Tahir W'ahid, 121 (n.), 123 (n.), 124 (n.), 125 (n.), 128 (n.)
 Muntakhabu't-tawarikh, 164, 622 (and n.)
 Muntakhibu'l-Lubab, 124 (n.), 125 (n.), 130 (n.)
 Muqaddasī, 405
 Muqaddimah, 578 (n.)
 Muqtadir, 565
 Murjite system, the, 392, 540
 Muruju'dh-dhahab, 148 (n.), 154 (n.), 155 (n.)
 Mūsā b. Ja'far, 541
 Museum, Berlin, 139, 621
 Hyderabad, 212, 268
 Indian (Calcutta), 268
 British, 636, 637
 Mushki, 439
 Music of Bijapur, 212 (n.), 213 (n.); 422
 Muslim "Colonies in India Before the Muslim Conquest," 144-166, 423-442
 Sciences (the *Miftāh as Sa'ādah*, 632-4
 Mustā'lian branch of the Ismā'īlīs, the, 108 (and n.), 109
 Mu'tadid, 565
 Mu'tamad Khān Bukhārī, 419

Mu'tasim, 563, 576
 Mutawakkil, Caliph, 560, 561, 564
 Mu'tazils, the, 390, 540
 NASIR-UD-DIN ISMAIL SHAH, 274
 Naubakhtī, 3, 10, 11, 14, 17
 Nawab Abdullah Khan, 420
 Nawab Allah Verdi Khān, 418
 Nawab I'timadu'd-Daulah of Tihrah, 418
 Nawab Mian Md. Khan Niazi, 416
 Nawab Sir Salar Jung Bahadur, 627
 Nawab Yaminu'd-Daulah Asaf Khān, 418
 Nawan Kot, monuments of, 610 ff.
 Nekūsiyār, alleged son of Muhammad Akbar, 37
 Nemāji Sindhiā, 25
 Nestorians, the, 379
 Neyrun, 438
 Ni'mat Nāma, the Book of Dainties, 212
 Nineveh and Persepolis, the Palaces of, (Fergusson), 170 (n.)
 Nizamiyyah, the, 18
 Nizam Shah, 278; Coins of, 299
 Nizamu'l-Mulk Asaf Jah I, 22-38, 244-267; March on the Deccan, 249; Battle with Dilāwar 'Alī Khān, 255; Battle with 'Alam 'Alī Khān, 258 ff.; letter to Sa'du'd-din Khān, 265-6
 Nizamu'l-Mulk Tūsī, 464
 Nizaris, the, 107 (and n.), 108
 Noah, 190, 192
 Nu'mān, Qādī, the Life of, 107 ff., works of, 111
 Nuns, origin of the costume of, see 603 ff.
 Nuru'd-din Khān Turkhān, 623
 ORISSA 129, 415
 Osmania University College, Journal of, 336 (n.)
 Osmania University College, MS from Library of, 411
 Osman Khān, 249-50
 PADSHAHNAMA, 59 (n.), 113 (n.), 114 (n.)
 Painting, art of, in gold, 139
 Indian, 211-17; Books and Collections of, 214, 215 (n.), 216; 420-1
 Pandits and Pirs, 475 ff.
 Paper industry, the, 137-8
 Pathans, the, 146

- Patna, 24
 Persia, "Mughal Relations with,"
 113 ff.
 and Ancient India, 167 ff.
 Caliphate and Kingship in
 Medizeval, 560 ff.
 and the Abbasid Caliphate,
 see 560 ff.
 Literary History of (Browne),
 562 (n.)
Persian-English Vocabulary, Contribu-
tions to the, 80-106, 308-334.
 493-518, 580-602
 Grammarians; 663
 Influence in Ancient India,
 167 ff.
 Inscriptions, 169 (and n.), 170
 (n.)
 Painting, in 16th century, 211;
 213
 Tract, by 'Umar Khayyami,
 218
 Philosophy, see 335 ff.; *History of*
 (Dr. A. Stockl), 339 (n.)
 Pickthall, Mr./ Marmaduke W., 268.
 636
Pirism (Corrupted Sufism), 475-484
 Pirs, the, of India, and the Islamic
 laws, 475 ff.
 Plato, and platonic theories, 19, 345,
 346, 349, 607
 Poetry, under 'Alī Adil Shah II, 216
 of Barām Khān, 422
 pre-Islamic, 653
 Poets, pre-Islamic, 653 ff.
 Politics, El-Ghazzali's works on, 450 ff.
 Portraits, 420
Prophet, the Holy, 5, 192, 194, 195, 196,
 367, 378, 379,
 380, 464, 467, 469,
 472, 533 ff., 635,
 636, 662
 "The Hijrah"
 (from Ibn Hish-
 am), 39-57
 "The Wars and Life
 of Muhammad"
 (Ibn Ishāq), 39
 Emigration to Al-
 Madinah, 44; the
 route, 51
 Sayings of, 192,
 475 ff., 533 ff.,
 604
 and the idol-worship-
 pers, see "The
 Devil's Delusion,"
 187 ff.
 Companions of, 367,
 398, 533, 540, 544
 Traditions of, 5, 19,
 377 ff., 445, 456,
 464, 533 ff.
 on slavery, 470
 and Pirs of India,
 475 ff.
Psychology of Ibn-i-Sinā, the, 335-358
 Ptolemy, 441
Punjab Notes and Queries, 611 (and
 n.)
 QABUS NAMEH, the, 474
 Qadaris, the 540
 Qâdisia, battle of, 362
 Qalich Md. Khân, 416, 422
Qâmûs ut-tarâjim, 485 (n.)
Qandahâr, 113, 117 ff., 429
Qannauj, 437
Qanûn Mas'ûdi (Berûni), 437
 Qarmatians, the, origin of the name,
 548-9; 563
 Qazdar, 435
 Qazvini, 113, 114 (n.), 115 (n.)
 Qisar, 121 (n.), 123 (n.), 124 (n.),
 126 (n.), 128
 Qoshanj, 115
 Qubâ', 53
 Quli Khan, 62-3
 Quraish, the, 193, 194, 195, 533, 657
 Qur'an, the, quotations from, 14, 43,
 44, see 187 ff., 364
 (n.), 365 (n.), 367
 (n.), 377 ff., 478, 479,
 480, 535, 538, 541,
 547, 635-7, 662
 art of gilding, 139
 on spying, 471
 on counsel, 472
 on the Unity of God, 478
 and the Pirs of India,
 478 ff.
 and the position of
 women, 607
 and the word *sijjil*, 635-7
 Quraysh, the Council of, 40 ff.
 Qutbu'l Mulk, and Nizam-ul-Mulk
 Asaf Jah I, 22, 24 ff.; 263; death
 of, 264
 RAFT'U'D-DARAJAT, 36-7

Rafi'u'd-Daulah, 37
 Raja Ajit Singh, of Jodhpur, 35
 Jai Singh Sawai, 34, 37, 245, 249
 Mansingh, 415
 Râm Dâs, 420, 422
Raj Prashasti, 59 (n.), 60 (n.), 61 (n.)
 Rajput, struggle against Mughals, 58;
 service with Mughals, 67
 families, and the Bohras, 643
Raj Vilas, 60 (n.)
Ras Mala, 638-9
 Rasulid Sultans, the, 407
 Rawlinson, H.G., footnotes pp. 167,
 168, 170, 171
 Rayy, 574, 577
 Rejectors, delusions of the, 540 ff., 551
 Rifaiya, Dervish order, 366 (and n.)
Rig Veda, the, 168 (n.)
 Ritter, Dr., 3
 Rock inscriptions at Behistun, 169-70
 Roshan Akhtar, 38
 Rustam Beg Khan, 249

 SA'A-DAT KHAN, 35, 263
 Sabians, the, 380-2
Sab'iyyah, the, 547-8
 Sabuktagin, 434, 435
 Sa'd Allah b. 'Ali, 546
 Safadi, 133, 134
Safar Namah (Bashari), 155
Safarnamah-i-Ibn Haqal, 147 (n.)
 Safavi dynasty, the, 129
 Safdar Khân, Mughal ambassador to
 Persia, 115 ff.
 Sahâbis, the, 441
 Sahl b. Hanif b. Wâhib, 53
 Sâhû, Raja, 27
Said al-Khatir, 2 (and n.), 3 (and n.)
 Sa'id Khân Chugbatta, 417
Sakinatu'l-Auliya, 617 (and n.), 619
 Salah-ud-Dîn, 361, 643
 Salama al Fazaraijja, 607
 Sâlik, Prof. 618
 Salimiyyah, the, 397
 Sama, the Jams of, 433
 Samah Kings, 426; Names of the,
 428-9
 Samarqand, 76; observatory at, 621
 Samarrâ, 564
 Sammas, the, 425; Religion of, 429-30;
 432, 433
 Samsamu'd-Daulah, 412
Saracens, *History of the*, 141 (n.)
 Sarbuland Khan, 29, 32

Sasanian Kings, the, 552
 Sayyid brothers, the, 22 ff., 244 ff., 263
 Sayyid Bukhârî, 427-8, 431
 Sciences, Division of, by El-Ghazzali,
 458
 Seljuks, the, 68 ff., 234 ff., 452; Political
 machinery of, 453
 Senses, the, see 335 ff.
 Seyfu'd-dîn 'Ali Khan, 32
 Shah Abbas, 115
 Husain, 130
 Jahan, invasion of Mewar by,
 59; and Persia, 113 ff.;
 610 ff.; artists at the Court of,
 614
 Malik, 219, 237, 238, 241, 242,
 243
 Qulî Beg, 121
 Qulî Khân, 416
 Safi I, 113, 114, 120
 Shahrastâni, 335, 336, 391 (n.)
 Shaista Khân, Nawab, 37, 411 ff.
Sharhu'l-Akhar, 111
 Shar'at laws, the, 108
 Sheikh Abdul-Haqq of Delhi, 159
 Abu Bakr As-Siddiq, 643
 Farid, 413, 415
 Ghulam Md. bin Tâhir of Patan,
 Life of, 642
 Ibn Sômar Râja Bal, 160-1
 Ma'rûf Bhakkari, 411 ff.
 Sheikh-ul-Islam Zakariya of Multân,
 159, 431
 Sher Shâh, 624
 Sherwani, H. K., ("The Political
 Thought of el-Mawerdi"), 474 (n.)
 "Political Thought of Nizamul-
 Mulk Tusi," 452 (n.)
 Sheikhu'l-Islam Bahau'd-din Zakari-
 ya, see above
 Shî'as, the, 561, 562
 Shustrî, Nûru'llâh, 639
 Sibawaihi, 663
Sijîl, *Note on the Koranic word*, 635.
 Sind, during the 'Abbasid Caliphate,
 150 ff.
 the Habari Qureysh Dynasty of,
 151 ff.
 language of, 155
 under the Ghaznawis, 160
 Samah Kings of, 425; Royal
 shoes of, 442
Siyar, 248

- Siyustân, Ibn Batûtah's description of, 161-2
 Slavery, El-Ghazzâlî on, 470
 Sling-bolts, Greek and Roman, reproduction of British Museum specimens, 636
 Socrates, 19
 Sodom, 635
 Somaris, the, 145, 158-9, 160; Religion of the, 162
 Somrahs, the, 424
 Somri Kings, the, 425
 Soparâh, town of Gujerât, 440
 Sophists, doctrines of, 8
 Speight, Prof. E. E., *Coins of the Bahmani Kingdom of the Deccan*, 268 ff.
 Spencer, Herbert, 463, 464
 Spooner, Dr. D. B., 170
 Sprenger, 403 (n.)
 State-idea, El-Ghazzâlî's theory of the, 459-62
 Stationery and paper industry, the, 137
Storia, 127 (n.), 129 (n.)
 Strabo, *The Geography of*, 167 (n.), 169 (n.)
Subhatu'l-Marjân, 643, 644 (n.)
 Subkî, 452 (n.)
 Suez Canal, constructed by Darius, 167
 Sufis, the, 2, 475 ff.
 Sufism, European writers on, 2-3; 475 ff.
 Sulaiman Durrânî, 457
 Sunnis, the, of Central Asia, 121; and Abbâsid Caliphate, see 560 ff.
 Sunnite law, 108
 Surâqah, the Pursuer of the Prophet, 49-51
 Suyûti, 133 (n.), 134 (n.), 569 (n.), 633
 Sykes, Sir Percy, 118 (n.)
- TABARI, 39, 40, 140, 199; footnotes pp. 560, 561, 562, 564, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578
Tâbrî (Elliot), 426 (n.)
 Tahir Dhu-l-Yaminayn, 571
 Tahirids, the, and relations with the Caliphate, 571 ff.
 Tâhir Wahîd, 118 (n.), 120 (n.)
 Tahmâsp Khan, 119, 211
 Taj Mahal, the, 614
 Talbis, the, 3
 Tanukhi, 3
Taqwimu'l-buldan, 437 (n.), 438 (n.)
- Tarafa, 654
 Tarbiat Khan, 129, 130
Tarikh Balâdhari, 426
Tarikh-i-Ahmâdi, 639
Tarikh-i-Bayhaqî, 234
Tarikh-i-Firishia, 427 (n.), 436 (n.)
Tarikh-i-Firûz Shahi, footnotes pp. 424, 428, 429, 431, 433, 434
Tarikh-i-Hind, 426 (n.)
Tarikh-i-Muzaffarî, 246, 249 (n.), 252, 253, 255, 260, 261
Tarikh-i-Tâhiri, 159, 160 (n.), 164, 165 (and n.), 426, 430 (and n.), 431, 432 (and n.)
Tarikh Kamîl, 156
 Taufiq al-Hakim, novelist, 487
 Taxation, legal, 468
 Taxila, 169
Tazkiratu'l Mulûk, the, 212 (n.)
 Telungana, 278, 279
 Thâbit bin Qurrah, 335
 Thath (Deybal), 433, 444
Tibru'l-Masbûk, the, 467, 472
 Todd, 58 (n.)
 Tomb worship, 477
 Tombs and gardens at Lahore, 610
 Tooran, 436
 "Traces of Islam," 603-609
 Traditions, the, 5, 19, see 377 ff., 445, 464
 Transmigration, 387
 Trans-Oxiana, 117
Tuhfa-i-Sami, 422
Tuhfatu'l-Karâm, names of Kings in, 423, 424
 Turkish rulers of India, 272
 Turkistan, 68
 Turks, and the Caliphate, 560 ff.
 Tus, 450
 'UBAID AL-ABBAS, 654
 Uch, 431, 432
Udaipur Ki Kheyat, 58 (n.)
 Ujjeyn, 33, 34
 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Aziz, 151, 466, 469
 'Umar ibn abi Rab'â, 658-9
 'Umar Khayyâm, translation of Avicenna, 218 ff.; English translation of the Arabic text of Ibn Sînâ, 220-2; of Khayyâm's Persian Rendering, 223-227; 418
 Umm Ma'bad bt. Ka'b, 48 (and n.)
 Umm Salmâ, 55
 Urdu, the early history of, 217 (n.); Khayyâm in, 218 (and n.)

'*Uyûn al-Akhbar*, 444, 445

Uzair, 380

Uzbegs, the, 117, 121

VĒDAS, THE, 168

Vienna, and "Traces of Islam,"
603 ff.; 632

Vijayanagar, 276

*Vingt-sept ans d'histoire des études
Orientales*, 485 (n.)

Vir Vinod, 58 (n.), 64 (n.)

Vishnu, 162

WARAQAT, THE ART OF, 131-43

Wâris, 122 (and n.), 123 (n.)

Wâthiq, Caliph, 560, 574

Women, the position of, affected by
Islamic influence in Europe, 606
the dress of, 609

YADGAR BEG, 119, 120

Yahya b. Bishr al-Nihawandî, 15, 17,
18, 187, 198, 382, 387

Yahya bin 'Adî, 335

Yaman, 402 ff.

Ya'qûbî, 577 (n.), 578 (and n.)

Yâqût al-Musta'simî, 136

Yemen, 643

ZAFAR KHAN, 274

Zakhiratu'l-Khâwânîn, 620

Zanj rebellion, 557, 562

Zaydân, 565 (n.)

Zêbu-n-Nisâ, 610, tomb of, 611

Zeynu'l-Akhbar, 156 (n.)

Zî'aud-dîn Muhammad, and the astro-
labe, 621, 626 ff.

Zoroaster, 199, 382

Zufar, in the Middle Ages, 402-410;
three marble stelæ from see plates
facing p. 410, and description of,
p. 408-9

Zuhair ibn Abi Sulma, 651, 654

Zulfiqâr Beg, 26, 27

Zurjan, 577

